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The Communist Parties in the Fight for the Masses

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The Achievements of the Communist Parties

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

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

Let us take only a few examples.

(a) In 1925, French imperialism waged war against Morocco. At times the French suffered defeat. This called forth a wave of chauvinism in France. The bourgeois parties, including the Socialist Party, furiously called for war against Morocco and did all they could to support this war. The Communist Party alone waged a proper, consistent struggle against this predatory war; and at meetings everywhere it openly exposed the predatory, colonial policy of France, advocated the right of Morocco to self-determination, and demanded the withdrawal of the French troops from the colonies. In 1925 the Communist Party of France passed its examination on the question of war.

(b) There are still greater grounds for saying the same thing in regard to the struggle waged by the Communist Party of China at the time the hordes of Chang Hsueh-liang seized the Chinese Eastern Railway, and during the Japanese invasion of Shanghai. What happened during the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway? It is well known that not only the Chinese generals, the Kuomintang, etc., but also the parties of the Second International falsely described the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway by the Chinese generals, who were backed by the imperialists, as a war against unequal treaties, in order in that way to incite against the Soviet Union. The Northern Chinese generals were also supported

by the Trotskyists. The Chinese Communists did not allow themselves to be influenced by this demagoguery. In its propaganda, agitation, and in the whole of its practical work, the Communist Party of China pursued the Leninist line and fought against the Kuomintang and the militarists in its own country.

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

And what about the glorious, heroic story of the Red Army of China? After the victory of the Kuomintang counter-revolution,

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a small group of armed men, led by Communists, fought its way out of the ring of enemies, retreated to the hills, began to rally around itself new forces, fortify itself in the territory it occupied, and gradually enlarge its territory.

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

Having set up a Soviet government, and having proved to the workers and peasants of China, and of the whole colonial East, that it is possible to fight victoriously against the imperialists' and landlord reaction, the Communist Party of China not only strengthened its positions among the broad masses in the Soviet regions, but also disintegrated the rear of the enemy. Thanks to this, the Red Army, led by the Chinese Communists, repelled all the five Kuomintang campaigns against it, and emerged from each campaign stronger than it had been before. It is now heroically repelling the sixth campaign, in the organisation of which the biggest imperialist Powers are taking direct part. The Red Army is improving the fighting qualities of its units, and is crippling the monstrous military machine which Chiang-Kai-shek has built for the purpose of exterminating Communism in China.

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

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

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

(d) The revolutionary workers and the bourgeoisie of all countries know now that the Communist Party alone champions the interests of the working class and it alone is capable of organising it for the struggle against the bourgeoisie. That is why the bourgeoisie is driving the Communist Party underground.

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

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

(g) Our cadres display self-sacrifice in the struggle. This applies to the legal parties in the so-called democratic countries, and

there this is of great significance, because the times have passed when it was possible to demonstrate or strike without being arrested or shot; but this applies particularly to the illegal parties.

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

In fascist Germany on various pretexts, after trial and without trial, everyone who is suspected of belonging to the ranks of the Communist Party is tortured and killed. These unprecedentedly cruel and refined tortures of the fascist executioners are intended physically to exterminate or break the spirit of the Communists. Has it succeeded? Those Party workers who have escaped from the camps display indomitable readiness to take up their work again immediately.

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

The Spheres in Which the Communists Have Not Fulfilled Their Tasks

Again and again it must be emphasised that the Communist Parties, the Red trade unions and the revolutionary trade union opposition have not yet learned to carry on mass work, to agitate and to consolidate the influence they acquire in their everyday work.

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

The number of workers and unemployed who are disillusioned with the policy of the reformists is increasing, and this is due to no small degree to the work of the Communist Parties and of the revolutionary trade unions. But the workers who leave the social democratic parties and the reformist trade unions do not come over as a mass to the Communist Parties; they either join the fascists (Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria), or the Conservatives and National Labourists (England during the last election), or else remain outside of all parties. Moreover, the Communist Parties, the revolutionary trade unions and the unemployed organisations have not managed to enlist and retain in their ranks the masses of the workers who follow their lead (Germany, before Hitler came to power; England and America, during the big unemployed movements and strikes).

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

I shall try to indicate some of the reasons why the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions are lagging behind.

The C.P. and Socialist Party of France

I shall quote a few figures on the membership of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party of France (according to the official returns of these parties):—

Year	Socialist Party	Communist Party
1920 (at the time of the split)	179,800 members	—
1921 (after the split)	50,450 "	110,000 members
1931	130,900 "	29,415 "
1932	137,700 "	32,000 "

The fluctuation of membership from 1924 to 1932: the socialist party of France gained 292,700 new members and lost 186,415 members. Hence, 106,285 members remained. In the same period the Communist Party lost more members than it gained.

The sales of "*L'Humanité*" are dropping, the sales of "*Le Populaire*" are rising. The average daily sales of "*L'Humanité*" in Paris were: in 1921—37,000, in 1928—45,000, in 1932 (fourth quarter)—27,299.

Now take the parliamentary elections. In 1928 the socialists obtained 1,698,084 votes; the Communists obtained 1,063,993 votes. In 1932 the socialists obtained 1,964,084 votes and the Communists—795,630 votes.

In 1923 the unitary trade unions had a membership of 391,137 members; in 1926 they had 464,836 members, and in 1933 (on August 1)—287,988. On the other hand, at the time of the split in the trade union movement in France, the reformist unions had about 400,000 members, now, according to what the reformist leaders say, and they are no doubt exaggerating, they have about 800,00, that is to say they have doubled their membership.

This growth of the socialist party and of the reformist trade unions is taking place amidst the general worsening of the conditions of the working class in France and the direct participation of the socialists and the trade union bureaucrats in the government's offensive against the standard of living of the workers.

(a) In the metallurgical works in Rombas wages have dropped 280 to 350 francs per month, compared with 1931, and in the works at Contange they have dropped 300 to 400 francs per month. Wages in the textile industry have dropped 15 to 20 per cent. Simultaneously with the wage cuts, bonuses have been abolished, family allowances have been reduced, machines have to be cleaned without pay after working hours, and an extensive system of fines has been introduced, etc.

(b) In normal times, the total number of workers employed in industry, according to the figures of the Unitary Confederation of Labour, is 7,500,000. On October 1, 1933, the number of totally unemployed was 1,282,000 and the number of partially unemployed was 2,820,000. The percentage of the various industries is as follows: miners—40 per cent. unemployed, metal workers—30.1 per cent., chemical workers—21.5 per cent., etc.

(c) Unemployed relief is paid to 932,880 unemployed workers, at an average of 10 francs per day.

How is it to be explained that, in spite of their treacherous policy, the socialist party and the reformist trade unions are growing, whereas the Communist Party of France and the unitary trade unions, which fight for the interests of the working class, are losing members, losing votes and losing readers of their press? It can only be explained by the fact that the Communist Party of France and the unitary trade unions are working badly, and above all, badly carry on mass work. Let us examine a few concrete examples.

When the Sick Insurance Bill was being passed through the French Chamber, the Socialists and the leaders of the reformist trade unions voted in favour of compelling the workers to pay contributions. The first time these contributions were deducted from wages, 150,000 workers spontaneously stopped work and demanded: "Give us our ten sous." The socialists and the Confederation of Labour sabotaged this strike.

It was the socialist and trade union leaders who drafted the clause in the Bill to cut down State and administrative expenditure, which saved the government 320 million francs at the expense of the salaries of civil servants. They voted in favour of reducing the budget by 400 million francs, by reducing bonuses and subsidies to civil servants and workers. They voted for the budget that included expenditure on armaments, expenditure on the colonies, expenditure on the police, on the secret service, etc.

The socialists and the trade union bureaucrats systematically betrayed strikes. The leaders of the reformist trade unions openly

take part in the work of the State institutions of the bourgeoisie. Thus, Jouhaux, and other secretaries of the Confederation of Labour, are members of the Supreme National Economic Council, an organ of the government; they are members of the organs of the League of Nations, etc. The socialists and the trade union bureaucrats actually take part in the work of fascising the State apparatus and in the preparations for imperialist war. These facts provide the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions with numerous opportunities for exposing the leaders of the socialist party and of the Confederation of Labour; but full advantage is not taken of these opportunities.

In the North of France, in the very district where the reformists betrayed the textile strike, the number of trade union dues stamps issued between July 1, 1931, and June 30, 1933, has not diminished in comparison with the period 1927-29, and the reformist trade union social insurance society, *Le Travail*, even increased its membership during these two years by 20,000.

Could such a position have arisen had the Communist Party and the Unitary Confederation of Labour exposed to the broad masses of the workers the strike-breaking tactics of the reformists during the textile strike and the other treacherous acts of the socialist party and of the reformist trade union bureaucrats?

Before the economic crisis, about 20,000 metal workers were employed in Lyons. In 1928 the Unitary Metal Workers' Union had a membership of 1,500, and had contacts with a considerable number of factories. During the past years, however, it lost these contacts, because it did not carry on any systematic work. The Mutual Aid Fund organised by the unitary trade union was captured by the Trotskyists, while the trade union unemployed relief fund and legal advice bureau were allowed to collapse.

The union did not expose the reformists' agreement with the employers; it did not lead a struggle against repeated wage cuts. As a result of this deterioration in the work, the membership of the trade union has declined from 1,500 to 300. The reformists, however, who had hardly any influence before, now have a stronger trade union than ours, with 400 members. This is not the only example of the work of the unitary trade unions.

Although the unitary trade unions achieved certain successes and enlarged their contacts with the reformist and unorganised workers by means of demonstrations, meetings, etc., they did not carry on any systematic work inside the reformist trade unions, and are not doing so now. In the campaigns connected with the preparations for the congresses of the Confederation of Labour and the Unitary Confederation of Labour, we criticised the activity of the former, but neither the revolutionary trade union opposition groups nor our sympathisers in the Confederation of Labour unions expressed such criticism. An opposition does exist in the Confederation of Labour. But neither the Communist Party of France nor the unitary trade unions have any connection with this opposition. This shows that no work is yet being carried on in the reformist trade unions either by the unitary trade unions or by the Communist Party of France.

But even in those cases where the unitary trade unions enjoy considerable influence they are unable to consolidate this influence by organising their sympathisers. Take, for example, the Unitary Miners' Union in Calais. Thanks to an improvement in its mass work, this union achieved considerable successes recently. In pit No. 3 in Conmaire, the unitary trade union put up a candidate for the position of miners' agent who received 101 votes, and he was elected. In this pit there are only four members of the unitary miners' union. In the Labouret pit, the candidate of the unitary trade union for the position of miners' agent was elected by a vote of 323, but the union has only six members in that pit. In St. Antoine, the unitary trade union has only ten members, and yet its candidate was elected by a vote of 471. The reformist candidate obtained 60 votes, although the reformist trade union has 50 members. The results of the elections leave no doubt that the unitary trade union has considerable influence in these pits, but it is unable to recruit or retain new members. The growth of the influence of the trade union is not accompanied by the growth of its organisations and by its organisational consolidation.

And yet the position is such that all that is required is that the unitary trade union should exert a little effort for the work to produce good organisational results. The reformist Clothing Workers' Union, which is still very strong in Lyons, agreed to a 30 per cent. wage reduction on the pretext that prices had dropped. The unitary trade union, in spite of its weakness (only one member of this union put up a real fight), with the aid of the

district council of the Unitary Clothing Workers' Union, called meetings and distributed leaflets, and thus roused all the workers, men and women. When the wage cut was declared, the indignation among the workers was so strong that at a number of factories the machines were stopped. The employers, fearing a strike throughout the whole clothing industry, were compelled to withdraw the wage cut. As a result of this victory, the Unitary Clothing Workers' Union became much stronger, and four trade union branches were formed in the factories. The influence of the reformists considerably declined.

The unitary miners' union in Calais began to publish a monthly paper, "*The Miners' Voice*." When they started this paper they had not a sou, but the sales of the first issue (6,300 copies were published) brought in sufficient funds for publishing the second issue (7,000 copies), and at the present time the paper is being run without a loss. In addition to the publication of this paper, mention must also be made of the good work carried on by various branches and individual members, which has produced definite results. Take for example the branch in pit No. 3 in Lievain. This branch was formed in 1931, and consisted of 20 members; in the middle of 1933 it had 240 members. This result was achieved by the calling of open meetings, the discussion of the tasks ahead, then enlisting of all the members in trade union work, the proper distribution of functions, etc. There can be no doubt that the proper organisation of mass work by the other unitary trade unions would produce the same positive results. Hence, it is up to the Communists and the functionaries of the revolutionary trade union workers.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France committed serious opportunist errors at the end of 1932 and the beginning of 1933 in carrying out the *united front*. For three months the leading body of the French Communist Party carried on negotiations with the socialist party concerning the terms of a debate that was to be organised on the question of unity generally. Accepting one after another the terms demanded by the socialist party, including "the mutual obligation to abstain from accusations and insults," an "equal number of invitation tickets," etc., they eventually came to an agreement that the "meetings must bear the character of mutual respect and discipline."

The mistake the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France made was not, of course, that it carried on negotiations with the central committee of the socialist party, although it is difficult to understand why they should negotiate with P.U.P.'ists,* renegades, and people who have been expelled from the Communist Party, who represent nobody. Their mistake was that they failed to carry on negotiations for the organisation of a united front of struggle between the Communist and socialist workers on definite questions and on a definite programme; instead, they discussed the organisation of a debate on questions concerning the united front. These negotiations were carried on in the following manner:—

The Communist Party called a meeting on the united front, to which they invited the socialist leaders. That was the proper thing to do. That meeting was very successful; but owing to the opening of negotiations, no further meetings of this kind were called. Had the Communist Party continued to call such meetings on the united front then, in view of the interest displayed by the workers in a united front of struggle, the success of the Communist Party of France would have been assured, as is proved by the anti-war campaign which the Party carried on in a skilful manner. This campaign met with a very fine response not only among the non-Party workers, but also among the members of the socialist party (122 branches of the socialist party affiliated to the Amsterdam anti-war movement).

The socialist party, which began by intimidating its members who took part in the anti-war movement, had to change its tactics, because threats of expulsion had no effect. It commenced negotiations with the Communists, merely about the terms of organising a debate on the united front. Its purpose was to put a stop to the process of disintegration in its ranks. And thanks to the mistakes committed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, the socialist party succeeded in its object.

Then began a series of joint conferences, communiqués, etc., about trifling matters. And this created the illusion among the

socialist workers that real unity was being discussed. The interest displayed by the workers in these negotiations was enormous. Outside the hall where these negotiations were going on hundreds of workers gathered. Having started these negotiations the representatives of the Communist Party should have tried to transform them into negotiations for a real united front of struggle on a definite platform and in this way expose the representatives of the socialist party, because the latter's aim, of course, was something entirely different. The members of the socialist party who were disappointed with their party were already on the road to the Communist Party. But owing to the fact that the latter had entered into these negotiations for "unity" with the socialist party, they thought to themselves: well, the socialist party is not so bad after all, why should we leave it? Perhaps the two parties will unite.

These negotiations for the organisation of a debate on the "scientific" significance of the unity of the working class were brought to an end only by the intervention of the E.C.C.I. As far as I know, the Communist Party called no further meetings for a united front after the cessation of the negotiations.

The campaign for the united front was not carried on any better by the unitary trade unions.

Take, for example, the tactics of the Unitary Confederation of Labour on the question of organising a united front of struggle of the municipal workers and office employees against the sweeping attack upon their wages that the government was preparing. As a result of the pressure of the masses, on November 30, 1932, the reformist unions in Paris called a big meeting of municipal employees to protest against the proposed wage cuts. But, scared by the call made to its members by the unitary trade unions to attend this meeting, the reformists cancelled it. Thus, the unitary union had every opportunity of taking the initiative, and calling a meeting themselves to expose the reformists and utilise the meeting for the purpose of organising a united front of struggle with the municipal employees against the attack on their standard of living.

But, instead of doing this, the unitary union came to an agreement with the reformists to set up a joint committee to convene the meeting, to have an equal number of speakers, and to refrain from all verbal criticism. And this was agreed to in spite of the fact that the unitary unions in Paris have approximately three times as much influence upon the municipal employees as the reformists. And *l'Humanité* wrote that the meeting passed off in fraternal unity and that the "pact of non-aggression was very conscientiously observed by the unitarians." It is not surprising, therefore, that *Le Populaire* wrote that the meeting was one of the best examples of the application of the tactics of the united front. (Laughter.) Apparently, "*l'Humanité*" accepted this praise at its face value.

The Unitary Municipal Employees' Union in Dijon went even further in its capitulation to the reformists in carrying out the united front. In Dijon, the initiative in calling a meeting of the municipal employees against the government's attack on their wages was taken by the reformist union. Here, too, the unitary union called upon its members to attend the meeting. When the reformist leaders, seeing the temper of the meeting, proposed that a joint bureau be set up, and began to make "Left" speeches, though they had supported the reduction of the Budget deficit at the expense of the workers, our Comrade Haniman declared that he was "glad to note the change of position of the reformist organisations and the speakers who have adopted the point of view of exposing the anti-working-class character of bourgeois parliamentarism and of 'Left' governments which they formerly supported." ("*Cahiers du Bolchevisme*," December 1, 1932, p. 1458.)

It is not surprising that the Communist Party and the unitary unions were so helpless in exposing the furious campaign and the demagoguery which the socialists and the reformists developed in connection with the prolongation of the Berlin agreement between the U.S.S.R. and Germany.

Fulfilling the direct orders of French imperialism, Rosenfeld began to pretend that he was a loyal friend of the German proletarian revolution and of the German Communists. *Le Populaire* of May commenced a campaign against the U.S.S.R. in connection with the signing of the Berlin Protocol and hypocritically exclaimed:—

"The workers' and peasants' government of Russia binds

* *Partie d'Unité Proletarienne*. Party of Proletarian Unity—a small group of opportunists that broke away from the Communist Party in 1929.—Ed.

itself with a friendly protocol to the executioners of the German workers."

In the same issue of *Le Populaire* Leon Blum engages in the same demagoguery, but addresses himself directly to the Communist Party of France. He wrote:—

"How can they" (the French Communists) "explain to the masses of the workers the fact that, while their brother Party in Germany has been driven underground by the fascists and while their leaders are threatened with death at the hands of Hitler and Goering, the Soviet government hastens to sign with fascism . . . a pact of confidence and friendship."

Replying to these articles in *Le Populaire*, *l'Humanité*, in its issue of May 22, writes:—

" . . . It would do no harm to revert to the question of the ratification of the protocol prolonging the German-Soviet treaty concluded in 1926. . . . The treaty in question was concluded in Berlin, on April 24, 1926. . . . This is a typical treaty of non-aggression, such as the Soviet Union concludes, and such as was concluded, for example, by the Soviets with France. It was prolonged in Moscow on June 24, 1931, but Germany had not yet exchanged ratifications of the prolongation of the treaty with the U.S.S.R. . . . Hitler did this himself, without preliminary negotiations with the Soviet government. Thus, to the great confusion of the falsifiers Blum and Rosenfeld, it was Hitler, and not Stalin, who ratified the treaty of 1926-31. . . ."

And that is all. In reply to this "argument," Rosenfeld wrote another article in "*Le Populaire*" of May 23, in which he said:

" . . . Let us admit for a moment that this is true . . . that poor Stalin was taken by surprise by the artful Hitler. But in that case, how can one explain the comments of "*Izvestia*" and "*Pravda*," which welcomed this ratification as an act of international significance, and congratulated themselves on it? No, "*L'Humanité*" must think of some other argument to pacify its readers who are becoming increasingly disturbed about it. . . ."

To this article of Rosenfeld, "*L'Humanité*" made no reply whatever.

"*Le Populaire*," Rosenfeld, Blum and Co., as well as the whole of the Second International, were confronted with the task of counteracting—by means of sickly sentimental phrases about the persecution to which the German Communists are being subjected "for displaying the Soviet emblem"—the stunning effect that the treachery of the German social-democratic party and of the German trade unions, before and when Hitler came to power, had upon the French workers and, in fact, upon all workers. To some extent, the socialists were able to fulfil this task because the oral and written agitation of the Communist Party of France and of the unitary trade unions failed to refute in a sufficiently intelligible and clear manner the despicable attacks against the U.S.S.R. More than that, this agitation did not even expose the French socialists and the socialists of other countries, who either themselves have shot down workers and peasants in their own countries and particularly in the colonies, or have supported the bourgeois governments in suppressing the toilers. Did not the French socialists vote money, and are they not now voting money, to the French government for the sanguinary suppression of the people in Morocco, Syria and Indo-China, who are rising against the yoke of French imperialism? Did not Blum and Co., who are so "indignant" about the Berlin protocol, support the French government when it signed the Four-Power Pact to which fascist Germany belongs? Did the French socialists ever protest against the fact that their government is in alliance with the Polish, Rumanian and Yugo-Slav fascist governments which are shooting down starving workers and peasants, and who are torturing and physically destroying political prisoners in their dungeons? Attention should have been called to these and other facts of the treacherous practice of the French socialists.

Did not the "Labour" government of MacDonald ruthlessly shoot down the workers and peasants of India and of other colonies who rose against the intolerable yoke of the predatory imperialists? Did it not destroy whole villages with fire and sword? Did not the social-democratic police presidents of Berlin and Altona shoot down workers' demonstrations, particularly the May First demonstration in Berlin in 1929, and the demonstration in Altona in July, 1932? Did not the fascists execute Comrade Luetgens and three other Communist workers who were arrested

at this Altona demonstration by the social-democratic police president because of their anti-fascist work?

The French Communists must tirelessly and persistently remind the workers of the whole truth about the treachery of the social-fascists. This would suppress all desire on the part of the French socialist to try and hound the toilers against the U.S.S.R. by means of campaigns of slander; and it would help the broad masses of the workers to understand the real motives of these campaigns.

Now to say what is fundamental about the Berlin Protocol.

Should the U.S.S.R., which is the only country as yet in which the proletarian revolution has conquered, and which is, in the words of Lenin, "as yet an oasis amidst a seething sea of imperialist piracy," reject the possibility of temporary agreements with capitalist States in the sphere of industry and commerce, and, if it is possible, in the sphere of diplomatic relations? Should the U.S.S.R. take advantage of the discord among the imperialist States in order to hinder their coming to an agreement against the first, and so far, the only land of the proletarian dictatorship, or as far as possible to make such agreement temporarily impossible? No honest worker can have the slightest doubt that it is the bounden duty of the Soviet Union to take advantage of these antagonisms to strengthen the Soviet Union.

"Such agreements," said Comrade Stalin, in his 'Interview with the First American Workers' Delegation,' "are possible and expedient in conditions of peaceful development. . . . The limits to these agreements? The limits are set by the opposite characters of the two systems between which there is rivalry and conflict. Within the limits permitted by these two systems, but only within those limits, agreement is quite possible." (Stalin, "Leninism," Vol. I.)

Perhaps, in entering into such agreements with capitalist States, the U.S.S.R. should have been guided by the form of the bourgeois dictatorship—"democratic" or fascist—existing in the respective countries, and should establish normal diplomatic and trade relations with "democratic" France, say, and break off relations with Germany, because she became a fascist State; or should refuse to conclude agreements with China, Japan, etc., because the bourgeoisie and landlords in these countries oppress and exploit the workers and peasants by feudal and fascist methods? The broad masses of the workers will have no doubts in their minds on this question if the Communists prove to them by facts that "democratic" England or France employ the same methods of colonial enslavement of the peoples of India or Indo-China as the Japanese employ in China, Korea or Formosa; that in all the capitalist countries, irrespective of their form of government, the predatory exploitation of the workers is growing, the ruination of the bulk of the peasantry is increasing, and the peasants are being driven from the land because of their failure to pay their debts. This, of course, does not mean that it is a matter of indifference to the Communists, from the point of view of mobilising the forces of the proletariat and of developing the revolutionary struggle, whether the "democratic" or the fascist form of dictatorship exists in the given capitalist country. But this is not what we mean when we speak of the establishment of relations between the proletarian State and the capitalist world. From the point of view of these relations, all capitalist countries are alike. All these countries are governed by the bourgeoisie, which, according to the prevailing circumstances, exercises its dictatorship either in the form of "democracy," or in the form of fascism. But the social-scoundrels shout: "The Soviet government is concluding pacts of non-aggression with capitalist States, including fascist States! It gives a hearty welcome to statesmen from the capitalist countries!" . . . The best reply to such, and similar, demagogic outcries by the social-fascists and renegades is to explain to the workers the principles underlying the foreign policy of the Soviet government:

(a) The Soviet Government does not intend to attack other countries, for it is, in principle, irreconcilably opposed to the enslavement of one State by another, of one nation by another.

(b) The Soviet Union rejects and fights against imperialist war, which is waged in the interests of a handful of capitalists and causes the physical extermination of millions of workers and peasants.

(c) For the first time in the history of humanity two worlds, two systems, two irreconcilable types of State, confront one another.

In the old capitalist world there is economic decay and col-

lapse, the growth of parasitism, the growth of exploitation, of unemployment, ruin, poverty, starvation and the despair of the toilers.

In the Soviet Union, in the land of victorious socialism, there is a rate of development of productive forces unprecedented in history, a gigantic growth of industrialisation and the victory of the collective farm system, the *liquidation of classes* and of the *causes* which give rise to the exploitation of man by man in any form.

The abolition of unemployment and the systematic improvement of the material and cultural standards of the toilers have been achieved already; the broad masses of the workers and collective farmers are conscious builders of a new and happy life.

Is it not clear to the masses of the workers and peasants of the whole world that they are immediately interested in the prosperity of the Soviet system and in the further victories of socialist construction in the Soviet Union? Is it not clear to them that it is necessary to defend the socialist fatherland of all the toilers? The socialist State points out to the workers of all countries, and to the oppressed of the whole world, the path of struggle and of victory, and it mobilises the revolutionary forces of the working class of all countries against capitalism.

The bourgeoisie of all countries are seeking a way out of the crisis by still further intensifying the exploitation of the workers and peasants, by still further oppressing the colonies, by still further enslaving the weak countries, by waging civil war against the toilers at home and by imperialist war for a new division of the world.

The bourgeoisie of all countries hate the Soviet Union whose successes are mobilising the forces of the proletariat and of all the toilers for the revolutionary way out of the crisis. The imperialists are striving to find a way out of their world of contradictions by means of a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. By its consistent policy of fighting for peace, and in particular by concluding pacts of non-aggression with the bourgeois States, the Soviet government is thwarting the plans of the interventionists and is proving to the masses that it is not the U.S.S.R. that is striving and preparing for war.

And if the imperialists commence their counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, it will not be so easy for them to deceive the masses by asserting that the Soviet Union is responsible for war.

At the same time it must be explained to the masses of the toilers that, while signing pacts of non-aggression, the imperialists are not ceasing their preparations for imperialist war. And every one of the imperialists, under cover of these pacts, is simply awaiting the convenient moment for its counter-revolutionary attack against the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union alone, in the whole of its policy, is really waging a struggle against war.

The French social-soundrels know all this perfectly well. They strive to conceal this truth from the French workers precisely because they serve their bourgeoisie in all its manoeuvres. When French imperialism (in 1929) instigated the North Chinese militarists to violate their treaty with the U.S.S.R. concerning the Chinese-Eastern Railway and when the U.S.S.R. put up resistance to this, the French socialists set up a howl about Red imperialism. In 1933 French imperialism is alarmed by the growing aggressiveness of the German fascists. The French socialists, pretending to sympathise with the German Communist Party, demand the rupture of relations between the U.S.S.R. and fascist Germany.

Is it not clear that the French socialists are not defending the principles of proletarian internationalism, as they allege, but the interests of French imperialism? But *L'Humanité's* reply to Blum and Co. shows that the central organ of the Communist Party of France does not fully understand the foreign policy of the Soviet government. Similarly *L'Humanité* did not satisfactorily explain, not only to the broad masses of the workers, but even to the members of the Party, the policy the Soviet government pursued in concluding an agreement with France. In connection with the welcome given to Herriot during his visit to the U.S.S.R. the socialist press in France raised quite a hullabaloo. *Le Populaire*, commenting on the opinions expressed by Soviet statesmen concerning the peace policy pursued by Herriot, wrote: "While the Communists call them, the Socialists, traitors for supporting the policy of Herriot, 'Moscow greets this policy as the dawn of a new era.' (Paul Faure, in *Le Populaire*, August 28, 1933.)

Although *L'Humanité* replied to this "demagogy" in a number

of fairly good articles (Cachin, Ducleaux, Ferrat, Péri and others), nevertheless the policy of the Soviet government was not sufficiently explained, even to the members of the Party. This alone can explain why the Montluçon District Committee of the Communist Party of France passed a resolution on the relations between the Soviet government and the French government in which it stated:

After a lengthy discussion on the present political situation, the danger of war and the relations between the Soviet and French governments, the *Montluçon District Committee* declares that the Party leadership and *L'Humanité* have not properly answered the attacks of the social-fascists,

"so that the attack caused dismay even in the Communist ranks to such a degree that on Sunday, October 1, at the Youth Congress in Allier, one of the members of the Party raised the question of the possibility of a military alliance between France and the Soviet Union. The District Committee demands . . . a clear explanation from the leaders of the French Communist Party" . . .

The Montluçon District Committee is right. How can the members of the Party agitate properly against the socialists if they do not get a proper line from their Party leaders? Was it difficult to explain that the U.S.S.R. is pursuing a policy of peace and of friendly relations with all countries, and that that is why the toilers of the Soviet Union were pleased that the relations between France and the U.S.S.R. have improved? Even before that the U.S.S.R. was in favour of restoring normal relations with France, as with other capitalist countries, and so, it was not the position of the Soviet Union that had changed, after the *coup* in Germany, but the policy of France towards the U.S.S.R. It is well known that when imperialist France was not very much afraid of Germany (when the Weimar Coalition was at the head of Germany) it got Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia to encircle the Soviet Union; it was the initiator of an attack upon the Soviet Union. Then the national-socialists, with their programme of equal status for Germany, revision of frontiers and war, came into power. Imperialist France had to change its tactics for a time. French imperialism abandoned the role of chief organiser of the anti-Soviet front, signed a pact of non-aggression with the U.S.S.R. and demonstrated its friendship with the Soviet Union. This change of tactics took place precisely because the international situation had changed. To-morrow it may change again, and French imperialist circles may try, as the Polish imperialist circles are trying, to strike a bargain with German fascism.

Was this difficult to understand, difficult to explain? It should have been explained to the masses that the socialists are spreading lying rumours about a military alliance between the U.S.S.R. and France and about the manufacture of munitions for the U.S.S.R. in order to hinder the successful work of the Anti-War Committee, the Communist Party of France and the Unitary Confederation of Labour, against war. They spread this legend about the manufacture of munitions for the U.S.S.R. as a pretext for facilitating the unceasing supply of munitions to Japan. The French Communists have every opportunity of using the whole policy of the Soviet Union as an illustration to prove to the workers concretely that the Soviet Union does not belong to any coalition of imperialist States, that in its relations with other States it is pursuing an independent, proletarian, class policy, in the interests of the toilers of the whole world.

In Poland, the changed relations between the U.S.S.R. and Poland were utilised extensively by the Polish socialist party against the Communist Party of Poland. Notwithstanding the fact that the central Party press properly replied to the campaign of the Polish socialist party and bourgeois press, the local Party organisations were rather slow in reacting to this campaign.

Now a campaign has commenced in the United States in connection with the recognition of the U.S.S.R. It must be observed that there is lack of clarity on this question even among the Communists.

The numerical growth of the socialist party of France does not mean, however, that its position in the working class has been strengthened during the last year. On the contrary, the increasingly determined attack of the bourgeoisie on the working class—particularly the reductions of wages and salaries of workers and civil servants on the one hand, and the growing radicalisation of new strata of workers, on the other—is compelling the socialist party of France to manoeuvre in various directions, and is even leading to a split in its ranks. The neo-socialists, led by Renaudel,

under the slogans: Order, authority and the nation, are deliberately striving to excel the fascists in the fascisation of the French Republic. In particular, they are supporting the "Left" governments of France in carrying out the financial plan of the bourgeoisie to wipe out the deficit in the budget at the expense of the toilers. The majority of the Party, led by Blum and Faure, are carrying on "Left" manoeuvres. They reject the proposal of the neo-socialists and are compelled to break away from them, which means a split in the socialist parliamentary group, because they fear that otherwise they will rapidly lose the confidence of the workers and that the social democratic workers will begin to go over to the Communists. Under cover of this manoeuvre, they are increasing their intimidation of the revolutionary-minded workers in their own ranks, and they have expelled the action-socialist*) group for taking part in the Amsterdam anti-war movement.

The Communist Party is helping to disintegrate the socialist party of France to a very considerable extent, but it has been unable as yet to take full advantage of the situation. Meetings organised by the Communist Party are attended by Socialist workers; the future will show whether the Party will be able to consolidate organisationally this discontent of the socialist workers.

The Communist Party of France has achieved successes, not in many things, but successes nevertheless. The criticism of the Twelfth Plenum was not lost on it. *It is true that the state of the leadership has not improved much, but still it has improved.* In France we have a definite turn for the better in regard to transferring the work of the trade unions to the factories. There are organisations that have their bases in the factories. The unitary trade unions have founded a great number of new sections in the plants (Citroen, Lyons woodworkers, etc.).

The main thing that is required now is that the work should be carried on properly. Some of the trade unions are beginning to acquire a number of mass auxiliary organs to serve the workers. For example, the chauffeurs in the Department of the Seine have a legal advice bureau for matters connected with the arbitration courts, an ordinary legal advice bureau, a solidarity fund, an insurance fund, a sports club, a children's holiday camp and a home for aged people. The Paris Trades Council has a legal advice bureau on matters concerning arbitration, accident and social insurance, an unemployed insurance fund, a library, etc. Similar organisations have been set up by the Municipal Transport Workers' Union in Paris, the railway workers in Amiens-Longneau, the metal workers in St. Etienne and the miners in pit No. 5 in Escarpelle, etc.

All this is as yet a drop in the ocean, but they are on the right road. They must march forward quickly and the results will soon be perceived.

L'Humanité is the most powerful agitator the Communist Party of France possesses. That is why the Central Committee should appoint the best Party journalists to work on the staff of *L'Humanité*. There must be better guidance of the paper by the Political Bureau. The important campaigns should be conducted by the paper under the direct guidance of the Political Bureau.

L'Humanité and the other newspapers of the Communist Party of France must reply to the insinuations of the socialists and of the trade union bureaucrats, not with abuse, but with sensible explanations.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France and the leaders of the unitary trade unions should set up special departments to guide the oppositional work in the reformist trade unions and other mass reformist workers' organisations.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, and the Communist fraction in the Unitary Confederation of Labour, must take all measures necessary to make the unitary trade unions carry on their work in a revolutionary manner. They must improve their daily, painstaking work in the factories and trade unions, and do it better than the reformists. They must make careful preparations for strikes, conduct them in a skilful manner, and enlist non-Party active workers in the leadership of strikes.

Strikes and the everyday work of the trade unions must be utilised for the purpose of extending the influence of the revolutionary trade unions and for the purpose of consolidating this influence. The Communist Party of France is not much helped

by the existence of the unitary trade unions because the unitary trade unions themselves work badly. This must stop.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France must carry on an extensive, energetic campaign throughout the country and call mass workers' meetings, to which members of the socialist party must unfailingly be invited, for the purpose of exposing the socialist party. The speakers at these meetings must be carefully instructed by the Party organisations, and special pains must be taken to explain the reasons for the split in the socialist party, to characterise each faction and to prove that both factions are in agreement in regard to supporting the bourgeois dictatorship, defending the bourgeois fatherland during war, fighting against the Communists, etc.

The socialist workers must be called upon to leave both factions of the socialist party of France and to join the anti-fascist and the anti-war organisations, the unitary trade unions and the Communist Party. A real united front must be established with the local organisations affiliated to the *action socialists*, and efforts must be made to get them to join the Communist Party of France.

We must agitate better, work better and consolidate the fruits of our work in France better.

The Communist Party and the Labour Party in Norway

I now pass to Norway, where the last elections revealed a colossal increase in the vote of the Labour Party and the stagnation of our Party.

I.—The State of the Norwegian Labour Party and the Communist Party in Figures

I shall give only a few figures showing the state and the work of the Communist Party and the Labour Party in Norway.

		Labour Party		Communist Party	
		Membership			
1924 (after the split)	...	45,000		15,000	
1933	...	85,000		5,279	
		Circulation of Newspapers			
		Total circulation			
		<i>Arbeiderbladet</i>		all newspapers	
In Oslo alone	...	50,000		8,000 to	
				10,000	
		Votes at Parliamentary Elections			
		1924			
Labour Party	...	265,310*		60,000	
		1927			
United Labour Party†	...	370,000		40,000	
		1930			
"	"	375,000		20,000	
		1933			
"	"	500,000		22,000	

After the split, the Communist Party of Norway had a strong position in the trade unions in the big towns and in the important industries.

In 1927, the Communist Party lost the majority on the Trondheim Trades Council and in the Lumber Workers' Union, but retained the leadership of the metal workers', transport workers', and chemical workers' unions, and of a number of small unions.

In 1930 the Labour Party and the trade union bureaucrats split the trade unions in Bergen; nevertheless, the majority of the trade unions in Bergen remained in the hands of the Communists.

In view of the fact that the Communist Party failed to devote sufficient attention to trade union work, and that the Communists working in the trade unions committed many opportunist and sectarian mistakes, the trade unions with Communist majorities lost their members and the reformist unions grew at their expense. Recently, as a consequence of the intensification of the crisis, the worsening of the conditions of the working class, and the more and more open treachery of the reformists, a certain growth of the influence of the revolutionary trade union opposition has been observed.

Discontent in the reformist unions with the policy of compromise pursued by the trade union bureaucrats towards the employers is increasing. At all congresses of trade unions strong

* Including 85,743 social democrats, who left the Labour Party when the latter affiliated to the C.I.

† The social-democratic party rejoined the Labour Party.

*A Left-wing group in the socialist party of France.—Ed.

oppositions were formed. For example, at the Building Workers' Congress, out of 202 delegates, the Communist opposition obtained 81 votes on various questions. In 1933, the Communists in Oslo secured the election of 10 of their delegates to the Trades Council, and now they have 40 out of 300 delegates. In March, 1933, the Communist Party won the leadership in the Paper Makers' Union in *Ostfolt*, the principal centre of the paper industry.

But the Communist Party of Norway has failed, so far, to make use of its positions in the reformist trade unions, in order to:

- (a) Recruit the workers into the Party;
- (b) To increase the circulation of the Party press;
- (c) To turn the discontent of the members of the reformist trade unions against the Labour Party of Norway.

This partly explains the results of the recent parliamentary elections. In the *Ostfolt* district where the Communist Party has the majority on the Executive of the Trades Council in the town of Saresborg, the principal industrial centre of this region, the Norwegian Labour Party obtained 21,000 votes and the Communist Party 266 votes. In Oslo, the Labour Party obtained 73,500 votes and the Communist Party 17,000 votes.

The Communist members of trade unions managed more or less to take advantage of the discontent of the members of the reformist unions to organise an opposition against the trade union bureaucrats, but they failed to learn how to expose Tranmael's Labour Party in spite of the fact that it, like all the other social-democratic parties, says one thing and does another; it "says" that it will transform the imperialist war into civil war, and yet, when the workers in the Raufos Works (in the suburbs of Oslo) tried to prevent the transport of munitions to Japan, the Tranmaelists acted as strike-breakers.

How the Norwegian Communist Party Conducts Agitation

In an article in the *Arbeiderbladet* of March 11, 1933, Tranmael wrote in regard to the united front:

"If one really wants to pursue a common line, then one does not start by putting forward conditions. Negotiations must be commenced on a free basis."

In reply to this statement the *Arbeideren*, the central organ of the Communist Party, in its issue of March 27, publishes a second letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Norwegian Labour Party in which it says:

"We must emphasise that our proposal must not be regarded as a condition. It is merely a proposal which we desire to discuss with the representatives of your party, and if in the process of the negotiations better proposals be made, we, of course, will be prepared to discuss them and agree to them."

Thus, the Communist Party of Norway accepted Tranmael's conditions for a united front instead of putting forward the definite conditions for a united front with the social-democratic party that were published in the manifesto of the Communist International of March 5. I think, and probably you will all agree with me, that these conditions were obligatory also for the Norwegian section. But instead of repelling Tranmael, the Norwegian Communist Party, in its answer to him, says: We are prepared to discuss and accept your proposals.

On April 8, 1933, the central organ of the Communist Party published a resolution passed by the Metal Workers' Union in Oslo which read as follows:—

"The unity of the workers will be possible only when all parties throw aside their petty Party interests and enter into negotiations without consideration for their factional positions and without any preliminary conditions."

The central organ and the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Norway expressed their complete agreement with this resolution and did not think it necessary to make any critical remarks concerning it.

In a number of articles Tranmael declared that in the interests of the working class of Norway the Labour Party must take power into its hands. In reply to this a member of the executive of the revolutionary trade unions' opposition wrote a letter to the central organ of the Communist Party in which he said that the Communist Party should support the demand for the formation of a social democratic government with the object of avoiding the fate that befell the working class of Germany under Hitler (*Arbeideren*,

October 27, 1933), and the editors of the central organ did not say a single sensible word by way of comment on this "argument."

In reply to a statement made by Tranmael that, owing to the attacks of the Comintern on the policy of the Second International, a united working class is impossible, Comrade Kristiansen, secretary of the Communist Party of Norway, in a speech at a students' meeting held in Oslo on March 18, 1933, said that in the present situation it was no use discussing who was responsible for the split in the working class, the Communists or the social democrats.

In connection with the Liberal bourgeois minimum programme, which the Labour Party advanced as the programme for a social democratic government, the central organ of the Communist Party, in its issue of October 24, 1933, wrote:—

"Nearly half a million adult workers and small peasants stand for the proud slogans of social democracy. 'Forward to a free, socialist Norway!' 'The whole nation must set to work!' 'And we declare that our electors will fulfil their duty if it comes to fighting for the slogans.'"

I think that only conscious or unconscious agents of the Labour Party could "agitate" against the Labour Party in this way.

That is how our Party "exposes" the treacherous policy of social democracy.

After such a "struggle" waged by the central organ of the Communist Party of Norway against the Norwegian Labour Party, is it surprising that the workers at the last elections almost entirely voted for the Labour Party?

Can the workers understand the irreconcilable differences of opinion between the Communists and the social democrats if the central organ of the Communist Party writes about the united front in this way?

With such a policy, and with such work carried on by the Communists in the trade unions, is it possible to acquire influence among the masses of the workers and consolidate it?

The Presidium of the Plenum ought to appoint a commission to investigate the situation in the leadership of the Communist Party of Norway; but this does not mean that those comrades who formerly brought the Party to a state of isolation from the masses should be reinstated.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

At the Twelfth Plenum, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was praised for having managed to conduct a number of big strikes and having drawn into these strikes workers of all trends, including the reformists. But at this very Twelfth Plenum it was pointed out that, while organising and leading these strikes, presumably by applying the tactics of the revolutionary united front, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia concealed its Party face. At that time, however, this fact was not so completely revealed as it has been during the past year. The Comintern had to point this out on several occasions. The social democratic parties of Czechoslovakia (Germans and Czechs) are represented in the government. They, in conjunction with the bourgeoisie, are gradually introducing a fascist dictatorship in the country, they are introducing measures which worsen the position of the workers, of the peasants and of office employees, under the guise of fighting for "democracy." However, instead of exposing the social democratic parties as such, the Communist Party, for the sake of the united front, as they opportunistically interpret it, limited themselves to criticising only the social democratic leaders. Apparently, for the sake of the same opportunistically interpreted "unity of the working class," no Communist work is carried on in the reformist trade unions, notwithstanding the scores of decisions passed by the Comintern and by the Czechoslovak Communist Party itself on the necessity of carrying on such work. Similarly, the Communist Party did not take advantage of all the favourable opportunities that presented themselves to organise the discontent of the masses of the workers. The Red trade unions have not increased their membership at the expense of the reformist trade unions which exist side by side with them.

In the last year the Red Miners' Union has lost 1,836 members, while the Czech reformist union has gained 602 members.

The Red Metal Workers' Union has 140 local organisations and twenty-one factory groups. But these local groups do not carry on any genuine mass work in the factories. The district committees of the Red trade unions do not guide the wor^{ld} local

groups, they do not command sufficient authority, and they lack initiative.

The reformist Metal Workers' Union had 353 local groups. These groups are much more active than ours. The district committees work independently, and are authoritative bodies.

The scale of unemployed benefits and the period of eligibility for benefits are about the same in the Red trade unions and in the reformist trade unions; but the scale of benefits for the lower scales of contributions is from 8 to 10 per cent. lower in the Red Metal Workers' Union than in the reformist union.

Crisis benefit (paid after 26 weeks of normal benefit) is 65 per cent. lower in the Red Metal Workers' Union than in the reformist union. The scale of strike benefits paid by the Red trade unions and reformist metal workers' unions are about the same. But in big strikes the Red trade unions do not always adhere to their scale, and the amount of strike pay paid out depends upon the amount of money collected. The reformist union, however, usually pays strike pay in full. After the fourth week of a strike the reformist union usually pays an extra family allowance of 10 krone per week.

In addition to the benefits already mentioned, the reformist Metal Workers' Union also has sick and disablement benefits. The union imposes a levy of 50 hellers a week for this fund, which is collected together with the trade union dues.

Agitation and propaganda is conducted by the Red trade unions exclusively by means of the press and leaflets. Even during the election of the factory committees no oral agitation and propaganda was carried on. Slogans and demands are drawn up by the Executive Committee of the union and for that reason they are not sufficiently concrete for each of the given trades. The lower organisations rest content with the material issued by the central body of the union and themselves do nothing to popularise these general slogans and demands in the factories, nor do they link them up with the everyday needs of the workers in the given factories. Generally speaking, the agitation carried on by the Red trade unions is of an abstract character. **The language of the trade union press differs in no way from the language of the Party press.**

The reformist union not only carries on agitation and propaganda in the press, but also orally. It issues only **one-tenth** of the leaflets and manifestoes issued by the Red trade unions. What is important, however, is that these leaflets and manifestoes are issued by the local branch of the union and not by the Executive Committee, and for that reason they deal with the questions that interest the workers in the given town and in the given factory. Moreover, the union concentrates its agitation on questions concerning various measures of relief for the members; the slogans and demands put forward to the workers by the reformist trade unions are linked up with the demagogic proposals which the social democratic party in parliament and the social democratic ministers in the government put forward. By that, the trade unions systematically popularise among the masses of the workers the activities of the social democratic deputies and ministers. The social democrats and the reformist unions display great activity in the factories in painstaking work and agitation. They devote special attention to oral agitation, **which the Red trade unions do not do.**

While the social democrats and the reformists skilfully carry on work with individual workers in the factories to induce them to support the social democratic measures of the government, **the Red trade unions do not, with the same persistence, carry on agitation against the social democrats and reformist trade union bureaucrats, whose activities daily provide a wealth of new material for their exposure.**

What are the results of this kind of "work"?

Loss of membership in the Red Miners' Union, in spite of the fact that this year mass fights were waged under its leadership in Brůx and in Rositz, which, however, were not utilised for the purpose of consolidating our influence. The local organisations function very badly. In Brůx, for example, out of 100 pits there are only thirteen pit groups, and these work badly. In the Rositz district, where in 1931 the Red Miners' Union had seventeen members on pit committees, in 1933 it did not secure the election of a single delegate.

In spite of the influx of new members in the Red Metal Workers' Union, there is a considerable loss in the decisive enter-

prises in the metallurgical industry. At the last factory committee elections we lost from 40 to 45 per cent. of our vote.

For example, in one of the big enterprises belonging to the Bohemia-Moravia Co. in Prague, we, in 1932, obtained 27.3 per cent. of the total vote, and in 1933 only 19.5 per cent. of the total vote. At the Kolben works in Prague, we, in 1932, obtained 27.9 per cent. of the total vote, and in 1933 only 16.8 per cent. A few weeks ago the factory committee elections took place at the Vitkovice Iron Works, one of the largest enterprises in Czechoslovakia, and one which is of enormous importance in the preparations for war. **Here we lost 12 per cent. of our votes as compared with 1932.**

After the Twelfth Plenum, a number of articles appeared in the Communist Party press in which the tactics of the united front were interpreted as a **bloc** between the Communist Party and the social-democratic party. The question of Communist leadership in the united front of struggle was absolutely ignored. These opportunistic articles caused the Communists to place their hopes on the negotiations between the Communist and the social-democratic International, and, to please the social democrats and renegades, the Communists were urged to refrain from criticising and exposing these traitors. The mistakes committed in the press of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on the question of the united front assume all the greater significance in that they became very widespread in the Party.

After the Comintern had issued the appeal to form a united proletarian front (in March this year), the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia made a proposal to the two social-democratic parties, to the Czech national socialists (the party of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Benes), and to the Czech socialists, to form a united front. In doing so, the Central Committee committed a very serious blunder in that it did not, from the very outset, in its invitation to these organisations, clearly and openly explain to the masses of the workers the reactionary role that social democracy and the national socialists were playing. As a consequence of this mistake, the face of the Party became still more blurred as the united front campaign developed, and it led finally to a very definite tendency on the part of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to distort the policy of the united front into a **bloc** with social democracy.

It must be said that: The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Red trade unions were unable to utilise the mass miners' strikes which took place under their leadership for the purpose of extending their influence, and of consolidating this influence, by drawing the miners into the Red unions, and hence proved incapable of striking a serious blow at the reformist miners' union.

They failed to utilise the enormous dissatisfaction with the reformist leaders on the part of the members of the metal workers' union which, in spite of orders of the trade union bureaucracy to the contrary, got Comrade Zapototsky to address a huge mass meeting.

The above defects are to be explained by the fact that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Red trade unions had not yet learned to carry on painstaking mass work, to carry on agitation in a popular manner, to extend their influence and organisationally consolidate it, and also by the fact that they took up an opportunist position on a number of political questions generally, and an incorrect attitude towards social democracy in particular, and especially by the mistakes they committed in carrying out the united front tactics. Is it surprising after this that the workers do not see the enormous difference that exists between the Communist and social-democratic parties, and that, as a consequence of our clumsy agitation, they believe that the only difference is that the social-democratic leaders are traitors and that it is only necessary to remove these leaders in order to transform the social-democratic party into a revolutionary party?

This is the main reason why the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia failed to mobilise the masses against the suppression of the Young Communist League, the mass organisations and the Party press.

In addition to publishing the legal and illegal press and leaflets, it is necessary to carry on oral, group and individual agitation.

It is necessary to consolidate the influence of the Red trade

unions and of the Party. It is necessary to intensify the work in the reformist trade unions, and to direct the main fire against the German and Czech trade union bureaucrats and social democrats.

The leaders must give proper directives to the whole Party, and the opportunists in the Party must be exposed.

The Communist Party of Great Britain

In England, before the last parliamentary election, mass demonstrations were organised as a result of the very widespread discontent of the masses with the 10 per cent. cut in the salaries of civil servants, the unemployed relief cuts, and the Means Test. The unemployed movement was led by the National Unemployed Workers' Movement and the correct line adopted by the *Daily Worker* on this question exercised a great influence upon the members of the Independent Labour Party, as well as upon the workers who follow its lead. This may explain the resolution passed by the I.L.P. Conference on the desirability of establishing a united front with the Communists and of supporting the N.U.W.M.

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

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

What was this manoeuvre? Everyone here knows that at the Derby Conference of the I.L.P. the leaders spoke and voted against the resolution adopted by the conference calling upon the leaders to ask the Comintern in what way the I.L.P. could help the former in its work. A long correspondence followed. Our letter to the I.L.P. was couched in clear and simple terms that every worker could understand. It very clearly and sharply described our differences with the I.L.P. With this document we wanted to help our English Party strengthen its work among the members of the I.L.P. What was the position in the I.L.P. at that time? The majority of the members were in favour of a united front with the C.P.G.B., of *rapprochement* with the Comintern. The leaders of the I.L.P. were opposed to this. Clearly, our task was to drive a wedge between the leaders who sabotaged the Derby resolution and the members of the I.L.P. who were in favour of the resolution. But owing to the fact that our English Party failed to develop the necessary activity among the members of the I.L.P., a dual process took place; a section of the members of the I.L.P. who belonged to the Right wing, and who were dissatisfied with the Derby resolution, returned to the Labour Party, from which the I.L.P. had only recently disaffiliated. The other section, which belonged to the "Left" wing, influenced by our exposure of the sabotage of the leaders on the one hand, and not being pulled together by the work of the Communists, which would have drawn them into the Communist Party, on the other hand, left the I.L.P. and abandoned politics altogether. As a result, our influence, which might have caused members of the I.L.P. to join our Party, was weakened.

Actually sabotaging the decision of the Derby conference, the leaders of the I.L.P. started a long, diplomatic correspondence. In order to pretend that they were carrying out the Derby decision they sent an inquiry to the Comintern asking in what way the I.L.P. could assist it; but they did not make a single concrete proposal. At the same time, they evidently proposed the following division of labour to the district leaders: the National Council of the I.L.P., i.e., the central leadership, is to continue formal negotiations in accordance with the Derby resolution, while the leadership of the local organisations, notwithstanding the desires

of their members, is openly to oppose the united front. As a result of this manoeuvre, the following situation was created in its letter to us: the National Council of the I.L.P. does not openly reject our proposal, but restricts itself to polemical remarks, and adopts a resolution on strengthening the united front in England. At the same time it succeeds in getting several local organisations of the I.L.P. to pass resolutions against the united front decision. Our Party did not understand this manoeuvre. The *Daily Worker* wrote that the resolution of the National Council of the I.L.P. was a step forward. Very belatedly our newspaper reported cases of openly expressed hostility of local I.L.P. leaders towards the united front. Placing its hopes on the evolution of the National Council of the I.L.P. to our side, our Party allowed the decisive moment for winning the members of the I.L.P. to slip by.

It must be admitted that we have not yet obtained as much as we could and should have obtained from this correspondence. We have not increased the membership of our Party at the expense of the Independent Labour Party; we have not won over whole organisations, which was quite possible. Meanwhile, Trotsky comes on to the scene in order to develop his counter-revolutionary attack on the Soviet Union in the pages of the *New Leader*, and, while criticising the I.L.P. from the Right, creates the necessary smoke-screen for the manoeuvres of the National Council to deceive the working-class members of the I.L.P. The Communist Party, and our central organ, failed also to expose Trotsky's counter-revolutionary outburst.

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

The Work of the Scottish Revolutionary and Reformist Miners' Union

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

At the present time the Revolutionary United Mineworkers of Scotland has 3,000 members (the majority of whom are in Fife; in 1931 in Fife alone it had nearly 3,000). The reformist union has 20,000 members. The revolutionary union has 49 branches, of which only two are organised on a pit basis; the rest organise the miners according to place of residence, in the mining villages. The reformist union has 54 branches in Fifeshire alone and 92 in Lanarkshire.

How is work carried on in these two unions?

In 1928, at the time of the split, the Communists had strong fractions in all the branches of the revolutionary union and in its leading bodies, the executive committee and delegate council (in the leading bodies alone there were 69 Communists). At the present time only 64 Party members are organised in the Red miners' union. In the reformist miners' union the Communists have no positions whatever. Out of 370 pits (of which 60 are large pits) the revolutionary union carries on work only in 16, although it secures improvements for the workers in separate struggles. Insufficient advantage is taken of these successes to extend and organisationally consolidate influence acquired by organising pit committees, etc. This year the union carried on considerable work in the election of pit inspectors (hitherto safety conditions in the mines had been ignored). In spite of all the efforts of the reformists to pour ridicule on the campaign developed by our union, the latter managed to secure the election of ten inspectors in five pits, all members of the revolutionary miners' union, although the reformists also put up their candidates. But these inspectors did not use the material they collected, on the violation of the safety regulations, in order to mobilise the masses in the pits to fight against these irregularities.

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

Generally speaking, the guidance of the work of the local organisations and officials of the Red trade union is very weak, notwithstanding the relatively large number of paid officials. The

committees of the local unions do not hear reports on the work of these officials, do not concretely criticise the defects in this work, and in the majority of cases limit themselves to passing resolutions on the inactivity of the local branches.

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

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

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

The Red union organised women's guilds for the wives of its members. These women's guilds organise outings, social evenings, concerts, etc., for the purpose of collecting funds. But neither the leaders of the union nor the Party organisations devote constant attention to these guilds, do not widen their field of activity, and do not draw them into political work.

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

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

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

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

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

The Communist Party of Germany

Before Hitler came to power the Communist Party of Germany had achieved considerable success in mobilising and organising the masses for the revolutionary struggle against fascism. I will enumerate a few of these:—

(a) In December, 1932, the Party obtained 6,000,000 votes in the parliamentary elections, and in the big industrial centres it received the highest percentage of votes.

(b) It organised a number of big strikes against the Papen

wage cuts decree. It was only because of this that the decree was held in abeyance, and, in spite of the opposition of the reformists, the workers in a very short period of time achieved successes in their struggles.

(c) In spite of the unceasing sabotage of the social-democratic party and the reformists, the Communist Party of Germany managed in a number of cases to organise a united front from below with local social-democratic workers to resist the fascist gangs that attacked trade union and Party premises. Whenever the workers put up resistance against the fascists, the Communists were in the front ranks and received the heaviest blows of the class enemy; they displayed fine examples of self-sacrifice and indomitableness in the struggle.

(d) The Communist Party of Germany increased its membership by tens of thousands and waged a determined struggle against the Neumann-Remmele group, which hampered mass work.

(e) The mass organisations that were under the leadership of the Party, principally the Red trade union opposition, intensified their work and strengthened their contacts with the broad strata of the workers.

(f) At the time Hitler came into power the Communist Party of Germany managed to organise demonstrations and political strikes in a number of towns, and enlisted social-democratic workers in the struggle against fascism. The social-democratic party alone is responsible for the victory of fascism. It split the working class; it opposed the united proletarian front of revolutionary struggle by a united reactionary front with the bourgeoisie; it fettered the working class by means of the centralised mass organisations at the head of which it stood.

(g) In its resolution of April 1, 1933, "On the Present Situation in Germany," the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. stated that the political line and the organisational policy of the Communist Party of Germany, before, and at the time the fascists came to power, were quite correct. I have no doubt that the Plenum will fully approve of the resolution passed by the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. on the German question.

This resolution on Germany was one of the most important resolutions passed since the Twelfth Plenum. I think that this resolution is very closely connected with another very important document, viz., the document on the united front. It is well known that the whole of social democracy hurled itself upon the German Communist Party in order to conceal its own treachery, the treachery of the German social democrats. It tried to make out that the responsibility for the coming into power of the fascists rested not only on the German social democrats, but also on the Communist International and on the Communist Party of Germany. The social democrats of all countries lied to the workers, saying: the Communists also failed to fight against fascism; they did not call for insurrection, for a strike or sabotage.

(h) After the Hitler coup the Communist Party of Germany very quickly reorganised itself for underground work. In spite of the exceptionally cynical and despicable provocation on the part of the Hitler government from the very first days of its unbridled dictatorship, the majority of the workers who followed the Communist Party remained loyal to the Party. In spite of the raging White terror, 4,600,000 electors in the Reichstag elections, on March 5, voted for the Communist Party. And to vote for the Communist Party on that day, when the whole apparatus of the state and all the parties were directed against us, and when such acts of provocation as the burning of the Reichstag were perpetrated against us, was not a simple thing. It was an act of heroism on the part of the masses of the workers of Germany.

It goes without saying that with all the great successes achieved by the Communist Party of Germany before the fascists came to power and now, when it is working underground, it committed, and is committing, certain mistakes.

It must be admitted that before Hitler came to power the Communist Party of Germany, largely through the fault of Neumann, who was then in the leadership, devoted very little attention, in its agitation among the broad masses of the people, to the struggle against the bondage of Versailles; and yet, the discontent of the masses with the Versailles Treaty was very great. It was not the Communist Party of Germany but the nationalists and the national socialists who, for their demagogic purposes, took advantage of the discontent over the whole of Germany, and as far back as 1928 put forward the demand for a referendum

against the Young Plan. Instead of taking the initiative in raising the question of fighting against the Versailles Treaty before the masses, if only in the form of a referendum against the Young Plan, and explaining that only a Soviet Germany, in alliance with the proletariat of other countries, could throw off the yoke of Versailles, and instead of simultaneously waging a determined struggle against the chauvinistic provocation of the masses by the national socialists, the Communist Party of Germany sneered at the demand put forward by the nationalists and national socialists. The number of votes cast in favour of a referendum, and during the referendum itself, showed that the demand of the nationalists and of the national socialists met with a wide response among the masses of the petty bourgeoisie, and perhaps also among a section of the workers.

Thus, the Communist Party of Germany not only failed to take the initiative in this movement, but that section of the population which voted for the proposal of the nationalists and national socialists, interpreted the attitude of the Communist Party towards the referendum as expressing lack of desire on the part of the Communists to fight against the Versailles Treaty.

The Communist Party of Germany did not with sufficient persistence and intensity wage a campaign against the Weimar coalition, and principally against social democracy, against all the measures introduced for the purpose of worsening the position of the workers and peasants (wage reductions, reductions of unemployed relief, the ruination of the peasantry by taxation, debts, etc.). The national socialists took advantage of the widespread discontent with these measures in order to win over to their own side the broad masses of the people, including a section of unemployed workers.

The agitation the Communist Party waged against the fascists was not popular in style, was not concrete and did not penetrate deeply among the masses. In its agitation the Communist Party of Germany did not utilise the experience of what had already taken place in those countries where fascism was already in power (Poland, and particularly Italy), i.e., that fascism did not carry out a single one of the lavish demagogic promises it had made before it came into power.

Take, for example, some of the promises made by the Italian fascists, which they published as far back as 1919, such as: land for the peasants; the confiscation of a considerable part of the capital of the country, workers' control of industry, the confiscation of war profits, abolition of the Senate, convocation of a Constituent Assembly which was to express the will of the people for a republic or monarchy, independence and complete liberty of urban and rural self-government, universal suffrage, including women suffrage. In his speeches Mussolini went even further and, in addition to all this, promised to "expropriate all the large landed estates, steamships, mines and all forms of transport. When we (i.e., the fascists—O. P.) will have settled with Asiatic Bolshevism, we will abolish the capitalists and landlords."

Although the German fascists did not go as far as that, they, nevertheless, in their furious demagogy, borrowed not a little from the lying promises of Mussolini and his cut-throats. In order more convincingly to prove to the masses that Hitler and his gangs were striving, not to satisfy the needs of the workers, the peasants, office employees, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, etc., but to establish the terrorist dictatorship of monopolist capital, furiously to intensify the exploitation of the workers, ruthlessly to ruin the main masses of the peasantry, to rob the urban petty bourgeoisie, etc., the German Communists, in their agitation against the national socialists, should have compared the promises made by Mussolini before he came into power with the programme he actually did carry out and is now pursuing.

According to the official returns taken from Italian fascist sources (hence it can be taken that the figures are minimised), from the summer of 1927 to the end of 1931, the wages of the Italian workers in various industries dropped 38-50 per cent., while real wages dropped 24-45 per cent. (the differences are due to a slight reduction in prices).

By all sorts of special laws the landlords were relieved of the duty of insuring their labourers against accidents, while the real wages of agricultural labourers declined 34.2 per cent. in the period from 1919 to 1932.

Even before the German fascists, the Italian fascists said: "Not relief, but work for the unemployed." And yet, according to fascist figures, in March, 1932, there were in Italy 1,053,076 un-

employed, while unemployed relief was paid to 286,624 unemployed, and only for a period of 22 days. In December, 1932, the number of unemployed rose, but the number receiving relief dropped, and the amount of relief was reduced by 45 per cent. And yet, every worker must contribute to the unemployed fund (the fund is made up of 50 per cent. contributed by the workers and 50 per cent. by the employers).

Even before the German fascists, the Italian fascists fooled the unemployed by promising the needy winter relief. But in the winter of 1931-2 this winter relief in Italy amounted to the payment of 15 centesimi per day to 199,668 needy persons (a newspaper costs 20 centesimi).

This is apart from the fact that immediately the fascists came to power in Italy strikes were prohibited, the trade unions were seized, the workers' press was destroyed, etc.

All these and similar facts were, of course, known to the German Communists, but they did not make proper use of them in their agitation against the fascists. Even if, at the time, a section of the workers would not have believed the Communists had they said that the German fascists would follow in the footsteps of the Italian fascists, this agitation would have been of great significance, because the workers who had been deceived by the fascists would have realised afterwards that the Communists had spoken the truth, and this, of course, would have accelerated the penetration of Communist influence among these backward strata of the working class.

Very belatedly the C.P. of Germany, in August, 1930, issued its programme for the social and national liberation of the German people. The publication of this programme and the propaganda developed in connection with it, was very useful to the Communist Party of Germany, although *Rote Fahne*, of which Neumann was at the head at the time, distorted the slogan of a "people's revolution" and adapted it to the interests of the petty bourgeoisie (the proletarian class content of the slogan—the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat—was deleted from it). But very soon the Party organisations almost forgot about this programme.

The few unemployed committees that existed did not embrace the very strata of the unemployed that were deprived of even charitable relief, and yet it was among this section of the unemployed that the fascists achieved most success.

In spite of numerous decisions, resolutions, declarations, etc., the organisations of the Communist Party of Germany did not really devote proper attention to improve the work in the factories. They did not establish new contacts at the time when, with the growth of fascism, the members of the Party and of the revolutionary trade union opposition began to be discharged in ever-increasing numbers. The result of this was soon felt. At the time of the fascist coup the influence of the Communist Party in the factories was insignificant, and a section of the workers who feared dismissal began to join the fascist factory organisations, and were not restrained from doing this by the Communists and the members of the revolutionary trade union opposition.

The work of the Communists in the reformist unions and in other mass organisations or among the unemployed had not improved very much by the time Hitler came into power.

For these reasons the social fascists and trade union bureaucrats succeeded in hindering the workers from responding to the call of the Communist Party for a mass strike at the most acute moment for the working class.

In Germany, also, the growing influence of the Communist Party was not consolidated.

A number of mass organisations were formed: "International Labour Defence, Workers' International Relief, Freethinkers' Union, Ex-Service Men's League, Friends of the Soviet Union, Red sports organisations, unemployed organisations and trade union opposition. But the unfortunate thing is that the membership of all these organisations was practically the same. The broad masses of electors who voted for us were not drawn into these organisations.

The organisations that supported the Communist Party did not embrace the broad masses of the workers, and in the reformist and Catholic organisations we hardly fought at all against the reformists, we did not oppose our programme, our tactics, our demands to their treacherous policy. We failed to organise the members of these organisations and lead them.

As a result, we failed to consolidate the influence we had

acquired in the parliamentary elections before Hitler came to power.

After being driven underground, the Party exerted colossal efforts to publish and distribute literature on all the important questions of the revolutionary struggle. In spite of the incredible terror, it is easier to work among the German proletariat now, because the social-democratic workers and the non-party workers who supported the social-democrats, and also the members of the reformist unions, are in large numbers becoming disillusioned with the policy of social democracy.

Even the German fascists are compelled to admit that they have failed to smash up and exterminate the Communist Party of Germany. Revolutionary workers, who formerly belonged to other political trends, distribute Communist literature and help the Communists in their work in every way. The authority of the Party has grown enormously in the eyes of the broad masses. The Communist Party of Germany is really not only the only Party of the working class in Germany, but also the only party that is leading the struggle for the defence of the interests of the working class against the fascist dictatorship. Thanks to the changed situation in Germany and to the heroic work of the Communist Party, the Communists no longer meet with the resistance in the working class that was formerly put up by the trade union bureaucrats and the social-democratic party. More than that, the young members of the social-democratic party are inclining towards the Communist Party and are prepared to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Communists against the fascist dictatorship. In this connection it is necessary to emphasise the extreme urgency of a determined struggle against those Communists who desire to close the doors of the Communist Party to such workers. Cases have occurred when social-democrats desired to join our Party, but the Communists formed them into sympathisers' groups and appointed commissars over them, instead of drawing them into the Party organisations and giving them work to do.

It must be admitted, however, that the mass work of the Communist Party has not yet been organised on a wide scale, there is a lack of oral, individual agitation, which is more than ever necessary at the present time. Communist speeches at fascist trade union meetings are still rare. The fascists continue to make their demagogic declarations that they are going to abolish unemployment, that they are going to provide the unemployed with work, that they are going to improve the conditions of the workers, etc., not in the least disturbed by the fact that apart from the usual seasonal revival unemployment has not declined, that unemployment relief has been reduced to the utmost extreme, and in many cases completely abolished, that wages, nominal, and still more, real wages, have declined.

It is very important to prove that in such a way that every working-class family, that every employed and unemployed worker may see that it is a lie. There is no need for me to emphasise again here how exceptionally important it is at the present time to expose the policy of fascism by means of concrete illustrations, in order to liberate the petty bourgeoisie of town and country, and those unemployed who still believe the fascist phrases, from fascist influence. But, unfortunately, the German Communists are not doing this, or are doing it badly. The October issue of the illegal *Rote Fahne* reports that from January to July this year the average wage per worker declined by 21.4 per cent., and the total amount of wages paid in this period declined by 6.3 per cent. And this is reported in just a few lines. But these facts provide us with enormous opportunities for opening the eyes of the broad masses of the toilers. The whole issue should have been devoted to this question; a number of leaflets should have been issued on this subject, explaining in a popular manner the real position of the working class in fascist Germany.

There are indications that the workers who are disappointed with the fascist unions are beginning to join illegal unions. Everything must be done to enlarge the number of illegal unions and to recruit for them the ex-members of reformist and Catholic unions. The Communist Party of Germany must avoid the mistake committed by the Communist Party of Italy, which for five years was unable to organise its work in the mass fascist workers' organisations. It must organise its mass work in the fascist trade unions, in the factory sports organisations, youth organisations, and labour service camps. In carrying on energetic work in these organisations, the Party must rally all the discontented elements for the fight against fascism. Only by this, by increasing the work in the factories, and also by improving the work in the revo-

lutionary trade unions and other revolutionary organisations, will the Communist Party be able to extend and consolidate its influence in the working class.

Common Weaknesses of the Majority of the Sections of the Communist International

What I have just said applies, not only to the Communist Party of Germany, but to the majority of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. It can be stated quite definitely that:—

(a) In many cases we carry on our agitation unskillfully, not popularly, not correctly (Norway, Czechoslovakia, etc.); our agitation does not penetrate deeply into the masses.

(b) The Communist Parties have not yet learned to consolidate the influence they have already acquired.

I shall quote a few examples:—

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

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

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

Thus, during the past year, broad masses of the workers in England were drawn into the struggle with the help of the Communist Party and the organisations that follow its lead. Nevertheless, we see no material change in the attitude of the workers towards the Communist Party. The recent municipal elections show that although the masses of the workers are deserting the national labourists and the conservatives, they are again voting for the labourists, and have not yet found the road to the Communist Party. It is particularly true of England that the basis of the Party can be broadened and its positions consolidated best of all by working in all the reformist trade unions, fighting in them for influence, fighting for the removal of the inveterate reformist trade union bureaucrats, and for their substitution by revolutionary workers. But the Party organisations do not yet sufficiently realise this and act accordingly.

The Significance of Mass Work and of Consolidating Acquired Influence

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

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

In order to show to what extent the mass work of the Communist Parties and the consolidation of their influence plays a decisive role in the organisation and the victory of the revolution it is sufficient to compare Germany in 1923 with Russia in 1917

During the revolutionary situation in Germany in 1923 the social-democratic party was in a state of complete disintegration, the trade unions lost two-thirds of their membership, the trade union apparatus fell to pieces, because there was no money with which to pay the officials. But at that time the Communist Party had no mass workers' organisations, even trade unions. The Communist Party was not sufficiently connected with the factory committees—which played such an important role in Berlin in 1923 (the strike against the Cunow government)—because there were no Communist nuclei in the factories. All the various trends existing in the leadership of the Communist Party were opposed to organising Soviets. Had not the Communists almost entirely abandoned the reformist unions, they, in view of the weakness of the trade union apparatus, could have won the majority of the important unions. The trade unions and factory committees would then have become the mass organisations by means of which the Party could have utilised the revolutionary situation in order to take power. It is now generally well known that the leadership of the Communist Party at that time estimated the political situation in an opportunistic manner and allowed the opportune moment for seizing power to slip by. One of the important factors in this was that the Party lacked transmission belts connecting it with the proletariat, viz., mass working-class organisations.

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

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

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

The Communist Parties' Preparation for Underground Work, Utilisation of Legal Possibilities and Redistribution of Cadres

(1) The Utilisation of All the Possibilities in the Conditions in Which the Party is Working

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

of war. It is difficult to forecast the form the illegal position of this or that Communist Party will assume.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(2) Cadres

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

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

The more acute the class struggle becomes, the more per-

sistently do the fascists hunt for our cadres, and the greater is the danger that our cadres will be exterminated.

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

This local initiative is very important. The Communist must not wait until the Party is driven underground to remember that he is a Communist and that he must pursue the Party line on his own responsibility. Decentralisation must be introduced at once in preparation for the transition to an illegal position. The work is possible and necessary in view of the growing discontent of the masses and in view of the fact that the masses follow the lead of the Communists if they are given concrete guidance as to how to wage the struggle.

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

Comrade Ercoli told us that in one place only six persons were arrested, but each of these mentioned several other names. In this way the secret police managed to arrest 150 persons. Afterwards a large number of these were released, and no one knew which of these was the provocateur and which the denounced. As a result, the whole organisation was demoralised.

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

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

(d) How should the Communists behave under examination? It is necessary to bear in mind that once an arrested man has communicated anything at all he will not be left in peace until he becomes a traitor. I must say that when our Party was underground we issued a special pamphlet on how to behave under

examination. If anyone in Germany is arrested and beaten up, and he begins to talk, then the fascist sadists do not let him alone, but keep on beating him until he betrays his comrades and goes over to the fascists. The less he talks the less the fascist executioners will expect him to say, and the more quickly will they stop examining him.

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

(e) In those countries where the Communist Party is illegal, individual and group oral agitation is of enormous importance (the exposure of the fascists and the social-democratic party in connection with the urgent demands of the masses, which should be linked up with the struggle for power). This agitation should be carried on among the broad masses and be backed by facts. In this way it will be possible to enlarge the sphere of influence of the Communists. In this connection the factory newspapers play an important role. There was a moment when the fascists in Germany declared that the Communist Party had been utterly crushed, that it no longer existed. And our comrades set themselves the task of getting Communist literature into the streets at no matter what sacrifice. The Communist Party took to distributing literature, and in this way showed that it was alive. This had enormous significance at that time. The foreign correspondents wrote about it to their newspapers, and even the fascist press could not ignore it. But this method of distributing literature must cease now. Literature must be energetically distributed, but this distribution must be organised in such a way as to involve as few arrests as possible, and, above all, it must be organised so that the literature gets into the hands of those for whom it is intended, i.e., the workers. It is precisely among the workers that we must distribute our literature in the first place. It goes without saying that the factory newspapers play a great role in this. Special attention must be devoted to it. It is extremely important to utilise the popularity of the factory newspapers among the workers, to distribute them widely, to deal in them with all the general political questions, and questions affecting the given factory.

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

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

(g) The skilful distribution of forces and functions is very important, not only for legal, but also for illegal Parties; I have already had occasion to state that there are no members of the Party who could not be useful to the Party. The question of utilising their services is exclusively a matter of leadership, both central and local. If a Communist is not suitable as a propagandist he can perform certain technical functions; if he is not

suitable as an agitator he can distribute literature, stick up posters, etc. The line we take is as follows: if an old Party member is in the leadership, even if he is good for nothing, he has got to be retained. Although he cannot carry on any mass work, is incapable of doing trade union work, nevertheless he is left in the leadership. Even if he wrecks campaign after campaign, he is still left on that work. Why? He is an old Party member. But here and there new cadres are coming forward who have contacts with the workers and know how to approach the workers. Very often these are not utilised for permanent leading work in the Party organisations or in mass workers' and peasants' organisations only because they are not old Party members. We must stop that. Of course we must treasure our old Party members: for years they have proved their loyalty to the Party, their readiness to make sacrifices for the Party. Nevertheless, our main criterion in approaching them should be: does this or that old Party member properly carry out the work he is entrusted with? If he does not do that work properly, then, although he may be an old Party member, he must be replaced by new cadres who are able to work, who have contacts with the masses of the workers and are able to lead them.

If we have certain active workers who are able to work fairly well, so many duties are imposed upon them that they are unable to fulfil any of them.

This is harmful. This retards the creation of cadres. We must declare war on such a method of distributing the work. Every single Party member must be utilised and be given the opportunity to show what work he can do.

(3) Conclusions

The reformists and the social democrats could not retain their positions in the working class if they had not behind them the bourgeoisie and its state. But from this it only follows that the

agitation and organisational work of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions among the masses must be incomparably better than that carried on by the reformists.

Unfortunately, this is far from being the case.

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

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

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

Comrade Koplenig (Austria)

The development of events in Germany has brought about an extreme sharpening of all contradictions in Austria. The immediate effect in Austria of Hitler's seizure of power was a transition to open fascist dictatorship. In passing judgment on the clerical fascist Dollfuss government in Austria, the following important features must be brought out:—

(1) The position of Austria in the Versailles system and the resultant serious difficulties of finance capital in its effort to rally and unite the forces of the bourgeoisie, and

(2) The mass influence of the Austrian social democrats, who, to be sure, are not carrying on any struggle against fascism, but without whose collaboration it is impossible for fascism to consolidate its dictatorship and avoid further undermining of the capitalist system.

The crisis in the Versailles system, which has been intensified through Hitler's coming to power, has also increased the importance of Austria as a country. Austria to-day constitutes an important gateway into Central Europe. Here the imperialist contradictions between Germany and France, and also Italy, come into immediate conflict. Owing to the offensive of national socialism in Austria, the question of annexation was placed on the order of the day with a view to its fascisation, inevitably giving rise to resistance on the part of France as well as of Italy.

Austrian finance capital is to-day dependent to a great extent upon France and England. Consequently, on the one hand it welcomes the annexation aspirations of German imperialism, while on the other hand, it is attempting to draw from the present situation the greatest possible advantages for its own capitalist interests. Thus, in the economic field the Dollfuss government attempted to take advantage of the isolation of Germany in order to obtain new loans and extend the market for Austrian industrial products. In the field of foreign politics it is turning more and more to Italy, supporting its plans in Central Europe. To-day, under the slogan of "defence of Austria's independence" the Dollfuss government is coming out against annexation. At the same time, however, it is combining this slogan with the slogan "Austria as the apostle of Germany." Its efforts are directed towards reaching an agreement with Hitler Germany by way of Italy. The fascist Dollfuss dictatorship in Austria constitutes an attempt to unite the forces of the bourgeoisie, which have been

torn internally, to maintain its key position between the imperialist spheres of influence in Central Europe, and at the same time overcome the crisis within the country at the cost of the masses through forcible suppression of the working class. The measures of the Dollfuss government show that it is very capable of dealing the main blow to the working class in the guise of defence against Hitler fascism. The Communist Party and the revolutionary organisations have been banned and forced into illegality, and any expression of class action of the workers is suppressed by force. The establishment of concentration camps, compulsory enlistment of workers into the fascist organisations of the Fatherland, the introduction of forced labour, and finally, the recently announced reintroduction of the death penalty and martial law—all this shows that in the struggle against the working masses Dollfuss is following closely in the footsteps of Hitler. Also in the struggle against the Soviet Union, the clerical Dollfuss government is playing an active part in complete accord with Hitler's plans of imperialist conquest in the Ukraine.

If the methods of the Dollfuss dictatorship are not yet being directed with full force against the working class, it is primarily due to the fact that the fascist dictatorship in Austria has not yet at its disposal a broad mass basis in the form of fascist mass organisations, and that the forces of the bourgeoisie are still split. Nevertheless, pressure from below is growing continually stronger. On the one hand, there is pressure from the Nazis, whose influence among the petty bourgeois masses and the peasantry has not been broken down, even with the banning of the Nazi party. On the other hand, the resistance of the working masses is growing, in spite of the obstructive activities of the social democrats, who tolerate the Dollfuss dictatorship as the "lesser evil." The entire policy of the Dollfuss government is directed on the one hand to forcing the social democrats out of their positions, and on the other hand to bringing about an understanding with the Nazis with a view to uniting all fascist forces for struggle against the working class and consolidating and building up its dictatorship.

Of decisive importance for judging the situation in Austria is the rapidly growing process of radicalisation among the working masses and the beginning of a new revolutionary advance. The economic and political strikes of the past months are proof of the increasing militancy of the masses. Of particular significance was

the strike of the miners in the Alpine Montan mines, which ended with a complete victory for the miners. The increase in the political strike movement is very characteristic of the situation to-day. In answer to the arrest of factory councillors, and particularly to the prohibition of the sale of the Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung," a large number of enterprises in Vienna and in the provinces went on strike. The number of workers participating in these strikes was approximately 25,000. The entire situation, as well as the sentiment among the masses, speaks favourably for the slogan of political mass strike and general strike.

A process of disintegration is beginning within the social-democratic party. This process has two sides to it. The petty bourgeois supporters of the social democrats are beginning to abandon the party and join the "Fatherland Front" of Dollfuss. The main tendency, however, is the left radicalisation of the social-democratic workers, which is finding its expression in increased activity, in the breakdown of democratic illusions and in a growing sympathy for the Communist Party. There are many cases in which social-democratic workers take our illegal literature and distribute it in the factories themselves. There are cases in which our comrades are invited by social-democratic workers to their party sections to speak at meetings. There are cases such as that in Linz, where a joint demonstration of the "left" social democrats and the Communists, in which 4,000 workers participated and which resulted in clashes with the police, was carried out entirely with our slogans. The opposition workers' groups in the lower organisations of the S.P. of Austria constitute a special form of the left radicalisation of the social-democratic workers. It must be admitted, however, that the pace and dimensions of the disintegration of the social-democratic party and its abandonment by the masses, have not by any means kept up with the objective conditions, in face of the daily betrayal of the workers by the social democrats and the collaboration of the social democrats in the establishment and building up of the fascist dictatorship. To-day also the Austrian social democrats know how to link up very skilfully their social-fascist policy with "left" manoeuvres. A classic example of this was furnished by the last party congress of the Austrian social democrats at which Otto Bauer came out for a general strike if the following events should take place:—

- (1) If the Dollfuss government should drive out the social-democratic mayor, Seitz, and appoint a government commissar.
- (2) If the social democratic party should be prohibited and if there should be a formal fascisation of the trade unions, and
- (3) If the government should proclaim a fascist constitution.

In order to realise the true purpose of these manoeuvres, it must be remembered that this is not the first time that Otto Bauer has advocated such revolutionary measures. But when during the March days the Dollfuss government dissolved parliament with the help of the police and set up its own dictatorship, the social democrats did not appeal to the masses, but, like the social democrats of Germany, appealed to the Constitutional Tribunal. Otto Bauer to-day is spreading the tale that in Austria the bourgeoisie has not yet abandoned the field of democracy and "legality," and he will try to continue his deceitful manoeuvres on this basis. The general strike measures of the Austrian social democrats and Otto Bauer are nothing but measures for the toleration and support of the Dollfuss dictatorship and are neither more nor less than a method for holding back the wave of spontaneous mass resistance on the part of the workers and for checking the process of radicalisation.

The Austrian social democrats are following the same path as did the social democrats in Germany. Wherever the working class rises for struggle they obstruct this struggle. All this is done on the basis of the much heralded preservation of "legality" and the characterisation of Dollfuss fascism as the "lesser evil" as compared with Hitler fascism.

But the Austrian workers are coming more and more to see through the manoeuvres of Otto Bauer. This forces the social democrats to seek out new forms for intercepting the radicalisation which is taking place in the party membership. At the last party congress a "left" group came forward with its own platform which corresponds approximately with the views of the various left groups in other social-democratic parties. It is linking up its opposition to the party committee with lip service to the proletarian dictatorship and a united front with the Communist International. At the party congress itself these "lefts" capitulated

completely before the party committee. The slogan of truce with the party committee is the present slogan of the "lefts."

Our Party has recently shown a number of weaknesses in its struggle against these "lefts." It has not carried on the struggle against them with sufficient determination and did not recognise their true role early enough, and allowed certain illusions to remain in the Party with regard to these "lefts." These weaknesses have, however, been already overcome through the last resolution of the Politburo of the Party. We consider it necessary precisely at this moment to concentrate the fire of our struggle against the social democrats on these "lefts" and to expose their role as agents of Otto Bauer and as a newly-erected barrier against Communism. Under the conditions existing in Austria to-day there is great danger that in the process of the further development of the crisis within the camp of the social democrats a left social-democratic movement will arise as a barrier against Communism if the Party does not recognise this danger in due time and base its tactics on bringing directly into the Party those workers who are turning away from the social democrats. This danger is particularly acute among the youth. Consequently, the attitude and the tactics of the Party in connection with the numerous workers' opposition groups in the lower organisations of the social democrats and the S.A.J. (Socialist Youth) are an extremely important problem in our work. These groups are to-day only partially under our influence. Some of them have arisen spontaneously, and others are left opposition groups which came forward at the Party congress. Above all the Party must not in any stage of the development of these groups neglect to put before these workers the question of breaking with the social democrats and coming over into the C.P.A., and must organise the transfer of whole groups to the C.P. It must combat with great determination any vacillation or half-way measures on the part of these groups or their leaders. It is very important for the Party in its work among the social-democratic workers not to limit itself to these opposition groups, which constitute but a relatively small portion of the left radicalised workers, but to develop still other forms of the united front with the social-democratic workers.

In general the Party has carried out the reorganisation for illegal conditions. In this connection there has been a partial improvement of the Party work in Vienna. In the provinces one of the chief tasks is to draw into the Party leadership young workers and to some extent also social-democratic workers who have only recently joined the Party, and to base our Party work on their active support. One of our great weaknesses consists in the fact that the Party has not yet succeeded in drawing the entire membership into Party work and in developing illegal mass work on a large scale. After the seizure of power by the national socialists in Germany, which enabled Austrian fascism to disguise its offensive against the working class under the cloak of struggle against the Nazis, and in view of the widespread deceptive manoeuvres of the social fascists for confusing the masses, the main political task of the Party consisted in bringing about a clear alignment of the militant front against the Dollfuss dictatorship as the main enemy of the working class.

In the concrete historic situation the C.P. of Austria came out openly and definitely against annexation to Hitler Germany, because this annexation would mean in the given situation extending Hitler's blood dictatorship to the working class in Austria. But in combating annexation the Party draws a sharp line of distinction between itself and the social democrats, who, with their slogan "Against Annexation and in Defence of the International Right of Austria to Neutrality," are merely continuing the Geneva recuperation policy, the enslavement of the Austrian proletariat by foreign capital and the betrayal of the right of self-determination, and attempting to align themselves in the "Austrian Fatherland Front." The Party, in combating the national socialist annexation slogan and all the plans of the imperialist combinations in Central Europe, is advocating with special emphasis its programme of national liberation, and is pointing out that the national and social liberation of the Austrian nation is possible only through alliance with the struggling working class in Germany and other countries and the establishment of a Soviet Austria, united to a Soviet Germany.

German events have also produced in our Party a number of opportunist vacillations and deviations. Following the events in Germany, some right opportunists in the lower organisations openly adopted the position of Trotskyism. Moods of depression

were reflected also in the Central Committee in the case of Comrade Schueller, who, especially on Austrian questions, upheld views which had to be combated by the Party in the most determined manner. Schueller put forward the thesis that the process of fascistisation and the methods of rule of the Austrian bourgeoisie were to a decisive degree dependent upon the foreign political influence of the imperialist groups. The Party rejected these views because they logically led to a confusion of the masses and a distraction of the Party from its main task of struggle against the Dollfuss dictatorship in Austria. Similarly, last June, when the Party put before the social-democratic workers the question of the general strike as a slogan of action, in order to mobilise the workers for the struggle against fascism, Comrade Schueller rejected this attitude because he underestimated the acuteness of the situation and above all the process of radicalisation among the masses. The fact that Comrade Schueller was completely isolated in the Party in these views is proof of the ideological strength and solidity of the Party.

The chief weaknesses lie in the field of revolutionary trade union work, work in the enterprises and work among the unemployed. The Party has achieved good results in developing the united front. For example, the campaign in connection with the Reichstag fire trial in which the Party succeeded in organising protests to the Leipzig Court in 90 factories and trade union organisations. Effective action has been carried out in the forced

labour camps, where we put through strikes for concrete demands, some of which ended in the fulfilment of the demands, while others ended in the breaking up of the camps. We must however, also point to reverses which the Party has suffered. This was the case in the factory council elections in a number of factories. In general, however, there has been an improvement in factory work recently. The Party clearly understands that it can carry out its revolutionary tasks only if it transfers the main weight of its activity to the factories, the trade unions and the existing mass organisations and if it succeeds in establishing firm contacts with the workers.

The whole situation in Austria confronts the Party with the question of general strike against the Dollfuss dictatorship. The main task of the Party to-day consists in correctly linking up its activity for the preparation of a general strike with the development and organisation of economic and political strikes and militant action of the unemployed. This situation makes it incumbent upon the Austrian Communists to recognise the necessity for overcoming the great disparity which exists between the growing process of radicalisation among the masses and the relative weakness of the vanguard of the proletariat, and to hasten the process of abandonment of the social-fascist party by the masses by carrying out a bold offensive against the social democrats, and under Communist Party leadership establish a militant united front of the Austrian proletariat. (Applause.)

Comrade Okano (Japan)

The whole home and foreign policy of the Japanese ruling class at the present time is concentrated on the preparation for an attack against the U.S.S.R.

Already in October, Araki said to the press: "The great event is near at hand, within one year." ("Nihon," 8-10-33.) This means that he is affirming that his attack against the U.S.S.R. is prepared for next year, 1934.

Furious war preparations are going on. The military expenditure allotted to the budget for next year amounts to 1,230 million yen. This constitutes 60 per cent. of the budget. A huge mass auxiliary organisation entitled the "National Defence League," with a membership of ten million, was organised by the military authorities this year. This organisation involves all existing nationalist youth organisations.

In one year about fifty new factories were built in Japan, in which tanks, aeroplanes, trucks, powder and other munitions were to be produced.

Along with the growth of anti-Soviet propaganda and provocation, military manoeuvres were carried out this year in the Fukui District, which is the strategic base against the U.S.S.R. In September manoeuvres took place on a large scale in Kyushu, for which all mechanical forces were mobilised; in Tokyo also, air-defence manoeuvres were carried out against an imaginary air attack from the Red Army.

The most important preparation against the U.S.S.R. was the already completed construction of the strategically most important railway line between Korea and Manchuria, which puts Japan within three days of the centre of Manchuria. By completing this railway, Japan can send an army of two and a half million to the borders of the U.S.S.R. in half the time it took before. New air lines and military roads were constructed, covering the whole area of Manchuria. A direct telephone line from Tokyo to the capital of Manchuria was established.

In order to carry through their aggressive war policy and the bloody suppression of the working-class movement with more resoluteness and cruelty, the Japanese ruling classes are striving to concentrate all their political forces into the so-called "powerful government."

The Japanese monarchy tries to accomplish what European fascism seeks to do.

Araki is making use of the dissatisfaction of the small and middle bourgeoisie for the formation of a military dictatorship, directing them against the downtrodden parliamentary parties.

The military clique is based, first of all, on the officers of the

army and navy on active service, the Reservist Association, and other military auxiliaries—organisations which reach considerable numbers. Secondly, it is based on the numerous nationalist, semi-fascist and fascist mass organisations, the majority of which are reorganised from either the old reactionary organisations or the social-democratic parties. These organisations are trying to model themselves according to European fascism by utilising various methods of social demagoguery. However, up to the present time they have not succeeded in winning the masses.

The more open military-bureaucratic dictatorship in the name of the Mikado is very near at hand in Japan. This is extremely important and dangerous for the revolutionary movement of Japan, as well as for the world proletariat, because it is a more ruthless suppressor of the workers' movement and directly calls for war against the U.S.S.R., as well as being the initiator of a new world war.

A stubborn fight to crush such an attempt, at a fascist military dictatorship in the name of the Mikado is the chief task of the Japanese Communist Party. In this fight we must mobilise not only the proletariat and poor peasants, but also all elements which are against war and reaction.

The chief weapons in the hands of the ruling classes in their struggle to capture the broad masses of the petty-bourgeoisie are chauvinism, patriotism and nationalism.

At the outbreak of the military intervention in Manchuria in September, 1931, the Japanese ruling classes, headed by the military clique, put up such attractive slogans as "Paradise in Manchuria," "War Boom," "Prosperity comes from Manchuria," "No more unemployment," etc.

However, in two years of war the Japanese ruling classes betrayed these promises and the expectations of the people. Japan is losing more than she is gaining from war. This is recognised by Araki. Early this year he gave a report on the war to the Mikado, in which he admitted that "The economic achievements of the Manchurian event was secondary, and the primary, chief achievement was the unification of the nation."

The economic crisis, and above all the agrarian crisis, has never abated, but on the contrary takes on sharper forms. The exploitation of Manchuria cannot compensate for the colossal amount of war expenditure and the great loss of Japanese trade in Central China. The war swallows all the State income, and creates a huge deficit of one milliard yen.

Japan stands on the eve of a great financial crisis, which may lead to the wholesale bankruptcy of national economy. This

situation makes the friction in the ruling classes become ever sharper. The temporary "boom" in the war industries and foreign trade has produced colossal profits for the militarists and a handful of financial and industrial magnates, but this "boom" has never decreased the number of unemployed workers. It is converting the country into a huge workhouse of prisoners watched by gendarmes. Working hours in the war industries are generally lengthened to 14 to 16 hours. Real wages of the workers have dropped by about 20 per cent. on the average.

The peasants are literally starving. Several villages organised a mass emigration to Manchuria, but they were sent back from there, because there was no occupation for them and no land to settle on.

The fight against chauvinism—this is the central struggle of the Communist Party of Japan. We must daily and concretely expose the chauvinist propaganda and the national, social demagoguery of the military, the fascists and the social-fascists who conceal their real features as agents of the big bourgeoisie, the big landlords and the monarchy. We must oppose them by means of a clear programme for a revolutionary way out of the crisis, a programme of revolutionary measures for the future Soviet power of the Japanese workers and peasants, and especially the prospects of a fraternal alliance of the liberated peoples of the East.

Together with wide chauvinist propaganda, the monarchist government is adopting unheard-of repressive measures against the revolutionary workers' movement. The severity of repression surpasses that of European fascism. According to a report issued by the police, in one year, in 1932, 7,000 Communists and sympathisers were arrested. However, during the nine months of this year, according to the bourgeois press, 8,000 revolutionary workers and peasants have been already arrested. About 50 Communists perished in jail last year. Two members of the C.C. of the Party and a very popular Communist writer were murdered in the police stations. After the prohibition of the Communist Party and revolutionary mass organisations, they are now suppressing even the workers' co-operatives, hospitals, etc. The police seek to use the weaker elements of our Party during this terror. However, in spite of the treachery of individual renegades, our Party grows ever larger and stronger.

We see in the recent months a marked trend of fascisation among the Japanese social democrats. Already last year, the small group in the reactionary wing of social democracy, led by Akamatsu, went over into the fascist camp, while the majority remained in the social-democratic camp. However, the last six months show that this majority led by the trade union bureaucrats is going to follow the example of Akamatsu. The only difference between them and the fascists in actions and ideology is that they use less nationalist demagoguery than the fascists. They openly hand over revolutionary workers to the police. They betray and crush strikes. They openly declare their co-operation with the capitalists and organise collective bargaining in the name of "peace and prosperity in industry." For example, Rodo-Sodomei, one of the biggest reformist unions, organised a special meeting of the leaders in September of this year to discuss "How to Fight against Communism," and took over the same role as the police agents or provocateurs in the factories—to hand over revolutionary workers to the police. The leader of this union, Nisiol, declared in September at the conference, that:

"The fascist movement is not our follower, but not our enemy . . . because it is fighting against capitalism as we do."
("Shakai Undo-Tansin.")

The attitude of social democracy towards war is already well known. Hamada, head of the Seamen's Union, openly declared that the present war in Manchuria is a progressive war because Japan is poor and China is rich. The Trade Union Congress led by his agents raised such a demagogic slogan as "Against Imperialist War!" last year. But this year the same congress dropped even this demagogic slogan and pledged itself to be a loyal servant of the Mikado and his hangman, Araki.

The role of Japanese social democracy in the preparations for war against the U.S.S.R., as well as in the formation of a military dictatorship is particularly great. It still has about 300,000 workers under its influence, which is 85 per cent. of all organised labour.

We see a rapid fascisation at the top of social democracy and at the same time we see the opposite trend among the rank and file workers. This is shown by the fact that the membership of the reformist unions is decreasing. For example, in the past year, the

Sodomei Eastern Council lost two unions and 550 members, and another reformist organisation, Zenro, lost seven unions and 3,500 members. At the same time, our revolutionary oppositions in these reformist trade unions are growing.

This year labour disputes took place especially in the big munition factories. Strikes tend to spread in other factories and take the form of mass fights, as in the Osaka Metal Strike, the Nagaya Aircraft struggle, etc. The number of peasant conflicts is increased this year, and 62 per cent. of them were directed against driving the peasants from the land. Their struggles always end in bloody clashes with the police and fascists.

The rising revolutionary ferment is significantly shown by the fact that the influence and strength of our Party and the illegal revolutionary trade union, Zenkyo, is steadily growing under extremely difficult conditions.

Among our achievements during the past year is, first of all, our persistent, unwavering, correct exposure of the anti-Soviet provocation and the war preparations of the Japanese imperialists. From the very beginning of the negotiations over the Chinese Eastern Railway, our Party carried on a persistent exposure of the intrigues of Japanese imperialism to seize the railway under the pretence of purchasing it. This exposure was always closely linked up with the exposure of war preparations of the Japanese militarists against the U.S.S.R., in contrast with the peaceful policy of the Soviet Government. We have here the issues of our organ of June and July and find that every front page has been devoted to this campaign. More important, however, is that our Party did not confine its campaign to mere propaganda in the press, but tried to organise mass demonstrations against Japanese imperialism on July 1, under the following slogans:

"Crush the plot to steal the Eastern Chinese Railway!"

"Defend the Fatherland of the Workers and Peasants!"

"Immediate withdrawal of Japanese troops from Manchuria, Jehol, North China, and the borders of the U.S.S.R.!"

"For the Workers' and Peasants' Government!"

Early this year the Japanese section of the "Friends of the U.S.S.R." was formed, and sent a delegation to the U.S.S.R. The delegation was elected at mass meetings. In the election of a woman delegate, 48 factories sent their representatives to the meeting.

During this last year we began our anti-war struggle inside the factories, linking it up with economic struggles, with the support of broader masses.

This year, by mobilising all the forces within its reach, the government organised a wide campaign for the contribution of war funds from the workers, with the aim of making them chauvinistic and depriving them of their wages. It was done either compulsorily or under threat of discharge, arrest, etc. In this way the government collected 1,380,000 yen. After this the fascist party and other parties started another campaign for "contributions to the war loan." During this period, the spontaneous discontent and opposition of the masses became more widespread. Our Party took this opportunity for anti-war struggles, skillfully linking it up with workers' demands in the factories. To take a few examples: in the Kobe Steel Works, which employs 3,000 workers, we organised in the month of March a mass campaign against contributions, linking it up with the demands for a 20 per cent. increase in wages and the improvement of factory conditions.

In another munition factory the workers refused to contribute to an "Air Defence Fund," but decided to send this money to the Anti-War Conference at Shanghai.

Now, in the villages, where lies the chief basis of reaction, we witness a similar scene. For example, almost the whole population of Asamai (Akita) stubbornly refused to contribute 700 yen demanded by the municipal authorities. The peasants near Toyana city commenced a mass fight against the construction of an aerodrome. In Kagoshima, the peasant women organised a campaign of anti-contribution under the leadership of our peasant unions.

In the Mitsubishi Shipyard in Kobe, one of the biggest works, which employs 4,000 workers, we had last year a strong nucleus and published one of the best shop papers. In February this year, in spite of the arrests, our revolutionary opposition in the reformist union took the initiative in organising a strike in the machine department after a careful three months' preparation. This strike began to involve all the workers of the shipyards and

began to spread to other enterprises. The strike ended in compromise, due to the betrayal of the reformist leaders and mass arrests. But it gave a strong impetus to the strike movement in the munition factories in recent times.

In April we attempted to organise a conference of representatives from four large munition factories in Tokyo. In Nagoya there was an attempt to organise 24 factory conferences representing 50,000 watchmakers. In Koto district, Tokyo, 15 factories participated in this campaign.

The Secretary of our illegal Metal Union reported in September that during seven months "they organised local branches in 40 metal factories in the Tokyo district alone." It is no small success.

It is very important from the point of view of our anti-war struggle that our Party gained ground in the State railway, in which there was no organisation in the past. We organised strong nuclei in this most difficult industry. In August last year the Party won 20 per cent. more members and supporters than before.

We have organised the mines; in the post office we have also our organisations; also, in almost all important newspaper offices in Tokyo, and we have our comrades in large department stores and in the hospitals.

In connection with the unemployed workers, we can also report important achievements. For example, in Nagoya, a town celebration was organised by the municipal authorities with an expenditure of 100,000 yen. The unemployed committees, which were under our influence, demanded the payment of benefits for the unemployed. They organised several demonstrations, 5,000 unemployed took part in the campaign. This campaign ended in complete victory for the unemployed.

In this period we see an improvement of our work in our trade unions, Zenkyo, as well as in the reformist unions. Zenkyo has a membership of over 10,000 in all important industries. The police reports show that in seven months of the current year, 1,696 members were arrested in the District of Tokyo alone. This year Zenkyo organised quite independently the strikes in several small and middle factories, but it is still very weak in the big factories, metal and transport industries. We must openly say that the weak spot in our Party is still our work in the trade unions.

In the villages our Party has also some achievements. For example: in November last year, our revolutionary peasant union started a mass struggle for the taking away of land from the landowners in Monogaya (Tottori). The leaders were arrested by the police. Our Y.C.L. organised a mass demonstration involving 400 peasants and attacked the police stations, which ended in a bloody clash. It is worth noting that 150 peasant women attacked three police stations.

In the villages we organised last year and also this year two important mass struggles, i.e., the peasant committee movement and a mass campaign "for distribution of rice." Under our initiative peasant committees were formed in important villages.

The struggle "for distribution of rice" is an important mass struggle of the peasants and unemployed workers. It was initiated by our Party and spread throughout the country last year. For example, in Akita 7,000 fishermen attempted to organise a mass struggle for rice. In Aichi 40 villages were involved in this campaign. In Tochigi Prefecture alone, 20 villages took up the struggle, demanding free distribution of rice to the municipal offices.

The radicalisation of the students is really a characteristic feature in present-day Japan. In 1932 about 1,000 revolutionary students were arrested and early this year about 300 more arrested. In June this year we had a big mass struggle of the university students. It arose spontaneously from the dismissal of a professor from the Kyoto University, who wrote a "Marxian" book. Three thousand students declared a strike against the Ministry of Education. The strike wave spread to other universities. In the Tokyo University a mass demonstration took place. As a result, during 45 days from September to October, 362 students were arrested in the Tokyo University alone. We must emphasise that our Y.C.L., which has strong groups among the revolutionary students, takes leadership in this struggle.

Our influence is growing among the teachers of the primary schools. The arrests of teachers are frequently reported. Above all, the mass arrests of 230 teachers in Nagano Prefecture in February is most typical. Sixty-five schools were involved. In one school 30 per cent. of the teachers and a schoolmaster were arrested. Many schools were compelled to discontinue teaching.

These revolutionary teachers produced revolutionary textbooks and stories for little boys and girls. They organised 15 pioneer organisations. The police discovered that many school libraries were filled with revolutionary books. After the arrests, in some schools, the pupils refused to receive new reactionary teachers in place of the former ones.

After the arrests, the educational authorities made a test of 91 boys and girls. With great astonishment, the authorities published the following interesting results: 50 per cent. of the pupils gave revolutionary answers to the first question, as to why their families were poor; 23 gave anti-war answers; 45 per cent. praised the U.S.S.R. in reply to the question dealing with that country; 5 per cent. expressed anti-monarchist ideas. This is only one example. In Ibergai Prefecture we have a similar case. It is politically important that our Communist ideas penetrate into the reactionary schools and convert the ideas of our new generation. Arrests of sons of the aristocracy and of a judge show a further disintegration in the monarchist system.

Last year our Party started a very good monthly magazine for the soldiers called "The Friend of the Soldier." Also, in Kura Naval Port, we had a local paper for the sailors. These papers are filled with correspondence from the fronts, the barracks, the ships, the naval ports and the munition factories. There we find very interesting experiences of the comrades who worked on the ships and barracks. In spite of severe censorship, we have a number of news items concerning the mutiny of the soldiers and also mass arrests. In the Toyama Regiment, 50 soldiers attacked the officers in April of this year. In Kura Naval Port, 11 sailors were arrested owing to their organisation of a Communist nucleus. In the Hirosaki, Sakura and Kochi Regiments also, arrests of soldiers are reported. In the military hospital of Tokyo two soldiers were arrested. In this anti-war work, women also took an active part.

Comrades, these are important facts that the military authorities are compelled to publish. You can see even from this that the Japanese army is not the army that Araki used to boast about as the most loyal and strongest army in the world.

In case of a war against the Soviet Union, these revolutionary soldiers will lead their detachments into the lines of the Red Army and will turn their weapons against their oppressors.

In the united front work we have many serious shortcomings. However, we are steadily liquidating our traditional sectarian attitude. Last year we organised the "League for the Release of Political Prisoners" and the "Friends of the Soviet Union"; this year "Friends of Peace" was organised in connection with the Shanghai Anti-War Conference. These organisations included not only the masses under our influence, but also those under the influence of "left" reformist leaders and the intellectuals. Our struggle is winning the sympathy and support of the wide masses. We are organising a united struggle in Koto, district of Tokyo, supported by the workers of several factories in the "left" reformist unions. However, we must frankly say that this work is far from satisfactory. The strengthening of the united front is one of the chief duties of our Party.

The discontent and revolutionary energy of the toiling masses are still in a potential condition, under furious chauvinism, terror and the betrayal of social democracy—and are not in such a condition as to burst out openly on the surface. The struggle of the masses is still small, isolated and spontaneous, and does not take the form of a great mass movement, involving millions of toilers, on a national scale, as we saw in the "Rice Riots" in 1919. Our Party has begun to strengthen itself and become rooted in the factories, but it has not succeeded in arousing and mobilising tens of thousands of the masses against war and starvation, under the banner of our Party. Our anti-war work is still insufficient. We have never stopped a single train or a single boat carrying soldiers and ammunition to China and the Soviet borders. Before our eyes, the conditions for the revolutionary crisis are growing; Japanese capitalism is on the brink of explosion. The counter-revolutionary war of Japanese imperialism against the U.S.S.R. and against Soviet China is very near at hand. The duty of our Party is tremendously great and important.

In order to fulfil our central task—to hinder the preparations for war against the U.S.S.R. and to convert the coming war into a civil war—the carrying out of the following tasks is particularly necessary at the present moment:—

(1) We must carry on with more energy and stubbornness the wide exposure of the military preparations and the shameless provocations against the U.S.S.R. on the part of the military-monarchist government headed by Araki, and merciless fight against chauvinism and social-chauvinism, by which the great majority of the population is captivated. We must conduct popular propaganda regarding the peaceful policy of the Soviet government, the gigantic victories of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., as well as the victorious march of Soviet China. We must show to the masses that there is no way out of the present war and starvation other than the overthrow of the bourgeois-landlord monarchy, the way shown by the October Revolution and the establishment of Soviet Power.

(2) Our forces must be concentrated to a much greater extent than hitherto on work in big factories producing war material, in sea and railway transport. We must strive with every means to prepare and organise in practice mass actions in these industries, with the aim of hindering the production of munitions, the stoppage of military transport, disturbances at the rear, etc. We must strive to widen the workers' strikes and peasants' struggles into mass strikes in a number of factories, and in various branches of industry, into mass actions of whole towns and districts.

(3) We must strengthen our work in the army and in the navy more carefully and in a strictly secret manner. We must put an end to our indifferent attitude towards work inside the military auxiliary organisations, the reactionary youth organisations, the

fascist organisations, etc. We must organise a self-defence corps in the enterprises and in the villages.

(4) We must liquidate our more or less sectarian attitude toward the masses under the influence of social-fascism and fascism. We must actively and boldly approach the masses and organise a united front with them, on the basis of the most elementary demands of the working class. On the basis of the united front, we must organise and initiate a wide mass campaign, "Against War on the U.S.S.R." and "For the Defence of the U.S.S.R."

Our Party is raising the slogan "Turn the Coming Imperialist War into a Civil War!" That is not an empty slogan for us.

The overthrow of Japanese imperialism means the overthrow of the imperialist gendarme in the East, the counter-revolutionary agent of world robbers. The overthrow of Japanese imperialism means not only the emancipation of the Japanese toilers, but also the way towards the emancipation of all toilers in the East.

We lost recently the founder, the leader and the father of our revolutionary movement, Sen Katayama. Thirty years ago when war broke out between Japanese and Russian imperialism, Sen Katayama, only one Sen Katayama, shook hands with the Russian delegation. But now, not one, but thousands of workers and peasants of Japan are following their great leader, and are reaching out their hands to the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. and China. We pledge that we will carry out the great task which Katayama left to us, the task of the establishment of Soviet Japan.

Comrade Rust (England)

When the majority of the I.L.P. Conference decided in favour of co-operating with the Comintern, the Polit-Secretariat sent a telegram to the I.L.P. in which it said that the unity of all the revolutionary forces in Great Britain, on the basis of the class struggle, would be the turning point in the history of the British labour movement. The expression "turning point" was not only a rhetorical phrase, because it is clear that if the Communist Party succeeds in winning over this important section of the reformist workers in Great Britain, it will in so doing lay the basis for the creation of a mass Communist Party.

A number of comrades have referred to the fact that during the recent months the labour party has been strengthened. This is true, and it is a significant fact that the labour party has strengthened in the elections, and that the dissatisfaction of the workers with the national government has so far not expressed itself in the growth of our Party. But in noting that fact we should also note that the strengthening of the labour party is not a direct process, but in fact at the same time as the labour party improves its position in the parliamentary elections there are signs of a growth of the opposition among the workers organised in the labour party and the trade unions against the policy of the reformist leaders. I want to refer particularly to the following facts:—

(1) That the I.L.P. has broken away from the labour party in this period, and

(2) That during the last twelve months the membership of the trade unions has decreased by one-fourth of a million, and that the membership of the trade unions and the affiliated membership of the labour party is to-day back to the pre-war level. Further, that the strengthening of the labour party has taken place especially in petty-bourgeois constituencies; that the labour leaders themselves are continually complaining of the apathy of their own supporters. A further fact is that the recovery of the labour party is relatively slow, especially if we take the parliamentary bye-elections as a test. In fact, the loss in votes of the national government by far exceeds the gain in votes that the labour party candidates have made. Of course, in one sense this advance of the labour party does express the dissatisfaction of the workers, but the important thing for our Party to note is that this expression of dissatisfaction is going in labour party channels and at the present time not sufficiently in the channels of the Communist Party.

Of course it is true that there are certain very positive elements. For example, there is no doubt that the isolation of the

C.P. members from the members of the I.L.P. has to very large measure broken down. There is no doubt that we have gained influence; we have won important contacts in the ranks of the I.L.P. that we could not boast of before, but we must consider the following characteristics in the present situation: firstly, that the I.L.P. leaders have succeeded in breaking off the united front in a number of districts; secondly, that the Revolutionary Policy Committee, which, although a vacillating body, did embrace the opposition movement in the I.L.P., has now disintegrated and to a certain extent has come under the influence of Trotskyist elements; thirdly, that the open Right wing I.L.P. leaders are now increasing their activity and making a drive for breaking off the united front. Further, that the National Committee of the I.L.P. as a whole has partially succeeded in re-establishing its influence by the liberal use of "Left" phrases, and in this way influencing some of the members who were turning away from it.

Why is it that we have this situation in the I.L.P.? I believe that the chief reasons can be found in the weaknesses of our Party work, which, in my opinion, can be characterised as follows:—

Firstly, that the development of the differentiation between the leaders and the membership, which should be a guiding line for our work, was not sufficiently carried out, and, in fact, there existed some tendencies in the Party to believe that an exposure of the leadership might lead to a harming of the united front.

Secondly, we did not give a clear political line to the "Left" forces in the I.L.P., to those workers who were confused, but who were moving towards Communism. We did not pay sufficient attention to giving a clear political line, and especially did we fail to organise them into a definite, consolidated opposition fighting against the leadership.

Thirdly, that the united front was insufficiently driven into the factories and the trade unions.

These weaknesses explain why the Party did not succeed in exposing the manoeuvre entered into by the leaders of the I.L.P. in order to deceive their members and to retain their influence. This manoeuvre consisted in the fact that at the same time that certain leaders of the I.L.P. were sabotaging the united front quite openly and deliberately, the majority was making a declaration of a so-called new policy, a policy in which there were more revolutionary phrases than ever before. But our Party regarded this new policy as a "step forward" and did not see that it was intended as a sop to the membership, as a method of covering up the real line of the I.L.P., which, at the same time as they were speaking in favour of a revolutionary policy, were breaking off the

united front, fighting the C.I., and concluding an unprincipled alliance with the Trotskyists for the setting up of a 2½ or Fourth International.

Therefore, it was at a rather vital moment in the course of the fight against the I.L.P. that our Party became disorientated and unclear on what the next step should be.

The second letter of the C.I. put before the members of the I.L.P. not only a criticism of "Left" reformism, but also a practical proposal that the Independent Labour Party should affiliate to the C.I. as a sympathetic body, according to Statute 18.

Why did the C.I. make this proposal? In order that it could facilitate the movement of the I.L.P. workers towards Communism. Of course there were many basic questions—the 21 Points—which have by no means been settled within the membership of the I.L.P., but, clearly, this proposal that they should affiliate as a sympathetic party, in view of the decisions of the Derby Conference, was a means of showing in what way the I.L.P. could co-operate with the C.I.

Just there our Party became disorientated and was influenced by this manoeuvre of the "Left" leaders. At that moment the Party actually weakened its ideological fight.

Further, in considering the reasons for our weaknesses, I think that we must draw special attention to the fact that it took many months before the membership of our Party was made fully alive to the importance of the I.L.P. The isolation of our members from the I.L.P. members was always a tremendous barrier towards carrying out our line. But I believe that, although we have lost a big opportunity, the basis still exists for carrying forward

the line and winning substantial successes in the fight for the winning over of the members of the I.L.P.

The Party must now carry forward its concentration on the development of its mass work, especially the development of the work in the trade unions. The Party must realise its leading role in the daily struggles and must fight strenuously against the old traditional ideology that the C.P. is a "Left" wing of the labour party.

It is necessary that we should overcome all feelings of trust in the "Left" leaders, as shown in the case of the I.L.P., and we must thoroughly root out the pessimistic moods to be found in the Party with regard to the German events as signifying a defeat of the workers.

In regard to the offensive made by the I.L.P. in their so-called defence of democracy and against dictatorship, our Party fought against this manoeuvre, but very often in our agitation we narrowed down the issues too much. Our agitation in this respect is not sufficiently directed towards exposing the character of democracy in Great Britain. How can any sane person argue that Britain is a democratic country—Britain with its House of Lords, its monarchy, its deposits for parliamentary candidates, etc. Britain, the centre of the British Empire, has more than three million people who are denied any democratic rights whatsoever. This is the type of agitation we need to develop very strongly, and I believe that in future, in the process of developing our mass work, in strengthening the fight for the united front, in strengthening our political fight, it becomes more and more necessary to pay special attention to the improvement of our mass organisation.

Comrade Schalker (Holland)

Dutch capitalism is very profoundly shaken by the economic crisis. The crisis of Dutch economy is being intensified by the extraordinarily grave economic crisis in Indonesia. Owing to the great decrease in its income from the colonies, the Dutch bourgeoisie has already been compelled to curtail the relatively good position of the labour aristocracy.

By means of increasing tariffs, import quotas and heavy taxes upon the most important food products, the Dutch bourgeoisie is carrying through a policy of increasing prices which together with the direct attack upon wages and unemployment relief, as well as upon all social services, considerably worsens the conditions of the working class. The methods which the Dutch government is making use of in this offensive upon the standard of living of the masses clearly aim at preparing for the fascist dictatorship. For large sections of government employees and workers, it has enacted a decree in accordance with which they are not only forbidden to be members of the Communist Party or to buy and read the Communist press, but they are also not permitted to be members of the social-democratic party and to buy and read the social-democratic papers, and they are not even allowed to be members of the reformist trade unions. With this ban, the bourgeoisie is obviously trying to drive the social-democratic and reformist leaders still further to the Right, and it is succeeding in doing this. At the same time, it encourages the organisation of an open fascist group among the government employees. It is also interfering with the conditions of work in private enterprises, as is shown, for instance, by the events which took place among the stucco workers in Amsterdam, where the government demanded that the employers put through a wage cut of no less than 23 per cent.

There are very sharp antagonisms between the existing fascist groups and they have the support of only a few capitalists. But during the past year a new fascist group arose, under the leadership of a Dutch engineer by the name of Mussert, which is being strongly supported by the bourgeoisie and the government and also has a following among the middle class. The Dutch bourgeoisie, however, will try to carry out the fascisation of the government apparatus and the most ruthless oppression of the labour movement with the help of the existing bourgeois parties, including the social-democratic party.

In the course of this year Dutch social fascism and the reformist trade union movement have made a sharp turn to the Right. The slogan is "reorientation," by means of which the

leaders of the social democracy are preparing to adapt their tactics and strategy to the fascisation requirements of the bourgeoisie. Thus, **Duys**, the social-democratic party chairman and a member of parliament, published his famous pamphlet in which he advocated the complete "unification" of the social-democratic labour party with the bourgeoisie, which is becoming more fascised and more chauvinistic, and expressed himself in favour of throwing the Communists out of parliament. When a great deal of resentment arose among the social-democratic workers against this fully national-socialist attitude and resolutions were adopted against it in a number of local groups, the leadership demanded that a stop should be put to this wave of protest on the ground that "in a democratic party there should be freedom for the expression of opinion."

As far as the "Left" socialist group is concerned, it suffered a great defeat during the last elections, which brought a considerable decline for the official social democracy and an increase in votes for the Communist Party from 37,000 in 1929 to 118,000 in 1933. However, it would be wrong to underestimate its political significance and the danger which it still constitutes for the working class. The importance of the N.A.S. is growing, together with the "revolutionary socialist party," which belongs to it and relies for support upon the trade union organisation, in relation to the independent socialist party. The "revolutionary socialist party," as well as the independent socialist party, were represented at the conference of the Trotskyists in Paris this summer, which is to lead to the formation of a fourth international. This has led to the fact that Trotskyism has become the officially recognised ideology of Dutch "Left" socialism. That means that the C.P. of Holland must intensify its efforts to win over the workers who still follow these "Left" parties, especially the workers of the N.A.S., for the revolutionary united front under the leadership of the Party, and the R.T.U.O., in which respect it can already record certain successes.

Meanwhile, the social fascists are trying to cover their treachery by a number of "Left" manoeuvres. In a number of municipalities where hitherto they openly went with the bourgeoisie they have gone now into "opposition." "Opposition articles" appear in their press against the government measures which were hitherto always supported by them in parliament. Their intention to confuse the workers has led the social democracy to the manoeuvre of the boycott on goods in the interests of the export requirements of their own bourgeoisie. However,

from the beginning, the social-fascist leaders rejected any sort of boycott of transport as "unsuitable in the present situation of economic crisis." When the workers went on strike against the Nazi flag, despite this, the social democrats tried to put an end to it by carrying on sharp incitement, but without success.

The C.P. of Holland exposed this swindling manoeuvre from the very beginning and issued the slogan of the boycott of transport and of the Nazi flag. Various cases of boycotting the Nazi ships took place, most of them being so successful that the captains had to haul down the Nazi flags.

The Party carried on a big campaign in order to enlighten the workers on the question of the struggle against fascism and support of the German workers. At first some feelings of disappointment and discouragement could also be observed in the ranks of the Party when Hitler fascism came to power in Germany. The Central Committee of the Party fought against these moods by means of discussion in the Party and in the Press and by constantly reporting the struggle of the C.P.G. in the press. In this way we succeeded in very rapidly liquidating these wrong sentiments. A very big campaign is being conducted to enlighten the masses regarding the Reichstag fire trial as well as for the release of Comrade Thaelmann and all political prisoners.

The Party and the R.T.U.O. are giving material, financial and practical support for this struggle of the German workers, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany. In June of this year the Party in Holland organised an anti-fascist congress, which was prepared on the basis of the united front from below. An anti-fascist fighting league was formed which has conducted a big anti-fascist campaign throughout the country. This league publishes its own paper. It is not a solid organisation, but is composed of so-called anti-fascist committees in the factories, labour exchanges, and various sections of the city so that the largest possible masses can be drawn into the struggle. The league, however, is still weak in the factories.

The Party has again increased its membership during the past year and has carried out a widespread educational campaign for the political and organisational strengthening of the cadres

and the membership. It has adopted a detailed agrarian programme as a basis for the work of the Party in the countryside. A number of factory nuclei have been formed. However, the political education of these nuclei and also their initiative must be considerably increased.

The R.T.U.O. fought successfully in a number of strikes. Two important measures have been taken for the purpose of furthering the opposition in the trade unions and in order to give it a united line. First, the R.T.U.O. drew up a programme of action consisting of seven points, which is to be brought forward by R.T.U.O. followers as the starting point for the united struggle in meetings with trade union members, through resolutions in the trade union meetings, through articles in the press of the trade unions, or of the oppositional press, etc. Secondly, alongside of the already existing opposition papers in the trade unions and those that are still to be formed, it was decided to publish a general opposition paper which is to popularise the principles of the R.T.U.O. among the opposition workers and in that way also to strengthen the R.T.U.O. organisationally among them.

The work of the Young Communist League and the work among women still very much lags behind. That is also a shortcoming which has to be rapidly overcome with the help and the work of the Party, especially also with regard to the necessary intensification of the struggle against war.

However, we are clearly aware of the fact that the work of the Party in organising and leading the struggle of the toiling masses for the revolutionary way out of the crisis still lags very much behind the objective and subjective possibilities. We shall proceed with increased activity to the further and more rapid carrying out of the decisions of the Twelfth Plenum and the tasks which the Thirteenth Plenum places before us, and by conducting a ruthless struggle against every opportunist shrinking from the blows of the class enemy as well as against its "Left" underestimation, we shall lead the toiling masses of Holland, in closest alliance with the toiling masses of Indonesia, upon the path which Lenin has shown us, to victory for the Soviet power in Holland and Indonesia.

Comrade Pruknyak (Poland)

The fundamental condition for successful revolutionary mass action of the working class and peasantry is a correct political line, clear-cut perspectives, a concrete estimation of the situation and correct and prompt directives.

The picture presented by the leadership of our Party during a number of years and which had a hampering and harmful effect in all spheres of Party work, has fundamentally changed: *the Party has a united and effective leadership*. This fact alone has greatly increased the authority of the C.C. in the rank and file of the Party and is greatly increasing its capacity for action and its militancy.

A necessary condition and a vital factor in the leadership of the Party is continual self-criticism, carried out from top to bottom and linked up with all the campaigns carried on by the Party and with all the large-scale activities of the proletariat and the peasantry. Without exaggeration I may say that in our C.C. such questions as, for example, the strike of the Lodz textile workers, were never dropped from the order of the day. We demanded from our District Committees and obtained from them the most detailed information relating both to the progress of the strike as a whole and to all manifestations of initiative on the part of the masses, their vacillations and their mistakes, and the role and activity of our Party organisation. The results of our study of this material and our analysis of our victories, and particularly of our mistakes, and our Bolshevik self-criticism of these mistakes, we tried to popularise among the lower units of the Party, and even among the active revolutionary elements reached by our activities. We devoted the same attention to the struggle of the Silesian and Dombrov miners and metal workers, the Galicia peasants, etc.

We attempted in this way systematically to raise the political level of our Party members and increase the political-consciousness of active revolutionists in the factories and in the rural districts,

safeguarding them and the Party as a whole from a repetition of the very serious errors which have been made in the past, and making them more capable of leading new struggles. This is at the same time the best method for educating and promoting cadres.

In our current work of leadership a most important part is played by *study and analysis of current questions*. This is promoted first of all by the directive articles of our central organs. Secondly, we have adopted the method of current letters by the Polit-Bureau, which are sent out to the active membership of the districts and even of the sections, and in which we give a concrete estimation of the tasks of the whole Party at the given moment and in the given campaign, with directives not only to the C.C. departments and district organisations, but frequently to individual Party workers or cells. This gives the leadership a concrete character. At the same time, however, we attempt to apply to the maximum the method of *live personal leadership*.

The C.C. attaches great importance to *checking up the carrying out* of decisions and directives, including those issued by the lower organs as well as its own.

A more and more important place in the work of the C.C. is being occupied by *questions of the promotion and political education of our Party cadres*.

The fundamental criterion for *acceptance into our Party* and for remaining in it is the active participation of the comrade in question in the mass actions of the proletariat; in strikes, demonstrations, etc., as well as his activity in the enterprises on the basis of the daily defence of the interests of the workers.

Added to this basic criterion there is another factor which is absolutely necessary in the conditions under which we have to work, namely, the reliability and the revolutionary class honesty of the comrade in question, and his genuine hatred for the fascist regime.

Great work has been carried on in recent years by the Central Committee in connection with the leading members in the local, district and central organisations, a necessary preliminary condition of which was the liquidation of factional struggles and the establishment of unified leadership.

During a number of years, particularly after 1920, many groups came over to our Party from national-socialist, petty-bourgeois parties, above all the P.P.S. and the Ukrainian organisations. Insufficient care was taken at the time to check-up on the leaders of these groups and the most elementary rules of watchfulness were violated: these leaders at once found their way to the leading organs of the Party and even to its Central Committee. Such impermissible and rotten liberalism with regard to these elements resulted in ideologically immature or even completely alien elements becoming rooted in the Party, strengthening within it all forms of opportunist deviations from Bolshevism.

In the struggle for the Bolshevisation of the Party, particularly after the liquidation of the right group in the leadership, the Party succeeded in assimilating part of these elements, while a part were removed from leading posts, as were also others who did not agree with the line of the Party and its reorganised leadership.

The Central Committee adopted a firm policy of building up a leading section of the Party from old cadres of Polish and Latvian social democrats tested during the period of 1905 to 1917, and in the years of war and of the German occupation, a considerable part having gone through the school of the Russian Bolshevik Party previous to and after the revolution of October, 1917.

The cleansing of our ranks from alien Party and anti-Party elements, together with the promotion of tested and reliable comrades, regardless of their Party affiliation or of what fraction they belonged to in the past, is a very important factor in our selection and promotion of cadres.

To the main cadres thus formed the Party adds young revolutionary and reliable elements, subjecting them all to the test of illegal work and mass struggles. Thus the Party exerts tremendous efforts, and with considerable success, to build up cadres of self-sacrificing and unknown heroes who stand at the head of the revolutionary movement in Poland and whose names and role may become known to the masses and the Party as a whole only after their heroic death at the hands of the enemy, as, for example, the unforgettable names of Vladislav Hibner and Meitislav Rediko.

This process of promotion of cadres and cleansing them of ideologically alien elements has been at the same time a *process of cleansing the Party from direct agents of Pilsudski*, who found their way into it and speculated on deviations from Bolshevism and also on struggle. The C.C. of the Party has carried out and is still carrying out many measures of a preventive character with regard to unstable and unreliable elements, regardless of the factional colours under which they sought refuge in the past. One of these measures was the removal from current leading work over a year ago of *Sokatsky-Bratkovsky*, as an ideologically alien

element. More than two years ago *Sylvester Voyevudsky*, former well-known Pilsudskyite, was thrown out of the ranks of the Party. I will limit myself to these few examples. It goes without saying that at the present time we must and do exert every effort to carry on our struggle against provocation even more systematically and persistently, and to concentrate the attention of the Party as a whole on this danger.

It is necessary to add that we by no means consider the state of affairs with regard to our capacity for operation and our concrete leadership to be entirely satisfactory. In this sphere we have great defects and weaknesses to overcome, and must work still more and with greater persistency in order to overcome them.

The distinguishing feature of Polish fascism, which was correctly pointed out here by Comrade Lensky, consists in the fact that *in the struggle against the revolutionary movement*, Pilsudski, in contrast to Hitler and Mussolini, relies for support to a very high degree on the old historic parties of the Polish bourgeoisie, such as the national-democratic party, "Narodniki," and the P.P.S., as well as a number of political organisations of the oppressed nationalities.

Are we correct in connecting this particular tactic with the narrowness of the mass basis of the Pilsudskyites? I believe that we are entirely correct.

I am of the opinion that Comrade Ercoli does not understand Comrade Lensky correctly. It is a question not of the weakness of Polish fascism, or the weakness of its mass basis, *in general*, but of a concrete shrinkage of the mass basis of the fascist Pilsudski government, which has been compelled, to a greater extent than Hitler and Mussolini, to draw the old parties into the orbit of its system. Only recently the party of the "Narodniki" proudly declared in the Sejm that it was the main force maintaining "order" in Galicia. The same boast could be made by the national democrats with regard to Posen.

Among the workers the strongest base of the fascist regime in Poland is the P.P.S., while among the national minorities its base is the U.N.D.O., the Zionists, etc.

The Pilsudskyites make up for the weakness of their *main stronghold* by a highly developed fascisation of the other bourgeois parties. Thus in Poland we have fascism not only with the government stamp, but also with the opposition mark.

The sharpening of class contradictions is driving Polish fascism, just as it is driving German and Italian fascism, on to the path of "totalisation." But owing to the concrete conditions existing in Poland, above all the narrowness of its mass basis and the miscellaneous character of the national make-up of the Polish government, the Pilsudsky regime is attempting to carry out this tendency in a particularly complicated and indirect manner. Consequently, our struggle against Polish fascism is also extremely complicated, and calls for particular attention to social fascism, "Narodniki" fascism and to the other "opposition" parties, as was correctly and strongly emphasised by Comrade Lensky. (Applause.)

Comrade Grigoresku (Rumania)

There are three characteristic distinctions between the economic crisis in Rumania and the general crisis in Europe. The first distinguishing feature is that in Rumania it had already begun in 1927, i.e., earlier than in other capitalist countries of Europe. The second feature is that in 1932 and in 1933 the crisis spread from heavy industry to light industry. At present all the various branches of economy are involved in the economic crisis. The lumber industry, for example, worked at only 23 per cent. of its normal capacity in the first five months of this year. The food industry decreased its production by 72 per cent., the metal industry by 39 per cent., and the textile industry by 28 per cent. The third feature is that whereas in other countries one can speak of the convulsive increase of production in 1933, a similar increase cannot be recorded for Rumania. The sole exception in Rumanian economy is the oil industry, the production of which increased from 3.6 million tons to 7.2 million tons in the period of 1927-1933. Rumania's exports declined by two-thirds from 1927 to 1933. In the same degree, the exploitation of the workers and the peasant masses of Rumania increased in favour of foreign

capital. The following figures are very interesting: in 1914 Rumania exported three kilogrammes of goods for every kilogram of imported goods; in 1930, 16 kilos were exported for every kilo of goods imported, and in 1932, 21 kilos of domestic products, i.e., mainly grain and petroleum, were exported for every kilo of goods imported into the country.

The economic crisis in Rumania is being further intensified by the financial crisis. The deficit in the State budget amounts to five milliard lei, and besides that Rumania owes 200 milliard lei to foreign capital and especially to French banks, i.e., eight times as much as the annual budget of Rumania. The French banks have control over the budget of Rumania. The foreign capitalists demanded from the Rumanian government that it put through great economies in its budget. That meant dismissals of government employees on a large scale and wage and salary reductions, which were primarily responsible for the big struggles in February. The great indebtedness of Rumania is a result of its feverish war preparations.

The basis of the general crisis of Rumania is undoubtedly the

agrarian crisis which expresses itself in a decrease of the area under cultivation. In the spring of 1933, for example, there were in Rumania entire regions with only 40 to 45 per cent. of the arable land cultivated. The drop in prices for grain had a disastrous effect upon the agriculture of Rumania and ruined the peasantry on a mass scale. The poverty of the peasant masses can be seen from the fact that they are indebted to the extent of 80 milliard lei. That means that the amount of their indebtedness is larger than the value of their entire inventory of implements and livestock, including the value of their land. Want and starvation prevail in the villages.

The government apparatus of Rumania is disintegrating. During the past year and a half the government was changed five times. By splitting up the so-called historic parties, 20 political parties and groups have been formed. Scandals of corruption and bribery are rapidly increasing (as is known, the Skoda Works were in a position to bribe the entire government apparatus). In this connection, it should be pointed out that Rumania, relatively speaking, has the largest government apparatus in the world: there is one civil servant for every 44 inhabitants. Their salaries cannot be paid. The Rumanian bourgeoisie is endeavouring to find a way out of this situation through fascism. The fascisation of Rumania is taking place by means of the government policy visibly becoming fascised and by the formation of large fascist parties. Of course, the Liberal government which came to power two weeks ago disbanded the fascist groupings on the instructions of France. But this prohibition is only on paper. In actual fact, the fascist movement is constantly becoming stronger, which has led to a number of clashes in which many workers were killed and wounded.

What are the chief characteristics of Rumanian fascism? First, the endeavour to rely upon the peasant masses for support. Rumanian fascism tries to link itself up with the peasant masses and not with the petty-bourgeoisie of the towns. And just because we are weak in the countryside, fascism succeeded in acquiring a certain amount of influence in some regions. The second feature of Rumanian fascism is that it does not primarily recruit its cadres from the middle class, not from bourgeois elements, but almost exclusively, i.e., 90 per cent., from rich peasants and the sons of village priests and village storekeepers. The third characteristic feature of the fascist movement in Rumania is the attempt to utilise the national antagonisms. Rumania is a country with a large number of oppressed national minorities. Among the Germans in Transylvania, a strong national-socialist movement developed within the past year and this movement is directly led by German national socialism. Fabricius, the leader of this movement, speaks in Hitler's name.

But what is more important is that Hitlerism is directly and openly supporting a chauvinist fascist movement in Rumania and indeed in Bukovina, on the frontier of the Soviet Union. This fascist Ukrainian movement relies mainly for support upon the Ukrainian middle class and to a lesser extent upon the Ukrainian peasants. The initiators of this movement are the former Wrangel, Machnov and Petlura people. This fascist Ukrainian movement in Rumania is to furnish the shock-troops which are intended to fight for and capture the "Greater Ukraine" for Hitlerism. But still not only the German Ukrainian movement is under the direct influence of Hitler, but all the fascist groupings in Greater Rumania are also under his influence. It has been proved that the fascists are being supported by Hitlerism. Their leaders were forced to admit that they had received money from Hitler through the German embassy. The fascist danger is great, because in Rumania there are large masses of oppressed nationalities who regard Hitler as the spokesman for the national minorities in Europe and therefore he constitutes a certain force of attraction for the oppressed nationalities of Rumania. For this reason it is the task of our Communist Party to counterpose very clearly to Hitler's demagoguery our slogan: Self-determination of peoples to the point of separation.

The Rumanian social democracy is supporting this fascisation. It issued the slogan: "Fight against the enemies of democracy by undemocratic means!" From whom does it demand this fight? From the fascist government. Just one example of this co-operation of social democracy with the fascist government: During the railway strike, the social democracy came out in favour of martial law as a result of which 400 workers were killed. It was on the side of the government and declared that the strike of the railwaymen was an anarchistic strike, a Communist

manoeuvre. Despite its treacherous policy, despite a great loss in its influence upon the working class, the Rumanian social democracy has not yet been liquidated. It still has influence upon some sections of the working class. It still has some roots which we will have to exterminate.

Over 30 big strikes took place in Rumania in the last quarter of 1932 and more than 25,000 workers participated in these strikes. But these were only the first indications of the great struggles which developed in Rumania in the beginning of 1933. In February, large strikes of the railwaymen and the oil workers broke out. The strikers employed new forms of struggle, occupied the factories and workshops and a mobilisation of the masses was developed on a large scale among all sections of the workers and among the unemployed in support of the strike. During the strike of the railwaymen large demonstrations of the workers took place. The government gave in after the first strike, but immediately demanded martial law and military tribunals. The railwaymen of Rumania answered the challenge of the government with a new wave of strikes. This time the strikes developed into barricade and street struggles in Bucharest and Cluj. All these struggles of the railwaymen were under the leadership of the Communist Party and revolutionary trade unions during the first and second periods. For the first time the Communist Party in Rumania succeeded in organising tremendous struggles of the workers, in which almost 100,000 workers participated, and in leading these struggles to the end. After February and up to the month of August, there were 40 large strikes in Rumania in which 35,000 workers participated. The fighting spirit of the workers increased despite the terror. Among the railwaymen, after the February struggles, not only great confidence in their own power but also confidence in the Communist Party could be observed.

The majority of the economic struggles in Rumania rapidly developed into political struggles. In 1932 the struggles of the workers were almost exclusively limited to light industry (leather, textile, food industry); in 1933 the struggles spread also to heavy industry. During the past year, the majority of the workers' struggles in Rumania were under the direct leadership of the Communist Party and of the revolutionary trade unions. The Party understood how to apply correctly the tactic of the united front and to form committees which were elected by the workers themselves in the strike, which really could be considered as organs of the working class and which had the leadership of the strike in their hands. Through the correct application of the tactic of the united front, our Party succeeded in undermining the influence of the social democracy among the railwaymen and the oil workers.

The February struggles were a serious test for our Party, a test which it passed successfully. Three years ago we were confronted with serious fractional struggles in Rumania. The Party was split. Its best and most active elements were arrested by the Siguranza. In the course of the past two years, after the Fifth Congress, we were able to liquidate the factional struggles owing to the help of the Communist International. We were able to create a new basis for the Party. On this account we see to-day the growing influence of the Communist Party in Rumania. The working class really considers the Communist Party as the leader in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. During the period of martial law in the spring, our Party succeeded in developing an anti-fascist movement. This movement, which was open and legal, developed very rapidly and became so strong that it came out in full force two days after the Liberal government came into power.

Unrest among the peasants increased in the period from 1932-33. The forms in which this unrest was shown are very varied. The peasants, for example, occupied the fields of the large land-owners and the forests of the government. They fought against the tax collectors. There is not a conflict in the village between the peasants and the government officials without the entire village immediately coming out on the side of the peasants against the government officials. The smallest conflict in the village is the signal for a general mobilisation against the government apparatus. That shows how deep is the ferment and the discontent of the peasantry in Rumania. The immediate tasks of our Party consist in also winning the leadership of those sections of the workers among which the influence of the social democracy is still strong (miners, harbour workers, metal workers). We have already taken the first steps by launching a strike in the Anine munitions factory, a social-democratic stronghold, against the will

of the social democracy. We must place ourselves at the head of the spontaneous movements of the peasants, organise and lead them more than we have done heretofore. The same thing applies to the liberation struggle of the national minorities. We especially have to intensify the struggle against social democracy, break up its influence and draw the masses over to our side through the correct application of the united front tactic. At the same time, it is necessary not only to expose fascism but also to organise defensive formations against it. We still have considerable weaknesses in all these problems, but we also already have a number of serious successes.

Now with regard to the war against the Soviet Union. Rumania is at present carrying on a so-called peace policy. It accepted the proposal of the Soviet Union for the conclusion of a pact of non-aggression and it has now signed this pact. But to believe that the Rumanian bourgeoisie is not carrying on anti-Soviet propaganda, is not making preparations for war, would not only be political shortsightedness but a direct crime. Rumania is at present and will continue to be a gendarme of the capitalist world on the frontiers of the Soviet Union. But it is necessary not only to expose Rumania's war preparations, but in connection with that, to show that the entire Little Entente still represents a bloc against the Soviet Union, just as it always did.

What are the perspectives before the revolutionary movement of Rumania? The growth of the objective conditions for a revolution in Rumania is a fact. Rumania is at present one of the weakest links in the chain of capitalism in the Balkans and in Europe as a whole. The crisis, the growth of the revolutionary mass movement, the shaking of the government apparatus, are narrowing the mass basis of the dictatorship of the Boyars and the capitalists in Rumania. The growth of the subjective revolutionary factor has made great progress within the past year. The linking up of the Communist Party with large sections of the working class, pushing out social democracy from some of its positions and the securing of the leadership of the Communist Party in the recent mass struggles—all these things show that we can speak of the maturing of the subjective revolutionary factor in Rumania. The Communist Party of Rumania sets itself the actual and direct aim of drawing in the broad masses of the workers, the poor and the middle peasants, the oppressed nationalities, the impoverished middle sections of the towns for the abolition of the dictatorship of the Boyars and the capitalists, for the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government, for the setting up of the Rumanian Soviet Republic. (Applause.)

Comrade Raich (Yugoslavia)

The characterisation of fascism given in the draft thesis is correct. Its correctness is fully confirmed also by the experience and the analysis of fascism in Yugoslavia. Yugoslavian fascism, however, has certain distinguishing features apart from its general characteristics.

(1) Prior to the fascist seizure of power there was no united mass fascist party in Yugoslavia, and no such party could be formed in the course of five years after the capture of power. Yugoslavian fascism has the support of a section of the old bourgeois parties and a whole network of so-called subsidiary fascist organisations.

(2) The reactionary military officers play a leading part in the fascist movement of Yugoslavia. The fascist dictatorship in that country, therefore, is of a military character.

(3) The Yugoslavian king plays the role of active leader of the fascist movement and of the dictatorship. He uses that dictatorship to achieve his own specific monarchist and dynastic purposes.

(4) Yugoslavia is a country of mixed nationalities. The sharp edge of the fascist dictatorship, therefore, is directed not only against the revolutionary labour movement, but also against the national movement for emancipation.

(5) Yugoslavia is a country in which the bourgeois-democratic revolution has not yet been carried out in full. The anti-fascist movement therefore, under the leadership of the proletariat, is bound to draw into the struggle for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship the majority of the peasantry and the oppressed nationalities.

(6) Though fascism is trying to establish a basis for itself among the workers, it has so far been unable to do so on a national scale. It has been successful to a certain extent only lately in Slovenia.

(7) The process of disintegration of fascism in Yugoslavia is much stronger than in countries where it has become the government form of bourgeois dictatorship on the basis of the world economic crisis.

It is correctly emphasised in the thesis that the main characteristic of fascism is that it employs the most brutal form of class terror. The thesis says:

"The methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy in general become an impediment for the capitalists both in their home and foreign policy."

This correct characterisation should be supplemented by an evaluation of the various forms of democratic demagogical manoeuvres employed by fascism in countries where the process of

disintegration has become pretty strong. In Yugoslavia these manoeuvres consist of measures of the following kind:—

- (a) Adoption of a new constitution.
- (b) Organisation of elections for the fascist parliament.
- (c) Formation of a united fascist party, permitting at the same time some of the bourgeois groups within the fascist camp to create their separate organisations, even in the form of opposition parties, which marks a certain deviation at least on the surface from the totalitarian principle.
- (d) Organisation of all kinds of fascist elections, under the guise of "democratisation," as the so-called rural district council elections held some time ago.

Democratic illusions are very strong among the masses. Hence greater effort is necessary in order to expose the attempts of fascism to find support among the masses under the cover of the so-called "gradual introduction of democracy."

The thesis correctly emphasises the necessity of carrying on more intensive work in order to expose fascist ideology, especially its chauvinism and all the other forms of preparation for war. Attention should be paid in this connection to the attitude of fascism in the various countries towards peace treaties. The annulment of these treaties is one of the chief slogans of fascism in Germany, Austria and Hungary, and for other reasons also in Italy. In the victorious countries, for example in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the fascist movement advances as one of its major slogans the preservation of the state of affairs created by the imperialist war. It is particularly important to expose fascist ideology precisely on this point because it is with the hope of realising these slogans in both fascist camps that the illusions and yearnings of the deceived masses are linked up.

The thesis says:

"There is no way open from fascism back to democracy. There's only one way, and that is to fight for the overthrow of any form of bourgeois dictatorship."

This statement is absolutely correct. It formulates a perspective for the realisation of which we have to work. But in order to realise it, one should add that the future course of events depends exclusively on the proletariat, on the revolutionary struggle, on the work and militancy of the Communist Party, on the Communist Party's ability to win over the masses and lead them to victory in the proletarian revolution. We have one historical precedent—Spain. Due to the weakness of the work of the Communist Party and to several secondary causes, the military fascist dictatorship in that country was supplanted not by a workers' and peasants'

government, but by another form of the bourgeois dictatorship. The Communist Party of Spain is now confronted with the task of making up for time lost in the midst of the revolution; it must win over the majority of the working class. It should therefore be inserted in the thesis that the supplanting of fascism by a Soviet government is a question primarily and exclusively of the subjective factor, the Communist Party.

Fascisation of social democracy in Yugoslavia has gone much farther than in other countries. The social democrats of Yugoslavia openly collaborate with the military fascist dictatorship.

The militarist fascist dictatorship's demagogic manoeuvres of the so-called "policy of gradual introduction of democracy" is regarded by the social fascists as a great step forward in the development of democracy in Yugoslavia.

The social democrats of Yugoslavia take active part in the ideological preparation for an anti-Soviet war.

During the recent municipal elections in the villages the social democrats of Slovenia entered into electoral agreements with the fascist party in many municipalities.

There is no mass social-democratic movement in Yugoslavia, although it is fairly influential. Our Party fights in its own ranks the tendency to underestimate the strength of social democracy.

It is from the point of view of overcoming all sorts of illusions prevalent among the masses of such countries as Yugoslavia that the proletariat must combat fascist tendencies among the oppressed nationalities. Such bodies as the Ukrainian Military Organisation in Poland, may be found also in Yugoslavia, Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia. There is an organisation of insurgents known as the "Ustash" which engages in terroristic acts supported by Hungarian and Italian fascism. The biggest national reformist party in Slovenia is the party of christian socialists which has lately begun to go over completely to the point of view of the clerical fascists of Austria.

An outstanding characteristic feature of the revolutionary movement in the development of the class struggle ever since the formation of the Yugoslav State has been the disproportion and separation of its chief components, namely, the struggle of the working class, the struggle of the peasantry and the struggle of the oppressed nationalities.

Owing to the weakness of the Communist Party, the labour movement has lagged behind in recent years. Now that the position of the Communist Party has improved, there is a marked revival to be observed in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. This may be seen from the incomplete data on the number of strikes. In 1929 there were only 12 strikes in the country which involved 5,000 workers. That was during the first year of the fascist dictatorship. In 1932 there were 22 strikes involving 8,000 workers. This year 26 strikes took place in the first 10 months, involving over 13,000 workers.

In 1932 there were only three offensive strikes, while the first nine months of this year witnessed nine such strikes. In other words, we see both a quantitative and qualitative improvement.

The Communist Party is able to join in some strikes after they break out. But at least half of them proceed without Communist participation and end in defeat. In this respect, the Communist Party has still serious shortcomings.

A few words about the Party itself. The comrades probably know that most of the Communist organisations in Yugoslavia were smashed during the period of 1929-30. About 60 leading comrades were killed in these two years. Thousands were imprisoned. Among the leading comrades who remained at liberty, especially those in emigration, an unprincipled factional struggle was raging, the development of which the police sought to influence in their own way. Thanks to decisive measures taken by the E.C.C.I., the unprincipled struggle of the groups was stopped and I am now in a position to inform the Plenum that that enormous obstacle to the development of our Party no longer exists. The Party organisations have in the main been re-established and their membership has increased fivefold during the past year.

The Party now has its organisations, it has its nuclei, but in the majority of cases, there is no Bolshevik work in them. The political initiative of individual comrades and the lower Party units is very weak. The leading role of the Party is understood merely in a general way, from the point of view of the Party as a whole. The rank and file Communists have not yet realised that it is every Party member, each Party nucleus and each lower unit

that has to play a leading part in his or its particular sphere of activity.

Owing to this sectarian practice, the Party is still incapable of great activity. Serious opportunist sentiment is to be found in the Party, which could be particularly observed in the recent election campaign of the labour chambers. Many big mistakes were made during the elections, the importance of which was even underestimated by the Central Committee of the Party. The mistakes consisted in the endeavour to smuggle through Communists on the social-democratic lists, without revealing our political physiognomy, instead of putting forward an independent election programme with Communist slogans and policies as against the policy of the social democrats. The elections ended in failure as far as our Party is concerned, although we have had successful actions here and there. The absence of united front tactics in the locals was very sharply felt in that campaign. Even the Central Committee made a mistake on this question, by omitting to give instructions that the local organisations should apply united front tactics regardless as to whether the social-democratic leaders respond or not. That mistake was soon rectified by the Central Committee itself, which, however, does not alter the fact that on the question of application of united front tactics, nothing has been done to this day.

An important tactical problem is the attitude of the Party to the various demagogical manoeuvres of the fascists. Not long ago, municipal elections took place in the villages. Those elections were a farce. Opposition parties were allowed to take part only in one-tenth of the communities. The tactics adopted by our Party were those of an active boycott. But the question is still in dispute. We have not yet decided as to whether the tactics were right or wrong.

The Central Committee of the Party persistently fought from the beginning against left sectarian tendencies, against terrorist inclinations, against phrasemongering about an armed insurrection in the present situation, against sectarian inactivity expressed in a refusal to join the reformist unions, to work within them, to work in the factories, against the formation of secluded small groups, Communist sects, instead of carrying on mass work. But at the same time the Central Committee did not fight with sufficient vigour the right wing opportunists who constitute the main danger at the present time.

Deviations in trade union work find expression in the fact that some Communists belonging to reformist unions refrain from doing any real revolutionary work, refrain from a struggle against the reformist bureaucracy at the head of the unions, refrain from revolutionary activity in the factories. They set up revolutionary oppositions, but only in the unions and not in the factories. They underestimate the importance of the fight for independent leadership of economic struggles. This inactivity is regarded by some as necessary, in order not to be discovered by the reformists and expelled from the union with the assistance of the police. As a result the work of some of the Communists in the unions actually amounts to support of the reformist trade union bureaucracy and its policies.

One of the big problems, which confronts apparently other parties as well, is that of carrying out the line of the Party. Everybody seems to agree, no one has any objections, all speak highly of the correctness of the line and the instructions of the Central Committee, yet that line and the instructions are not carried into effect. That is primarily a question of the methods of leadership.

Two and three years ago, the Party was almost completely smashed, its capacity for work had been reduced practically to zero. Now the organisation has been restored. Its ability to work is developing. The task before us is for the Party as one man to throw all its forces into the preparation and organisation of the struggle of the masses of workers and peasants and the oppressed nationalities, giving leadership to the movement, preparing the fights, developing them into political struggles, and co-ordinating all the separate actions into a mighty revolutionary movement. Only the development of such a movement will guarantee that Yugoslavia will not have to go through the Spanish experience, meanwhile preventing the military fascist dictatorship from involving the peoples of Yugoslavia in a new war. The Communist Party realises that Yugoslavia is one of the weakest links in the chain of world imperialism. It also realises that it depends only and exclusively on its own activity whether or not the imperialist chain will be torn up at the Yugoslavian link in the present transition to the world revolutionary crisis. (Applause.)

Comrade Frachon (France)

We have a number of important strikes to record in the course of this year. During the five months that have elapsed since the month of May we had 207 strikes with 73,000 participants and 700,000 working days lost. Forty-four per cent. of the strikes had wage increases and improvement of working conditions as their goal and 55 per cent. of the strikes ended with a complete or partial victory for the workers. A number of important strikes and movements took place which were entirely under our leadership or in the leadership of which we participated.

During the course of the struggle of the civil servants we succeeded in getting an approach to the masses better than formerly and in taking up contact with the C.G.T. workers. Two hundred and seventy united front committees from below were built and there were reformist workers in almost all of them, despite the bitter struggle of the leaders against these committees. In the Paris district five conferences were organised in which 80 C.G.T. workers from the factories participated. The workers who are organised in the C.G.T. listened to our speakers in dozens of meetings. These united front actions could have given us the opportunity more effectively to combat the manoeuvres of the reformist leaders. Yet, we did not understand how to extend these first successes in the necessary manner. The struggle against the reformist leaders was not carried on with sufficient energy. We allowed the reformist leaders to forge a weapon against the united front out of the joint meeting of the municipal workers that are organised in the C.G.T. and the C.G.T.U. We curtailed our criticism and permitted the reformists to direct the mass movement into the channel of purely sentimental unity. By slackening our criticism we hindered the more rapid development of the united front, we diverted the attention of the members of the reformist trade unions from the necessity of creating united front organisations from below and caused them to wait for the joint decisions of the leaders of the organisations.

This mistake is characteristic for our entire activity in connection with the movement of the civil servants. A further great weakness in our united front activity is that we did not understand how to organise the reformist workers who participated in the united front committees in order to develop opposition work in their own trade unions.

We corrected this mistake in part. We are now conducting a consistent struggle against the reformist leaders. We succeeded in forming some oppositional points of support, e.g., in Marseilles, in the reformist union of the municipal workers which numbers 4,000 members. With the railway men there are a number of committees resisting the attack of the reformist leaders. There are great possibilities with the teachers and there are already some small results to record in united front work.

The strike of 18,000 metal workers at the Citroen works was an exceedingly unpleasant surprise for the firm. In the course of this movement the metal workers of Paris, the large majority of whom are unorganised, showed excellent revolutionary fighting qualities. They showed that they were capable of developing initiative and understanding the tactical and political problems, from which we can see what reserves there are at the disposal of our organisations among these workers.

The actions that were initiated were immediately made known to all the workers. In front of the factory gates meetings were held, slogans were issued, and after a few days the movement had embraced the entire factory and was developing inside it.

What did Citroen do? He applied the classical method of a lock-out for a short period. That experiment has very often succeeded. But one thing was left out of account, namely, that the workers and we also had drawn our lessons from past experiences. We issued the slogan: "Re-open the factory," "Everyone to the factory and convert the lock-out into a strike." There, where a considerable number of workers got into the factory, they issued the slogan that everyone should go in, stop the machines, get together in each shop, elect delegates; in other words, organise the struggle inside the factory. And our slogan was completely carried through.

When the management again closed down the factory, the Party had already made an important step forward in the organisation of the strike. This work was continued on the following days and finally led to the formation of a strike committee of

150 workers which was elected by the various shops. This committee stood the test exceedingly well. The workers got together in order to discuss the strike for an hour or two. But as soon as the discussion ended they returned to their departments and occupied themselves with the practical organisation of the strike.

In the course of this movement we also developed a large campaign in order to get unemployment relief for the locked-out workers. Our parliamentary fraction spoke in parliament along this line, and we succeeded in getting relief for the 18,000 Citroen workers who were on strike approved, and this relief was not only paid during the lock-out, but also after the re-opening of the factory when the lock-out was converted into a strike. That created a precedent that was of far-reaching importance for the strikes that followed.

Another success was that we compelled Citroen to negotiate with the delegates of the strike committee and the leaders of the Revolutionary Union. After 35 days, when the existing weaknesses made the struggle outside the factory impossible, the strike committee issued the slogan: "Resume work and continue the struggle inside the factory." This struggle continued and at times even in a very powerful form, it disorganised production, it continued further under the leadership of the committee which was supported by the workers who had been discharged and those who returned to the factory.

Our main weakness is that we did not understand how to extend the movement to other factories, despite the great sympathy which existed for the movement. What prevented us from achieving successes in this field is the weakness of our organisation in the factories.

If we have learnt something in the course of this movement, then Citroen has also learnt a great deal, and we now have to carry on a real day-to-day struggle in order to maintain our organisation inside the factory.

We have formed a considerable number of sections, but still many of them have already been repeatedly broken up and again built up.

Several of these sections arranged collections in order to get the funds for the publication of their own paper. They rapidly got the necessary money together. We also have some examples where discharged workers who went to work in other factories actively worked there for the formation or the strengthening of the trade union.

The strike in Strassburg was all the more significant as during the period in which it took place the French bourgeoisie utilised the fascist danger in order to kindle chauvinism among the masses. The battles that took place against the French police were by their nature blows against chauvinism. On the other hand, it was not only the workers of Strassburg that showed an interest in this strike. The petty-bourgeoisie, the small tradesmen, were very deeply indignant about the brutalities of the police, and in part participated in the street battles.

In the campaigns, the Strassburg strike was discussed and the unitary trade unions had the possibility to extend the movement through its vigilance and activity, to draw the widest sections of the workers into the struggle, to launch a movement with the railwaymen, which would not only have been of great importance for Alsace-Lorraine, but also for the French railwaymen. We had the opportunity of drawing in the small peasants and of leading them in the struggle against French imperialism. At the beginning the unitary trade unions understood how to frustrate the manoeuvres of the reformist leaders, but still at the moment when the alarmed reformist leaders penetrated into the movement in order to get hold of the leadership of the strike and to liquidate it, then we experienced the fact that the unitary leaders capitulated in the truest sense of the word. They gave in to every deed and in every point only in order to maintain the united front from above with the reformist leaders out of consideration that the united front cannot continue to exist among the workers if it also does not exist among the leaders.

Owing to this conception of the united front, the reformist leaders were able to put through their entire policy in the strike and to betray it, despite the great desire of the workers to struggle. This opportunist conception is so strongly rooted in the minds of the Communists in Alsace-Lorraine that they strongly combated all our proposals which were directed towards exposing the re-

formist and Christian leaders and towards the establishment of the united front from below. They sacrificed everything to the united front with the traitorous leaders, even after their treachery was already openly recognised. That is the saddest and, in its consequences, the most serious example of opportunism in our ranks.

The great lesson that we must draw from this is the following: Where the reformists have little or no influence we succeeded in getting the movement into our hands and completely to lead it right up to the end. However, where the reformists' organisations are powerful, such as in Strassburg and in Armentières, we did not succeed in leading the mass movement. In those places where we shared the leadership with the reformists, it was not we who forced our leadership upon the strike committees, but it was much more the case of the reformist leaders who succeeded in developing their policy.

With the miners, whose desire to struggle has been shown by numerous marches to the prefectures, the reformist leaders have up to the present succeeded in preventing a struggle of the discontented workers. The employers are continuing their attacks, and we are not in a position to organise important strikes.

In the textile area in the North, where there are more than 200,000 workers, a whole series of small factory strikes are now taking place. That is the proof of the existence of strong discontent which could lead to large struggles. However, the reformist organisation is strong there, we have not yet reached the stage where we can make inroads into their influence, and their power remains intact. In this district our whole problem is to raise basically the question of our united front work from below.

But for the past few months we have improved our methods of work to some extent. In the municipal transport system of the Paris district we took the initiative to establish our own class trade union. Through this we smashed the manoeuvres which were heaping up against our organisation, and some of these manoeuvres even proceeded under the cloak of unity. We issued the slogan to organise meetings and conferences so as to be able to found a united trade union at the beginning of next year. The only condition that we raise is that the trade union develops the class struggle on the basis of a programme which corresponds to the direct and immediate demands of the workers and employees. This initiative will make it possible for us to extend still further our influence and will facilitate the establishment of class unity for the approaching struggles. The reformist leaders have unmasked themselves, in as much as they openly fought against our

suggestion and declared that by unity they only understand amalgamation with them.

We must concentrate the Party and the Communists in the trade unions upon the concrete defence of the daily demands of the working class. We must learn how to seize hold of the proper moment, much better than we have done up to now, in order to formulate our slogans which are suited to draw the masses into the struggle.

We must draw the Party and the unitary trade unions into a genuine united front from below to a much greater extent than formerly. We must organise a concrete struggle against the reformist leaders—a struggle that will not be conducted occasionally, but permanently. We must see to it that all the confused ideas and all the mistakes which occur are rapidly corrected. We must organise the opposition in the reformist trade unions and watch to see that this work does not assume a sectarian character, but, on the contrary, we must see to it that it is linked up with the mass movement. We must raise the problem of trade union unity in a practical manner, develop initiative in every situation on this field and have a firm but elastic line. We must make use of our strike experiences much better than we have done heretofore and acquire elasticity and more initiative in our strike tactics. We must considerably strengthen our work on the organisational field, as this is the weakest point in our movement. We must carry on recruiting work in the trade unions and arm the workers for the daily struggle and for the tasks that have to be fulfilled in the period between strikes. We must concern ourselves with the daily demands of the workers, with everything that a worker requires after work, because if we do not offer this to him then he will go to the reformists or into the bourgeois organisations.

There is a large movement of the civil servants on foot, a revival of the agitation and the struggle of the unemployed, the miners are arranging large mass meetings, ten and a half million proletarians are subjected to a social insurance law with which they are extremely dissatisfied. We have an opposition in the reformist trade unions which is developing further.

We must finally succeed in leading these large movements, in breaking through the obstacles erected by the reformists and in establishing the fighting unity of the masses. The development of economic struggles under our leadership will also provide us with the opportunity of more effectively combating the chauvinist currents which are being promoted by the bourgeoisie. Every step which increases the distance between the two classes makes the war preparations of the bourgeoisie more difficult and supplies us with weapons for the decisive struggles. (Applause.)

Comrade Krause (Latvia)

In face of the growing revolutionary movement in town and village the Latvian bourgeoisie, which has gone completely bankrupt in the struggle against the results of the crisis and is filled with frenzied hatred against the U.S.S.R., is forgetting its historic antagonism to the German barons and is throwing itself into the arms of fascist Germany.

For the toilers of Latvia, a bloody fascist dictatorship and a war against the U.S.S.R. have become a real menace for the near future. This menace is increased by the fact that the Latvian bourgeoisie still has a very strong social basis in the form of social democracy.

Latvian social democracy belongs to the so-called left wing of the Second International. Utilising cunning left manoeuvres, it has succeeded in preserving its influence among considerable sections of the Latvian proletariat.

Our Party intensified the struggle against social fascism, exposing its "left" manoeuvres and in many cases successfully organising a real united front with the social-democratic workers in the mills and factories.

In the general strike of shoemakers in Riga in spring, 1933, which took place entirely under our leadership, the united front from below was successfully organised with the social-democratic workers and the lower T.U. organisations. The same took place in the town of Windau during the general strike of wood workers, transport men and shoemakers. At the anti-fascist conference in

July, 1933, in Riga, 12 local social-democratic organisations were present despite the prohibition of their leaders.

A comparatively successful united front campaign was also carried on by the Y.C.L. of Latvia in connection with the International Anti-War Congress in Paris. This year there has been a great increase in the oppositional movement in the social-democratic party and in the social-democratic mass organisations. But in spite of all this, in spite of the fact that the broad strata of the social-democratic workers are dissatisfied with the policy of their leaders, they still do not come to us, and the influence of social democracy on the working masses is still very big. It is quite clear that this is due to our insufficient work and sometimes our bad work in exposing the "left" manoeuvres of the social fascists and our weak work in the social-democratic organisations. We have not yet learned to expose the social fascists by concrete instances of treachery.

The Party works badly, first of all, in the reformist trade unions which have over 25,000 members, while the left trade unions have been suppressed and only a few hundred workers are organised in the illegal T.U. groups. In the ranks of our Party, there was an opportunist sectarian tendency in regard to work in the reformist trade unions which was expressed also in the platform of the opportunist bloc and is a serious hindrance towards overcoming the mass influence of the social fascists.

Our Party decisively opposed the opportunists and focussed

the attention of all its members on the necessity for increasing work in the reformist trade unions, but up to the present it has not brought about a definite change in this important sphere. The results of the elections to the management of the sick clubs which have just taken place in Latvia are very characteristic. The elections took place in circumstances of frantic terror; the workers' and peasants' fraction was arrested and mass arrests were made all over the country, our left lists were annulled in many places. In these elections the social democrats everywhere lost 10 to 30 per cent. of their mandates.

The workers who left the social democrats did not come to us, but to the bourgeois semi-fascist or openly fascist groups and parties.

These facts clearly show that our Party has not sufficiently exposed not only the social democrats, but also the fascists who are now displaying great activity and are trying to penetrate into the working class. The strengthening of the struggle against the open fascist organisations is one of the chief tasks for our Party.

The course of development of the class struggle in Latvia this year fully confirms the correctness of the decisions of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. This year we had an intensified economic crisis, a great sharpening of class contradictions and a growth of the revolutionary resistance of the masses.

During the first half of this year, 12,000 workers took part in strikes, or more than double the number for the whole of last year.

In these strikes our Party was able to organise the united front with the social-democratic and other workers quite well in spite of the treachery and the cunning "left" manoeuvres of the social-democratic leaders. But nevertheless our Party was still unable to combine this growing strike struggle with the political struggle against fascism and war. It was also unable organisationally to consolidate the results of the strike struggles.

The revolutionary movement is also growing in the villages. In 1932 and 1933 for the first time in Latvia there were strikes, though still isolated, of the agricultural workers organised by our Party and the Y.C.L. We also succeeded in developing a fairly wide oppositional movement in the small peasant party in Latvia (the "Progressives"). But the Party still did not stand at the head of the growing movement against taxes, debts and forced sales, which in a number of cases took the form of spontaneous outbreaks of the peasants.

All this clearly shows that our Party *did not diminish the extent to which it lagged behind the growing revolutionary movement.*

Our Party increased its contacts with the big factories, but our Party cells in the factories work badly. During the last year the Y.C.L. of Latvia has not eliminated its backwardness, while recently in connection with the mass arrests, the number of members of the Y.C.L. has even declined.

The chief tasks which the Party has set for itself are to concentrate all its efforts on eliminating these weaknesses, developing systematic mass work in the reformist and fascist unions, to strengthen our positions in the big factories, to stand at the head of the growing revolutionary movement in the villages, mobilising the broad masses of the toilers for the struggle against the open fascists, against the Blodnek government, which organises the fascist dictatorship concealed by a democratic mask, against the restoration of the power of the barons, against interventionist war, and boldly and openly to raise the *question of power*, developing before the masses the programme worked out recently by the Party for the social and the national liberation of Latvia.

One of the chief hindrances in the struggle for the liquidation of the backwardness of the Party is the resistance of the opportunists in the ranks of our Party. During the last year there have been open speeches by the opportunists who are organised in a right-leftist opportunist bloc, opposing the correct line of our Party and the Comintern on a number of the basic questions of the policy of the Party. Instead of a Bolshevik struggle for the organisational consolidation of the growing influence of the Party, this group wanted to turn the Party along the path of organisational passivity, advocating the "independent organisation of the masses without the direct help of the Party." Bolshevik criticism of mistakes by our Party in the past was replaced by Trotskyist slander against the Party. With the help of the Comintern, our Party unanimously smashed this opportunist group and exposed its "theory."

The fact that we have now a firm leadership on the basis of a correct political line is also a guarantee that our Party will begin in a Bolshevik manner to put an end to its backwardness, to carry out the decisions of this Plenum, and of mobilising at an accelerated rate the broad masses of the toilers for the struggle against fascism and war, for Soviet Latvia. (Applause.)

Comrade Linderöth (Sweden)

Strong social democratic parties; advance of the social democratic parties; bourgeois democracy, still attempting to maintain the appearances of "real liberalism"; a purely social democratic government in Sweden; and now a government under social democratic leadership in Denmark; a social democratic party in Norway which recently won a great election victory—about 500,000 votes as against 22,000 for the C.P.N.—and whose leaders already ordered court dress to be ready for the day when the Norwegian bourgeoisie invites them into the government. All these factors were supposed to give the Swedish social democrats grounds for proclaiming to the whole world the correctness of Fritz Adler's thesis on the possibilities of "democratic socialism" in the Scandinavian countries.

But what is happening? What are these knights of democracy doing to pave the way for socialism through "their power in the state"? The social fascists in the Scandinavian countries are just as efficient agents of the ruling bourgeoisie as the social fascists in any other country. But since here it is a case of the pride and hope of the Second International it is well to deal more fully with the nature of this "democracy."

It goes without saying that the catastrophe of the German social democrats was a blow for the Swedish allies of Wels and Leipart. And what was their reaction? Naturally they set up a howl and are still howling against Hitler fascism. Above all to create the illusion among the masses that the social fascist leaders are trying to lead them into a struggle against fascism.

However, all this shouting against national socialism is becoming more and more mixed with conciliatory tones and in their practical policy the Scandinavian social fascists are lackeys of Goering. A

typical example of this is the procedure against Comrade Axel Larsen in Denmark. As you know, our Danish Party has carried out effective anti-fascist action, especially against German ships. In Oporto a strike was called against a swastika ship, leading to a general strike in which all the workers in the town participated. During this strike Larsen spoke at a meeting of the strikers, at which, amid great applause on the part of the workers, he tore up a swastika banner which had been captured. The Hitler government then demanded of the Danish government that a charge be brought against Larsen for insulting the German Nazi ministers. The social fascist ministers obeyed at once and even Parliament adopted a decision to suspend Comrade Larsen's immunity. At the orders of Hitler and Goering, about 50 more charges were brought by the Danish Government against workers for anti-fascist action.

At the direct order of Goering the Swedish social democratic government brought a charge against the central organ of our Party, "Ny Dag," because this paper had called Goering a bloodhound. The responsible editor was sentenced to four months' imprisonment. The fake boycott, which was called against German goods by the Central Council of the Swedish Trade Unions, was sabotaged by the social fascist ministers.

The social fascists are developing feverish activity to prove to the Swedish bourgeoisie that the social democratic government is ready to apply against the revolutionary working class "as much force as the desperate situation of capitalism requires," and that it is ready to place at its disposal not only a Noske, but even a Goering if the situation calls for it. In all spheres of their activity the social fascist leaders are carrying out the starvation offensive of

the bourgeoisie and are adopting all the methods of violence against the working class demanded by the bourgeoisie. And when Comrade Gottwald declared that the distinguishing feature of the situation in Czechoslovakia was that "legal fascisation" was being carried out under the slogan "defence of democracy," he evidently had not had the opportunity to hear the talk that is being spread in Sweden for the "defence of democracy" to serve as a basis for the gradual abolition of democracy and to smooth the path for fascist dictatorship. This political swindle is being used to build up a "People's Front," which stretches all the way from the extreme rights (Admiral Lindmann, leader of the Conservative Party) to the extreme "Lefts" of the anti-revolutionary bloc (the renegades Normann and Kilbom of the "National-Communist" Party). All these people declare that they are ready to give their life blood for "democracy," i.e., the democracy of Swedish imperialism, which means the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in any form suitable to the ruling class.

In "Ny Tid," the social democratic organ of Sweden for Oct. 3, Lindström, the "theoretician" of the social fascists, declares:—

"If it is a question of taking over the government or of participating in its control it is impossible to be concerned only with what is particularly pleasing and in keeping with some 'class conception' or other. A government which has not authority will fall because it is in contradiction to its own tasks and its own nature. A democratic government is no exception to this rule."

"Thus it is perfectly natural for it (the government) to apply external, as well as internal, physical means of defence in order to protect itself against attempts to break down its integrity and authority."

In order to give a still more glaring example of the process of fascisation of the Swedish social democracy I will take the case of another of the outstanding figures of the Second International in Sweden, Allen Voug, the editor. This gentleman, Voug, writes in the "Arbetet" of Oct. 26th as follows:—

"It is nothing but an attempt to reduce world history to a party manoeuvre when the victory of German National Socialism is pictured as a moral defeat for the social democrats alone. . . . Rather let it be said that this German movement constitutes an acceptance of various features of socialism." (Emphasis of the speaker.)

Comment is superfluous. "The democratic exception" of Fritz Adler for the Scandinavian countries consists of the fact that the leaders of Swedish social democracy are translating the so-called "theories" of Hitler fascism into Swedish and calling them "socialism."

These theoretical services are prompted by the necessity for defending Swedish social democracy, and above all the deeds of the Hanson Government. Even before the Parliamentary elections in 1932, when the social democrats were formally in opposition their leaders in the State organs supported monopoly capital to the very extreme as, for example, in the "rescue action" in connection with the collapse of the Kreuger firm. In government posts they are openly demonstrating their alliance with the big capitalist and land-holding interests particularly in their crisis policy.

In spite of all attempts to gloss it over, the effects of the economic crisis in Sweden are becoming more pronounced from month to month. The increasing production which has taken place in certain industries during the past months is due almost exclusively to increased armaments and preparations for the coming imperialist war. Unemployment is on the increase. Thirty to forty per cent. of the Swedish working class has been thrown out of the process of production, and the Swedish bourgeoisie is resorting to the same methods as the bourgeoisie in other countries in its efforts to find a capitalist way out of the crisis through a ruthless starvation offensive and the application of all government methods of violence. The executive organ of the bourgeoisie in this work is the social democratic government, supported by an exceedingly strong and well-organised social fascist bureaucracy in the State and municipal bodies, by a numerically strong reformist trade union movement, the Co-operative movement, etc.

The social fascist leaders are supporting the capitalist offensive in all its forms: they are putting through wage-cuts and price increases, granting subsidies to the capitalists and big landowners, robbing the masses through excessive taxes and raising the tariff barriers still higher, in addition to carrying out a shameless starva-

tion policy with regard to the unemployed, a policy which in a certain sense is worse than the one carried out by the previous bourgeois government.

Every strike movement is betrayed by the reformist leaders, and the social democratic government has the State police mobilised against the striking workers and has workers' locals systematically raided by the police, as was the case, for example, in Goeteborg.

Police violence was used to crush the strike of the seamen, which was fought out in Sweden last spring. As a result of the active work of the C.P. and the R.T.U.O., 80 per cent. of the seamen were won over for the strike and for the line of the R.T.U.O., which compelled the reformist leaders to endorse the strike. The social democratic government resorted to all possible measures to throttle the strike. After a few weeks the reformist leaders signed a wage agreement for a 4 per cent. wage cut without obtaining the consent of the members. But at the beginning of the strike the capitalists had demanded a 20 per cent. wage cut.

In order to check still further the militant resistance of the workers to starvation, the reformist bureaucracy this year has organised a widespread offensive to split the trade union organisations. This is being done by means of a circular letter (807) from the leadership of the Central Council, stating that all members and supporters of the R.T.U.O. are to be expelled from the trade union organisations.

The starvation offensive, which has been supported by the social fascists in this manner, has brought down the standard of living of the working class of Sweden by 35 per cent. The social fascist leaders in Sweden have, in the fourteen months of their rule, covered almost as much ground as the German social fascists covered during fourteen years of rule. And they are ready to establish a fascist dictatorship together with the so-called "Right Front."

Under the social democratic government the close ties existing between British and Swedish imperialism, previously established by the imperialist bourgeoisie of Sweden, have been extended and strengthened. This is shown by the Swedish-British Trade Treaty, the linking up of Swedish currency with British, the support of British imperialist policy in the League of Nations, and the building up and enlarging of the Swedish navy in collaboration with the British Admiralty. In a military campaign of the imperialist Powers against the Soviet Union, Sweden will play primarily the role of arsenal. With its great iron and steel industry and its great "Krupp" works—the Bofors cannon factory, Sweden is now supplying large quantities of arms and munitions to Japan, to Hitler Germany and other imperialist Powers. Sweden's social fascism is ideologically preparing the way for Sweden's participation in the coming war by spreading chauvinist propaganda for "defence of democracy against external enemies." The social democratic paper, "Ny Tid," of Oct. 10th, declares:—

"The rights have not yet been able to free themselves from the obsession that they have a permanent monopoly on the defence question. Democracy must concern itself with order at home and abroad. . . ."

"The duty of defence is the commandment issued to the present generation by the history of the past, as well as by the future."

This view has been stressed in many other utterances of the social democratic leaders. Sweden is no exception to other capitalist countries. The perspectives of the other capitalist countries hold good also for Sweden.

One of the causes of the tremendous influence of social fascism in Sweden is the weakness of the Communist Party in the struggle against the social democrats and the reformist trade union bureaucracy. In spite of the daily crimes committed by the social democrats against the working class, and in spite of the growing radicalisation, our Party has not succeeded in making any real breach in the masses of social democratic workers and in tearing them away from social democratic influence. The Party has, to be sure, succeeded in overcoming the restricted propaganda character of its former activity and in some cases has succeeded in gaining concrete and independent leadership in economic struggles as well as in the struggles of the unemployed. Nevertheless, the Party is still lagging behind the objective conditions and the process of radicalisation among the workers. A few months ago the mine-owners succeeded in cutting the wages of the miners in Norrbotten

as much as 17 per cent. without the slightest resistance on the part of the workers and of our comrades. This testifies to a pessimism and to an opportunism which the Party must make serious efforts to overcome. No adequate systematic struggle is yet being carried out by our Party against opportunist deviations, and above all against opportunism in practice.

The struggle for the Leninist line of the Comintern, carried on after the split in 1929, has showed good results. Particularly during the past three years the Party has achieved considerable success. The seamen's strike increased the influence of the Party in the trade union field. During the builders' strike, which is still going on, the R.T.U.O. has greatly increased its influence. On the day of the opening of the Leipzig trial we had 8,000 participants in the anti-fascist demonstrations in Stockholm. The membership of the Party, which was about 7,000 in 1930, has now gone up to about 17,000, which is approximately the size of the Party before the split. The number of effectively functioning factory cells is growing from month to month. The Party is beginning to gain the confidence of the working masses and its political influence is increasing. Even though the renegade party got more votes than we did in the parliamentary elections, there can be no doubt about the fact that we are now breaking down the influence of this party among the workers. We are now winning fairly large groups of their members over to our Party. At the present time Mr. Brandler is working very energetically in Stockholm and attempts to win this Kilbom party for his group by means of fraction work. There are at

present at least four tendencies fighting for the leadership of this renegade party, and if our Party knows how to conduct a correct united front tactic, this renegade party will soon be shattered.

In spite of the sabotage attempts of the Swedish social fascists, the struggle of the workers against the starvation offensive is developing at a rapid pace. New strikes and movements of the unemployed are taking place. The first task of our Party in the present situation is firmly to lead the partial struggles of these workers, and to extend them and to raise them to a higher level. At the same time the Party must considerably strengthen its ideological struggle against social fascism. We must put before the workers in a much more aggressive manner the basic question of policy, the question of democracy and dictatorship, in order to bring the face of the Party more clearly before the masses and place the question of power in the foreground. The Party must combat the chauvinist incitement of the bourgeoisie and of social fascism by courageous propaganda for proletarian internationalism and for the defence of the Soviet Union, and for support of the Chinese revolution, and by showing much greater energy in helping our heroic German comrades in their struggle against Hitler's murderous terrorism. I am convinced that the C.P. of Sweden will do its best to overcome its weaknesses, and that, in brotherly alliance with the other Communist Parties under the leadership of the Comintern, it will fulfil its duty in the struggle against fascism and imperialist war, in the struggle for the proletarian revolution. (Applause.)

Comrade Hansen (Norway)

The significance of the Paris Conference of the so-called independent "socialist" parties and groups consists in the fact that it constitutes an attempt to erect a barrier in the way of the workers' struggle against fascism and imperialist war, in order to check the influx into the sections of the Communist International of masses of workers who are indignant and disillusioned with the despicable betrayal of the Second International and its sections. The independent parties and groups (Fenner Brockway and Co.), with their Trotskyist line, are seeking a new and cunning method for discrediting the Comintern in the eyes of the social-democratic working masses who are rapidly becoming radicalised. The significance of the conference of independent parties consists also in the fact that it has attempted to counteract in every country the building of the united front of workers for concrete action against their own bourgeoisie, by putting forward the hazy idea of a so-called "world congress" for the staging of more or less abstract discussions on general principles and directives and for developing new and cunning forms of slander against the Comintern and the Communist Parties. Preparations are to be made for the establishment of a new two and a half International, as a bulwark against the revolutionary "Leftward" development of the masses, for intercepting masses of honest "Left" workers who have not yet attained a clear understanding of the situation, in order later to bring them back into the fold of the Second International, as was done once before. Furthermore, the conference shows that the "independents" from the Second International are helping to direct the fire of the demagogic slogan of "boycott" fascist Germany more against the Comintern, against the Soviet Union and against the Communist Parties. The resolutions of the Paris Conference of the "independent parties and groups" signify that new obstacles are to be placed in the way of the establishment in the various countries of a workers' united front from below. And, finally, this conference represents a new base of support for international propaganda in favour of the social-democratic-Trotskyist "theory" of a new "period of reaction." In its resolution it says:—

"The victory of fascism in Germany has clearly shown to the whole world the bankruptcy of the German social-democratic party and of the German Comintern Party."

Now the resolution speaks of the final "ruin" of the German working class, saying that the "interests of the world revolution have been sold out in the name of the theory of the building of socialism in one country," etc. At the same time the organ of

the Danish social democrats declares that we have now entered a "period of the defensive and reaction." These false counter-revolutionary "theories" of the social democrats and the Trotskyites with regard to the character of the present period have in some cases penetrated also into the ranks of the Communist Parties. Proof of this is the thesis of Remmele on the "epoch of fascism," etc. But there are other no less glaring examples. In the central organ of the Norwegian Party of November 16, in referring to the fact that we have had various cases of renegadism in recent times (Maria Reese case and the Friis case in Norway) a comparison is made with the period of reaction in 1907-10 in Russia. Our paper quotes Lenin:—

"Tsarism has conquered, all revolutionary and opposition parties have been defeated. Despondency, demoralisation, split, disintegration, desertion and pornography, instead of serious politics. These words," the publication continues, "sound as if they had been written to-day."

Thus writes the central organ of the Communist Party of Norway. This shows complete failure to recognise the true character of the period that we are going through to-day. It constitutes an open denial of the revolutionary advance and of the fact that we are entering a new round of wars and revolutions, and it is a slander against the heroically fighting working masses of the Communist Parties, above all in Germany, who, in spite of savage terrorism, are displaying unexampled heroism, and not at all the "despondency, disintegration, demoralisation," etc., characterising the period of reaction in Russia.

There is no doubt that in the present tense situation prevailing throughout the world, the Scandinavian countries are of great international importance. The Nordic conference of fascists, which was held in Helsingfors and was attended by official representatives of the Hitler party, the spread of the openly fascist movements in the Scandinavian countries, and the campaign for the arming of Sweden, are proof of the fact that the Scandinavian countries have been drawn more than ever before into the whirlpool of fascism and war preparations, directed primarily against the Soviet Union. The Second International is utilising the legend about so-called "Nordic socialism" and the policy of the government socialists in the Scandinavian countries as an argument against Communism. In the February number of the journal, "Kampf," Friedrich Adler wrote in his famous two conditions:—

"The Bolsheviks must recognise that the democratic path

to socialism is not completely barred, at least in certain countries (for example, the Scandinavian countries)."

It is necessary to make clear to the social-democratic workers, on the basis of concrete examples, that a "Nordic" socialism does not exist, and that the policy of the social-democratic governments in the Scandinavian countries is a policy in line with the intensified offensive of capitalism and leading to fascism in the Scandinavian countries along the lines of development of the fascist dictatorship in Czechoslovakia. The Scandinavian socialists are preparing in an undisguised form to suppress the revolutionary organisations and to outlaw the Communist Parties. Adapting themselves to the given stage of fascist development, they are basically carrying out the same policy that was carried out by the German social democrats.

From Comrade Piatnitsky's speech it was quite clear that we have to deal not only with certain shortcomings and a few opportunist errors, but that it is a case of a tendency toward an opportunist degeneration of the Norwegian Party during the past period. In the parliamentary elections on October 16 the Party polled about 22,000 votes, i.e., even less than in the municipal elections of 1931. These election returns stand out in contrast to the gain by the social democrats of approximately 125,000 votes. The factory and trade union work of the Party has recently fallen off, and during the past year the Party has absolutely nothing to show in the way of economic struggles. The Party is isolated. The chief reason for this is, in my opinion, the fact that the workers in Norway do not see any clear and definite distinction between our Party and the Tranmael party.

Following the intervention of the Presidium of the Comintern in the Spring of 1931, the Party made some progress in 1931 and part of 1932 under the new leadership of Comrade Kristiansen. The Party played a significant part in the big lock-out struggle in 1931. It headed the heroic mass action carried out in Menstadt, where the police were put to flight by the demonstrating masses. Early in 1932 the Party held a successful Day of Struggle against unemployment, and in the Autumn of 1932 it headed the strike of the lumber workers in Amot and organised a widespread movement of solidarity in support of the striking workers. At that time the Party made a number of successful attempts to carry out Bolshevik mass work. It began to gain influence among the working class and to cast aside the abstract propaganda character of Party work. The Party gained over 1,000 new members. Fluctuation was overcome. The ranks of the Party were solidly drawn together. It seemed as if the Party was going to acquire a real broad mass basis in connection with the anti-war movement after the Amsterdam congress. In this movement, however, very serious opportunist errors came to light in the work of the Party. Since then the opportunist errors in the tactics and agitational work of our Party have been piling up more and more. The Party has gradually come to adopt an entirely incorrect line. A retrograde movement has again set in, resulting in stagnation in the Party.

It is precisely in Norway that the "Left" social fascists are playing an extremely important role. The "Left" leaders of the N.A.P. are adopting very far-reaching revolutionary phraseology. It is not uncommon even to hear Tranmael speaking of the "transformation of imperialist war into civil war," or to find the leaders of this Party issuing the slogan of "Defence of the Soviet Union," etc. These "Left" social fascists are not being unmasked in our Party press. On the contrary, their articles are frequently published without comment. These people are being popularised and the illusion is being created of the possibility of building some kind of a bloc with the "Left" leaders of the social democrats in the interest of the working class. How, then, can we be surprised that under these circumstances the working class does not recognise the difference between our Party and Tranmael's party? In such an important city as Bergen, and in a mining centre like Kirkens, and in other localities, a so-called united front was formed for May 1 in which the Communists agreed that the only speaker at the demonstrations should be a social democrat. In the Party publication in Bergen nearly a whole page was devoted to the speech of a social democratic leader, which was described as an excellent speech, without a single word of criticism. Even after the C.C. Plenum in May had condemned such astounding opportunist errors, the comrades in Bergen did not carry on any self-criticism or make much of a change. In connection with the so-called period of reaction, our press in its leading articles is popularising the basic platform of the social democrats. In a great number of articles our Party press is coming out for a social democratic government and for the so-

called "proud slogans" of the social democrats. Who can be surprised if, with such policy and methods of agitation, which constitute direct agitation for the social democrats, the workers remain with the N.A.P. and do not come over to the Communist Party? In the revision of wage agreements this year our Party and the R.T.U.O. had the same slogans as the reformists, namely, the platform of prolongation of the existing wage agreements, which was carried out by the employers. In the Anti-War Movement our Party did not show any clear and basic line of demarcation from the pacifism of the N.A.P.

In the unemployed movement the organisation of action has been gradually replaced by a more or less abstract organisational fetishism. In the resolution of the Unemployed Conference in Oppegard, a united front "independent of political parties" is advocated, and at the same time plans are being discussed for the building up of new joint organisations of workers and unemployed which is supposed to replace the trade unions. The central organ of the Party declared itself to be in complete agreement with these directives, which placed the Communist Party on the same level as the social democratic party.

During the past year, with very few exceptions, no serious steps have been taken to organise and lead the struggles of the workers on an independent basis. On March 2, 1933, a leading article appeared in the central organ of the Party, addressed to the trade union federation in the expectation that it would take the initiative in developing a mass struggle against the anti-trade union law. The result of these "waiting tactics" and of the view that the Liberal government would perhaps not carry through the anti-trade union law, and the result of the underestimation of the development of fascism in Norway were that on the whole the reformists succeeded in preventing the development of mass action despite the indignation of the masses against the law.

While the line of the Party leadership, in contradiction to the resolutions of the Sixth Party Congress, led more and more towards a bloc with the "Left" leaders of the social democrats, on the other hand Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were not only criticised in the Party press but were placed into the same category as the social traitors.

In recent times our comrades have devoted too little attention to the strike struggles of the workers. It is absolutely necessary to bring about a better understanding in the ranks of the Party of the question of correctly linking up economic struggles with the political struggle against the war danger and against war preparations, above all against intervention, and of linking up more correctly and more effectively economic struggles with the anti-fascist struggle of the Party.

The important task of winning over the working youth has not been fully understood by the Party. Recently there have been some minor improvements in regard to this question, but there is no tendency in the direction of a fundamental change.

The Party has not yet succeeded in giving a correct estimation of the lessons of the elections of October 16, and the tasks of the Party at the present moment. The resolution of the Politbureau on the election returns (published in the Central organ on October 28) does not contain the correct estimation that is needed by the Party to-day. First of all, it is stated in this resolution:—

"The elections returns were a blow . . . against reaction and against the fascist advance."

Thus: Half a million votes for a social fascist party with a conspicuous isolation of our Party is represented as a blow to reaction and fascism. Secondly, the resolution of the Politbureau states:—

"The elections show that the mass basis of the bourgeoisie has been considerably reduced and undermined."

Case after case comes up in which the social democratic party in Norway is looked upon more or less as a party which is opposed to the bourgeoisie.

Third, in the resolution of the Politbureau it is stated that a social democratic government or a government bloc of the Norwegian Labour Party, with the Liberals, would be a "costly policy for the bourgeoisie." Accordingly, such a policy for the working class must be a relatively good policy. What does the official organ of the Employers' Association in Norway say about this? Here we read:—

"One should not close one's eyes to the advantages to be gained by the Norwegian people as well as by industry if the trade union and political representatives of the workers were made to shoulder responsibility."

In other words: such a government is highly valuable to capitalism and the bourgeois parties. Fourthly, the resolution of

the Politburo does not make the question of the organisation of direct action on behalf of the most urgent demands of the working class the central point in the present tasks of the Party. The slogan of a six-hour day, with full compensation in wages, is put forward as a general slogan of action. The struggle against fascism is no longer the main slogan and has simply been dropped from the programme of action of the Party. This is fully in keeping with the views of a number of leading Party comrades who consider that fascism suffered a defeat in the elections.

The Party must unite all its forces to eradicate these errors and to establish a clear-cut foundation for mobilising the masses in the present situation.

The Executive, the Scandinavian Secretariat, and I myself in the capacity of Party representative, have made repeated attempts to convince the comrades of the unpardonable character and the serious consequences of their errors and to bring about a change. Unfortunately I have to admit that this has not yet been achieved. There are various reasons for this. To some extent it is due to the fact that in the spring I myself was guilty of serious opportunist vacillations, above all on the question of the united front tactics. Only after the letter of the Scandinavian Secretariat in May did I clearly recognise the consequences of my second united front letter to the N.A.P. and call upon the comrades to change their line. This, however, was not done. Comrade Piatnitsky was entirely right when he dealt with the Norwegian question here in a serious and sharp manner in order to help the Party out of this blind alley.

The immediate tasks regarding the political line of the Party are, in my opinion, the following: Fundamental eradication of the incorrect estimation of the social democrats, above all the "Left" leaders of the N.A.P., and the opportunist view in relation to the united front policy; the rallying of all forces for speedy overcoming of the defects and weaknesses in Party work, above all in the leading industrial districts, where the great masses of Norwegian industrial workers are concentrated; winning of the membership of our Party for a real Bolshevik turn by applying the method of convincing them and by collective work of all Party forces ready to uphold the correct line, and by the development of the initiative of the membership and of the revolutionary workers in general for the ideological and organisational strengthening of the Party. This involves an improvement in the Party press and the agitational methods of the Party so that we can convince the workers in the Tranmael Party, the majority of whom are ready to carry on a struggle against capitalism, of the necessity for a proletarian united front and of the correctness of the platform and policy of the Communist Party and the Communist International.

The main tasks in the field of the mass work of the Party at the present stage of the capitalist offensive and the fascist developments inside the country are primarily the following: Immediate preparation and carrying out of local action for winter relief to the unemployed and for unemployment insurance at the expense of the employers and the government. Development of economic struggles in the factories against any worsening of conditions and for the improvement of working conditions and raising of wages, against all indirect encroachments on the wage scale by the employers, and for shortening of the working day without loss of wages. Struggle for the abolition of the repressive law against trade unions, and particularly of the so-called boycott law. Consistent and complete exposure of the government plans of the Norwegian Labour Party, which are in reality anti-labour plans, incorporating the "lesser evil" policy of the German social democrats; concentration of the main forces of the Party and its Central Committee on the factory and trade union work in the most important industrial districts. Linking up of partial struggles and strikes with mass demonstrations, and linking up of these struggles for partial demands with the struggle against fascism and the war danger and propaganda and agitation for the ultimate aims of the Party, for revolutionary seizure of power, for a Soviet government. There are already thousands of revolutionary fighters in the ranks of the Party. Most of the comrades who have made mistakes are, in my opinion, definitely ready to recognise their mistakes and do everything possible to bring the Party forward again. With the help of all revolutionary workers in Norway and with the help of the Comintern and the other Scandinavian Parties, the Norwegian Party must go forward and become a real Communist Party.

Comrade Kuusinen, Comrade Lenski and other comrades correctly pointed out in their speeches that not only the fascists,

but also the social fascists, have in recent times been placing more and more in the foreground the questions of so-called ultimate aims, "socialism," a "new system of society," etc. This makes it all the more important and necessary for us to take up not only the question of partial demands and partial struggles, but also, and most consistently, the question of power and the question of socialism, linked up with this question of partial demands and partial struggles. In answer to the agitation of the fascists with their catch-words such as "Nordic resurgence," and the like, certain Norwegian comrades wanted to put forward the slogan of "Soviet Scandinavia" as an antidote, so to speak. In my opinion such a slogan is in contradiction to correct Bolshevik propaganda for the revolutionary way out. The slogan "Soviet Scandinavia" is incorrect primarily for two reasons: (1) because it is in contradiction to the Leninist theory of the unequal development of capitalism, presupposing a simultaneous victorious proletarian revolution in all Scandinavian countries; (2) because such a slogan is in contradiction to the Leninist slogan of the national right of self-determination.

In practice we had a situation in which much was said and spoken about Soviet Scandinavia, the Soviet North, while actual daily collaboration and mutual support of the work of the Scandinavian parties was very weak. The Scandinavian employers are very closely bound up together. The reformists have built up a close Scandinavian collaboration. It is only among the Scandinavian Communists that such collaboration is lacking, although it is most necessary at the present time in order to co-ordinate the forces of the revolutionary working class in these countries. This is extremely important above all from the standpoint of the danger of war against the Soviet Union and from the standpoint of the "Nordic" aspirations of the fascists. Above all, it is our duty, as a revolutionary workers' party, to popularise among the masses of the Nordic proletariat to a much higher degree, the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union in connection with the agitation for and the slogan of a Soviet government.

The resolution of the Twelfth Plenum of the Comintern on this point, about putting forward the slogan of a Soviet government as the main slogan of our Parties in all capitalist countries, has very serious consequences for the tasks of mass work and for the whole strategy and tactics of the Party, and also in relation to the inner Party line. This slogan will fulfil its purpose only if our Parties know how to take over the leading role in the struggle of the workers. These slogans will achieve success only if our Parties know how to expose to the full the social fascist betrayal of so-called "democratic socialism," if they exert every effort to overcome and abolish all un-Bolshevik opportunist tendencies in the ranks of the Party and if they unite the great masses, the decisive elements of the working class, the youth, the poor peasants, a part of the office employees, etc., around the banner of the revolutionary struggle.

The issuing of the slogan of a Soviet government as the main slogan of our Party calls for the most serious efforts to develop a Bolshevik type of Party in the capitalist countries, and calls for a speedy overcoming of the practice of lagging behind, and for the winning over of the masses of social democratic workers for the policy of the Communist Party.

Comrade Piatnitsky pointed out in his speech that above all in the Czech, Norwegian, British and French Parties there was a dangerous tendency to underestimate the opportunist "Right" danger in the period following the Twelfth Plenum. This danger was expressed above all in the fact that these Parties were not able to make any serious breach in the mass basis of the social democrats, and in the fact that the conscious, leading role of the Communist Party in the struggles of the working class was underestimated in various spheres of work not only in theory, but above all in practice. This danger is expressed in the fact that broad sections of workers and labouring elements in these countries—and this is the case not only in Norway—have, as a result of the manoeuvres of the "Left" social fascists, seen no fundamental and decisive difference between us and the social democratic party, and consequently do not rally the necessary forces to carry through the break with the social democrats. If we want to triumph in the great decisive struggles which are to come, it is absolutely necessary for us to overcome most speedily this lagging behind and go over to the offensive in the spirit of Bolshevism, in the spirit of, and in complete solidarity with, the heroically struggling Communist Parties of China, Poland and Germany. (Applause.)

Comrade Ferdi (Turkey)

Since its foundation the Kemal Republic has been carrying on with remarkable consistency an unchanged foreign policy in entire agreement with its nationalist and bourgeois character. The nationalism of the Kemal party which, at the head of the toiling masses, with arms in its hands and with the moral and superior support of the Soviet Union against the attempts of the foreign imperialists to subjugate Turkey, achieved its national independence, clings with both hands to its alliance with the country of socialist construction. We Communists fight against the nationalism of the Turkish bourgeoisie in so far as it is directed against other nations and leads towards the destruction or the violent assimilation of the non-Turkish peoples of Asia Minor. The nationalism of the Kemalist bourgeoisie embodies its desire to retain the monopoly of the exploitation of the native workers and of the natural resources of the country in Turkey.

The Kemalists are fully aware of the fact that the independence of Turkey is linked up with the existence and the friendship of the Soviet Union, and that if it were not for this they would not be in a position to offer even the slightest resistance to the underhanded attempts of imperialist capital to subjugate them anew. That is the secret of Angora's continuous loyalty to its alliance with the Soviet Union.

If the Kemal dictatorship is driven by its nationalism to seek the support of the Soviet Union, we see that its bourgeois character, the pursuance of a capitalist policy, drives it to throw itself into the arms of international finance capital and the imperialist Powers that dominate it. Still, that does not take place without shocks. The imperialists who still own important key positions in the economy of Turkey have not yet given up the hope of forcing the Kemalists to their knees. Therefore they are compelled to continue along this path with the greatest caution.

However, French imperialism, in view of the critical situation in Europe, thought it necessary to show that it is more friendly disposed to Kemalist Turkey than it was heretofore. After the question of the Ottoman government debts was regulated in a manner that was favourable for Turkey, and after trade relations were set up between the two countries, we have been experiencing a veritable idyll between the two countries for the past six months. Disturbed by the rapprochement, Hitler Germany expressed itself in favour of advancing money to Kemalist Turkey, the speeches of Hindenburg and von Papen revived old memories of the former comradeship in arms and concluded an economic agreement with Turkey which is very advantageous to it. It can therefore be seen that the growing seriousness of the international situation since Hitler's advent to power and the feverish tempo of arming for war have noticeably improved the situation of Turkey with regard to the imperialist Powers. From a humble petitioner it is beginning gradually to push forward to a State whose friendship is desired.

Be that as it may, the government of Angora is seriously counting on the possibility of a war and is making systematic preparations so as not to be surprised by events. The accelerated tempo of *fascisation* in the most important capitalist countries must naturally bring about repercussions in such a backward country as Turkey. If the Kemalist dictatorship saw its social basis shrink to a great extent in consequence of the prolonged agrarian crisis raging in the country, the Kemalist party, on the contrary, under the pretext of making good the harm brought about by the crisis, was able to benefit by the general upheaval of the economic conditions, to consolidate its rule and to extend its control to the most important branches of production. This concentration is expressed in a number of nationalisation measures and protectionist provisions.

But there is also another side to the medal. Not only are the costs of this economic policy being paid for by the already heavily burdened taxpayers and the broad masses of consumers, but the concern of the Kemalists for the profitability of these undertakings causes them to reduce the cost of production to a minimum, i.e., to pursue a policy of low wages, relatively high prices, through tariffs and the quota system, and to force down the prices of the agricultural products destined for export even below the international prices, so as to be able to compete with the countries that export similar agricultural products and to keep exports at a level

which will make it possible to have a favourable balancing of imports. The consequence of this policy is the expropriation of the small producers by the large landowners and the large export firms, forcing the purchasing power of the peasantry down to the lowest level and the most extreme contraction of the home market, a big drop in the standard of living of the workers and an increase in unemployment.

The Kemalists could force these difficult conditions upon the population only by means of a system of the most ferocious terror and oppression, by nipping every agitation of the workers and the toiling peasants in the bud with unbelievable brutality. In view of the fact that at the beginning the People's Party employed its measures of oppression above all against reaction and clericalism, that it played a positive role in the victorious war for national independence, that it placed itself at the head of the armed anti-imperialist struggles of the toiling masses of Asia Minor and that up to now it has proved loyal in its friendship to the Soviet Union, the C.P. of Turkey believed that it could not qualify its nationalist dictatorship as a fascist dictatorship, but declared it to be a masked dictatorship, a parliamentarism of the bourgeoisie and the large landowners directed against the people. Kemal's People's Party has been pursuing an uninterrupted policy of terror, particularly since 1927. Arrests, terrible sentences, and the most subtle provocations are on the order of the day. It is striving physically to annihilate the Communist Party, it has gradually abolished all the independent political and trade union organisations of the working class. It directs its entire economic policy against the propertyless masses, who are subjected to the most terrible exploitation by the industrialists and the landlords, and it does this while making use of nationalist ideology, which is being very persistently propagated by its intellectual agents. We often come across the demagogy: "Neither capitalism nor socialism" and "general interest precedes private interest."

All these confused ideas aim at lulling the class consciousness of the workers and awakening nationalist feelings in them, in order to befool them, and in that way to make them put up with exploitation without offering any resistance. By its merciless criticism, the C.P. T. exposes the falseness, inconsistency, and the spirit of advertising of all the nationalist propaganda. It popularises its programme of action, the resolutions of the Twelfth Plenum, and the splendid success of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. It points out the contrast between the condition of the proletariat which exercises its dictatorship in the Soviet Union and the condition of the proletariat in the capitalist countries, as, for instance, Turkey. At the same time, the Party is constantly striving to free the workers from nationalist ideology and to bring them under its own influence.

In the course of the past seven years, owing to the persistent efforts of its responsible functionaries and with the active support of the C.I., the C.P.T. has become a real proletarian party, as far as its membership is concerned, as well as its leading cadres. It is at present the only Party which has undisputed influence among the working class and marches at the head of its revolutionary movements. But at the same time it must be admitted that it is not yet strong enough to consolidate all the existing movements.

As is generally known, the Kemalists—just like the Italian fascists—tolerated the opponent political parties at the beginning and established its open dictatorship only two years later. Just like the other oppositional parties, the C.P.T. was able to lead a semi-legal existence from 1923 to 1925 and possessed a legal press. But it committed a serious mistake in not utilising this circumstance in order carefully to prepare for its final and complete transition to illegality. The consequence of this was that when the first wave of terror broke over the country in 1925, and every possibility for legal work disappeared, its entire body of experienced functionaries—who were already known to the police beforehand—was broken up and a large number of them was arrested.

It took two years before the C.P.T. could again become an effective force and a political factor in Turkey. The hunger strike of the Communist prisoners in Constantinople, which lasted more than fifteen days, and the workers' demonstrations which were brought about by this strike, made a great impression in Turkey and compelled the government to give in. Another no less important

event was the turbulent demonstration of our comrades in the court house and before the judge after the announcement of the sentence. This manifestation ended in a bloody collision between the workers and the gendarmes, in which several persons were wounded.

The trade union movement is the weakest field of the work of our Party. There is no fractional work in the Kemalist trade unions and there are no serious attempts to form independent class, militant trade unions.

Only a few timid attempts have been made to form trade union groups in a small number of factories. Continuous work is still lacking. Nothing has been done to set up the Young Communist League again.

Contacts with the peasantry and the work in the countryside are extraordinarily weak, just as they always were. Our work among women is just as poor.

Besides the general tasks which have been set down in the thesis of the Plenum with regard to fascism and the war danger, and which bind all sections, the C.P.T. is confronted with the following urgent tasks:—

Besides the Party work in the narrow sense of the word, intensive trade union activity must be developed. Illegal trade union groups and independent class struggle trade unions must

be formed so as to launch the struggles for the immediate daily demands of the workers through them and to initiate a broad campaign for the legalisation of the workers' organisations. A struggle is to be waged in the Kemalist trade unions in which workers are organised and an attempt is to be made to capture the leadership through patient fraction work, and, if this succeeds, to call upon the masses to join these trade unions in order to convert them into independent trade unions. All possibilities for legal activity are to be exhausted. In the provinces we must organise groups of Communists and conduct systematic propaganda among the peasants, and propagate the idea of forming peasants' committees to fight against the heavy burdens of taxes, for the cancellation of usurious debts and to organise resistance against forced auction sales, etc. We must organise the agricultural day labourers in independent trade unions and lead their struggles for daily demands.

The Y.C.L. must be reconstructed in the shortest possible period as an autonomous organisation working under the control of the Party. A responsible comrade should be appointed to carry on systematic work among the toiling women. The struggle against provocateurs, improvement of the technique of conspiracy, perfecting the illegal press, which has made good progress recently, are further important tasks of our Party. (Applause.)

Comrade Planinski (Bulgaria)

The Communist Party of Bulgaria considers the political and organisational line of the German Party and its Central Committee, headed by Comrade Thaelmann, as absolutely correct. The best example of our Party's attitude towards the heroic struggle of the German proletariat and its vanguard is the manly Bolshevik conduct of one of the leaders of our Party and of the September uprising in Bulgaria, Comrade Dimitrov, at the Leipzig trial. (Stormy applause.) Comrade Dimitrov, together with Torgler, Popov and Tanev, occupies one of the most advanced posts in the struggle of the international proletariat and of the entire Communist International.

Comrade Dimitrov's Bolshevik tenacity is a brilliant example of how Communists should fight in the cause of the proletarian revolution and the Communist International against fascism in Germany, in Bulgaria and all over the world.

The basic result in the work of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, in its Bolshevik development and in the sphere of leadership of the struggles of the working class, consists in its having already won the majority of the working class and a considerable section of the small and middle peasants to its side. This is a result of its correct political line and the systematic struggle waged against every shade of opportunism both inside and outside the Party.

The accentuation of the economic crisis in Bulgaria assumes a particularly sharp character owing to the backwardness of Bulgarian capitalism. The intertwining of the agrarian crisis with the industrial crisis has brought about a complete degradation of the small and middle peasants and the decay of agriculture in general. A new wave of curtailment of production has swept the country in 1933 and has been accompanied by a further increase in the army of unemployed. Internal and foreign trade is steadily declining. The country is faced with complete financial bankruptcy.

All forms of exploitation and fleecing of the toiling masses are being intensified. The process of cutting the wages and salaries of the workers and State employees, many of whom have not received any salaries for the last four to six months, is still continued. The process of ruination and plunder of the basic masses of the peasants has assumed unprecedented dimensions.

The government of the "National Bloc" has deprived the working class of all its social achievements. It has increased taxes and is mercilessly distraining on the property of those who refuse to pay. The attempts of the fascist dictatorship to secure a wider social basis by bringing the Agrarian League into the government have failed. Instead of securing a wider social base, as opportunist elements contend, we witness a further weakening

of the fascist dictatorship and, despite the most horrible terror, the rapid maturing of a revolutionary crisis in the country.

The strike movement in Bulgaria has been steadily increasing ever since 1929. Never in the history of the Bulgarian labour movement did we have such a high wave of strikes as in the period of the economic crisis.

The organising role of the Party and the revolutionary unions is steadily growing. The number of successful strikes is growing. In 1932 about 70 per cent of the strikes were successful and in 1933 about 84 per cent, have been successful, according to incomplete reports.

The Communist Party and the revolutionary unions have delivered a decisive blow at the social fascists and practically squeezed them out from the privately owned enterprises and from the leadership of strikes. In 1932 they led only one strike, that of printing workers. This year they have conducted a strike in the building industry.

Strikes in Bulgaria indicate that with correct leadership the working class can not only repel the onslaught of capitalism, but can assume the counter-offensive, in spite of the vast army of unemployed and the raging terror of the fascists. Present-day strikes are of an exclusively militant revolutionary character.

The adoption of new forms of struggle should be pointed out in connection with strikes this year. For example, the miners of the Hadjiliper and Chumerskav mines marched to the city where the management is located, and in the course of twenty days took possession of the building and carried on the struggle for payment of back wages to the amount of 1,200,000 lei. They succeeded in getting half of the sum paid up. Another example was the capture of the warehouse and freight cars loaded with coal on the part of the miners of the Tderditse mine, thereby forcing the management to pay out unpaid wages to the amount of one million lei. Other factories and works were captured and held for hours in several instances.

During the struggle the strikers establish a united revolutionary front with the peasants of surrounding villages, who take an active part in the demonstrations and in the battles of the strikers. Women workers and the youth also take active part in these strikes. It should be particularly emphasised that women and the youth in the textile and tobacco industries are fighting in the front ranks of the strikers.

Notwithstanding the achievements in the sphere of strike leadership, the Party has not yet succeeded in drawing some of the decisive detachments of the Bulgarian proletariat into the strike movements, such as the transport workers for example.

The unceasing strike movements among the workers, which

draw the backward sections into the struggle, in spite of the raging terror of the fascist dictatorship, assume an ever more pronounced revolutionary character and reveal explosive elements which may result in a decisive revolutionary outburst of class struggle and bring sharply before the workers the question of seizing political power.

At the same time the revolutionary upsurge of the peasants is assuming a wider basis and the elements of a peasant uprising are maturing. The masses of peasants take most active part at revolutionary meetings and demonstrations, which frequently result in clashes with the fascist dictatorship and the police. The situation in the villages has been described by one of the bourgeois papers as follows:—

"There are villages which no creditor, no lawyer and no judge would dare enter for fear of being beaten up or even killed."

All this raises before our Party the serious task of preparing the proletariat and the toiling masses for the impending decisive battles for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for a Soviet Bulgaria.

The tasks of the proletarian revolution in Bulgaria, which is primarily a peasant agrarian country, are greatly intertwined with the tasks of a bourgeois-democratic revolution. It is therefore extremely important to win the allies of the proletariat, the small peasants and all the exploited and ruined middle sections to the side of the proletarian revolution. In this respect it should be emphasised that the Party is lagging behind in spite of certain achievements. Directing its main blow against the Agrarian League, the Communist Party of Bulgaria must systematically expose the "Left" groups which endeavour to draw the radical mass of peasants to their side. The Party must bring about a decided change in this sphere of work by putting forth suitable slogans connected with the defence of the immediate interests of the basic sections of the peasantry and applying the tactics of the united front from below.

Another sector on which the Party is lagging and which is of decisive importance is that of the railroad workers. True, the Party has had some successes here. The reformist trade unions, under pressure of the radicalisation of the masses, were compelled to put forward demagogic slogans about uniting the railroad men for a struggle against capitalism. This social-fascist manoeuvre was forced upon them by the growing radicalisation of the masses, and its object is to keep the workers under reformist influence.

Our Party exposes this manoeuvre and advocates the slogan of real unity of the railroad workers on the basis of revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

Compared with 1930 and 1931, the Party membership has increased fourfold. The Party has readjusted its work on the factory principle. It has succeeded in strengthening its organisations in the basic proletarian centres. Its social composition has considerably improved. Its organisational basis in the factories has

widened. Its illegal publications appear, although irregularly, and are of tremendous importance. In the sphere of anti-militarist work, the Party has made big progress and has succeeded in penetrating the decisive military strongholds of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie. All the achievements notwithstanding, it should be stressed that the Party is still fairly backward in its organisational development.

The Party has succeeded in correctly raising the question of co-ordination of illegal with legal methods of work, which has enabled it to establish contact with the broad masses of the proletariat and to lead them in the struggle. It has set up many legal mass organisations which enable it to penetrate the deepest strata of the proletariat.

The Party has succeeded in strengthening the Young Communist League which has become a much stronger organisation with a better political and ideological development. It is no longer in the sectarian state in which it was in 1929-1930.

The revolutionary trade unions are shifting their work to the factories and establishing contacts with the broad masses of workers. Their leading role in strikes is gaining prominence, in spite of the fascist terror, but there are still many shortcomings in their activity.

The work of the Party inside the reformist and fascist unions has improved. The trade union opposition polled a majority of the railroad workers' votes in Sofia during the elections to the mutual aid society. The trade union opposition has gained leadership in conventions of important reformist trade union organisations.

The Party has conducted several strikes in various cities on the basis of its united front tactics from below.

But our Party still has many serious shortcomings in practice. Insufficient attention is being paid to the work of the lower units, the factory nuclei. Fractional work in the mass organisations is not yet up to the proper standard. The general mass struggles of the working class are insufficiently linked up with the defence of their immediate interests. The principles of conspiracy are often disregarded, although the Party has achieved great success in this sphere.

Another serious shortcoming is that our trade union work does not keep pace with the growing revolutionary upsurge. Though they have many achievements, our unions have not yet become the mass organisations which they should be.

Our Party has succeeded in becoming a leading factor in the struggle of the working class and the toiling masses under the severest fascist terror, having overcome the social-democratic survivals of the past and utilised all the traditions of the revolutionary wing of the socialist party before the war and developed extensive mass Bolshevik work, co-ordinating both legal and illegal methods of activity. Under the present circumstances, when the fascist dictatorship is crumbling, when the majority of the working class follows our Party, we are confronted with the serious task of preparing the working class and the toiling masses for the final struggle for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. (Applause.)

Comrade Larsen (Denmark)

In the Scandinavian countries there are social democratic parties which have a real mass influence, which "lead and betray" the overwhelming majority of the working population, and which, at least in Sweden and Denmark, have been entrusted by the bourgeoisie with the helm of State. We find, particularly in Sweden and Denmark, such a close interrelation of the social democratic parties with the capitalist state apparatus, and such deliberate fascisation of the State apparatus by these social democratic parties that they can best be compared with the social democratic party of Czechoslovakia. Moreover, they have openly declared that they are following the course adopted in Czechoslovakia. Their catch-word is "democracy," and under the slogan of "Democracy, Strike on Democracy," they are endeavouring to carry out all the fascist demands of the bourgeoisie in order to retain their governmental power. In this way they draw the lessons of the collapse of German social democracy and the Second International.

The Danish social democrats have introduced into Denmark the judicial system of the Third Reich. There are now more than fifty cases of court procedure and penalties for the adoption of

protest resolutions against Hitler and Goering or for insulting the swastika flag, etc. Their crisis policy is equal to the Brüning policy, with its destruction of food products, increase in the cost of living, indirect taxes and protective tariffs for the benefit of the rich farmers and big bourgeoisie. The social legislation of the bourgeoisie is a refined form of repression, accompanied by forced labour, whereby the trade unions are becoming more and more attached to the State. Strikes are prohibited and wage contracts have been prolonged by law. All of this is taking place by legal and strictly parliamentary means. The social democrats are playing the leading role in the anti-Soviet campaign. By an agreement with the party of the rich farmers they have increased the war preparations of Denmark, officially espousing the cause of the defence of the fatherland on the grounds of "Nazi danger in the South," and in all phases of their development they have shown their solidarity with the German social democrats and their treachery. In order to keep the workers from active struggle against fascism, which is being organised in Denmark also, they have built up a "theory" according to which fascism is something

which has already been passed through in Denmark, to the effect that during the '80's and the '90's there was something similar to fascism in Denmark, but it was fortunately overcome thanks to pure native Nordic democracy. The Nordic social democrats have taken over the race theory from the national socialists and have transformed it into a theory of Nordic nations and Nordic democracy.

In spite of its fascist deeds, however, this social democratic party still has very great influence on the working class. Its unmasking, and the winning of the masses away from it, call for a consistent, courageous and correct application of the united front policy of the Comintern. In Denmark, as in all the Scandinavian countries, the reformist trade unions constitute the chief basis of the social democratic party. If we are to hit at the social democrats our blow must be aimed first of all at the trade unions, and if we consider the progress which has already been made by the Communist Party of Denmark we must realise that it has been possible mainly as a result of trade union work. For we have made definite progress. We have increased our membership five times over since 1931, and have doubled it since the Twelfth Plenum. Our Party organ, which used to come out in a small edition, very irregularly and not more than once a week, has increased its circulation four times over, and will be issued as a daily paper beginning January 1, 1934. In the parliamentary elections of 1929, the Party polled 3,539 votes, while in the autumn elections of 1932 we polled 17,200, and for the first time sent two deputies to parliament. In this connection, however, we must not forget that the social democratic party in Denmark has 150,000 members, and that in the last elections it polled 660,000 votes and elected 62 deputies. Now an R.T.U.O. has been organised, with 5,000 members, at least 2,000 of them Communists, and with groups in nearly all the trade unions and in many factories, and has achieved a number of successes. We have to recognise that our influence far and away exceeds the organisational strength of the Party. In 1931 we made our turn in trade union work. Up to then we had written much about trade union work and the organisation of the R.T.U.O., but we had done very little in this respect. The Party was small and without influence. Nevertheless, it attempted to give orders instead of to lead. Its policy was sectarian. For example, as long as the Party did nothing but issue far-reaching demands for the unemployed and call them to demonstrations, there was no movement at all. But when we began to organise committees of action of the unemployed at the labour exchanges, and when we brought the question of the desperate condition of the unemployed up for discussion at meetings, the situation changed at once. The authority of the Party grew.

The same thing is true of the trade unions. We must keep in mind that there are only reformist trade unions in Denmark. They comprise 350,000 members, i.e., almost all the industrial workers. These trade unions are almost entirely under social democratic leadership. They are closely linked up with the State apparatus; legal strikes are but rare exceptions. More than 60 per cent. of the Party members are trade union members. The club meetings in the factories and the general meetings in the locals, which have a far-reaching organisational independence, offer a good field for our comrades to come forward. It must, however, be continually emphasised that every achievement attained would have been impossible if we had confined ourselves to general instructions and talk about the ultimate aims of the labour movement. Nevertheless, it would be still more dangerous to go to the other extreme and to have the comrades restrict themselves to trade union activities, avoiding political issues, winning positions and perhaps even gaining control of local trade union committees solely through non-political trade union work.

In spite of the strike prohibition, more strikes took place in Denmark last year than in the previous three years. Almost all these strikes were "unofficial" strikes, which were to some extent under our leadership, and in which the reformists and social democratic authorities exposed themselves as organisers of strike-breakers. Even in the few cases of smaller official strikes, the R.T.U.O. played an unquestionably leading role in the struggle against strike-breaking and against the treachery of the arbitrator and the trade union bureaucrats.

By this sort of work, by earnest attempts to lead the economic struggles of the workers, and by concrete and ruthless unmasking of the reformist leaders and the social democratic government, we have

succeeded not only in building up the R.T.U.O. and winning over many non-Party and social democratic workers for it, but also in winning a number of positions in the trade unions. After the parliamentary elections, the social democrats organised a ferocious campaign of incitement against our Party, as a result of which we suffered severe defeats in a number of trade unions. Only after that did we set about seriously to build up the R.T.U.O. We were again able to achieve considerable successes in the Copenhagen metal workers' union, among the ship stokers and in the other organisations. These successes were achieved through the most bitter struggle against the social democrats. Owing to the correct application of the united front tactics and the winning over of social democratic workers for our demands, the social democrats have found it exceedingly difficult to carry out expulsions of revolutionary trade union members and to bring about splits.

Of course, trade union work is only a part of our general work, although a very important part, and we have done everything in our power to link it up with the work of the Party in general. When in the autumn of 1932 the Party for the first time got two deputies in parliament, it was faced with new questions and new tasks. We have closely linked up our parliamentary work with extra-parliamentary work, for example in the question of unemployment, the question of the 7-hour day with full compensation in wages, the question of the police and the cases of court action which are piling up more and more, and the question of right of asylum.

The social democrats have attempted to convince their supporters that the struggle against fascism should be carried on only with the help of the State apparatus, the police and the army. Nevertheless, they have not succeeded in persuading their members in this respect. Many class-conscious workers from the social democratic party and many members of the socialist youth are joining us in the struggle against the fascists.

The social democrats are attempting to retain their supporters by means of far-reaching "Left" manoeuvres. They declare that the struggle against fascism in the given case must be carried out with armed force, and are even advocating revolution. In the municipalities they are organising protests through their leading representatives against their own reactionary social democratic municipal policy in order to prevent the workers from coming over to us. Things have gone so far in Denmark that the social democrats themselves have even organised and financed a Brandlerist and a Trotskyist section, although these sections are very small and have no influence. The social democratic press is printing Trotsky's articles. According to agreement, it is paying 200 kronen for every article to Trotsky's representatives in Denmark, who use this money for carrying on their agitation. The social democrats have placed members in the Brandler section in order to keep the young workers away from us.

In recent times sectarian and putchist tendencies have arisen in the Communist Party. A number of comrades are attempting to issue not only the slogan "Strike at the fascists wherever you meet them!" but also the slogan "Strike at the social fascists wherever you meet them!" Such slogans inevitably lead to an isolation of the Party. We must combat this danger by means of a correct application of the united front tactics. Along with the struggle against sectarianism and putchism, it is necessary also to strengthen the struggle against "Right" opportunism. The fact that this is necessary is made very clear by an article in our Party organ, in which an out and out social democratic line is advocated for our parliamentary work.

At the same time we have the great task of strengthening our actions of solidarity with the C.P.G. and intensifying the struggle against fascism in Denmark itself. We are confronted with great tasks in the struggle against war preparations and against militarism, particularly now, when the social democratic government is attempting to increase the navy on grounds of danger from German nationalism, in order to prepare for the coming war against the Soviet Union. We must arouse the sympathy of the workers for the Soviet Union to a greater extent than we have ever succeeded in doing so far.

The Communist Party of Denmark is fifteen years old. It is high time that this Party ceased to be a small, a tiny Party. It is high time that it developed into a mass Party in order to become a real section of the Comintern. (Applause.)

Comrade Muller (Switzerland)

Capitalism in Switzerland is affected by the crisis in all its various sections as a result of it being intertwined with international economy. Some branches of industry, such as watch manufacturing and the embroidery industry, have in essence already died out. The machine and electrical industry, the building industry, and the hotel business are in an extremely serious position. Agriculture is suffering from rapidly growing indebtedness. One hundred and twenty thousand workers are partially and entirely unemployed. Finance capital, which has three milliard francs frozen in Germany alone, now receives hundreds of millions from the State as subsidies. At the same time, the introduction of mass taxation, the reduction of wages for government employees, is taking place. Hundreds of millions are being expended for armaments for war. Anti-working-class laws are being introduced against the revolutionary organisations. Since Hitler came to power, the bourgeoisie is developing a fascist mass movement in the form of leagues, "Fronten" and associations, in which the members have to take an oath, under the slogan of national rejuvenation and the defence of democracy. The thoroughly indebted peasantry is to form the main basis of the movement. At the head of this movement there are representatives of the government parties and high officers of the army.

The revolutionary movements during 1932, particularly the persistent struggle of the tramway workers and the striking fitters against the government power in Zurich, the unrest among the embroidery workers in Rheintal, who, while singing the "International," made a mass storm upon the police station in Catholic, petty-bourgeois Freiburg, the heroic street battles of the workers in Geneva and Lausanne against the fascist reaction which developed into the general strike, the big mass demonstrations in Basle and Zurich against the defence of the Hitler flag by the Swiss police—all that shows the revolutionary upsurge of the masses. The political rights of the masses are being liquidated in the name of democracy. The Swiss Minister of War declared:—

"In view of the fiasco of the disarmament conference in Geneva and the dismemberment of the League of Nations, the army must be armed so that it can march on the side of a big Power at the given moment."

The social fascists who tried to defeat every strike with deception and its police force, immediately rushed to call on the workers to save bourgeois democracy. They published a new paper, "The Nation," with a circulation of 200,000. In this paper they declared their renunciation of those points of the party programme which advocate the proletarian dictatorship and the voting against military credits. They say that the bearers of fascism in Switzerland are unimportant as they are only students and in parliament they voted for the military credits under the guise of the provision of work. Arthur Schmidt, the so-called "Left," called upon the capitalist government immediately to begin the war against Hitler Germany. Grimm, the spokesman for the S.P.S., declared the following at their Party Congress: "On the whole, there is an entirely altered situation which compels us to re-examine our basic principles and our tactics." So we see that Grimm comes out openly for the defence of the fatherland.

Our Party's offer for the united front in the struggle against fascism and the capitalist offensive met with enthusiastic response among wide sections of the social-democratic workers. The heroic work and activity of the German Communist Party has also exercised great influence upon the social-democratic workers, and, despite the fact that the social fascists at all their meetings try to slander the German Communist Party, to make out that it is guilty, it is precisely the social-democratic workers who openly come forward and defend the Communist Party of Germany and show that it is only the Communists of Germany who really fight against fascism. At the Party Congress, social-democratic workers demanded the united front with the Communists and the rejection of the united front with the bourgeois associations. Grimm threatened them with expulsion. But, notwithstanding this, 72 social-democratic workers at the Party Congress voted for the united front with us and against the leadership. If, despite all this, the social fascists can achieve such election victories as the one which they recently achieved, the question arises as to how that is possible.

A year ago the resolution of Comrade **Humbert-Droz**, in which the revolutionary upsurge of the masses was disputed, was discussed here. The Comintern rejected this platform, and events also refuted it. But the same tendencies and moods which were expressed in this resolution existed in our Party. We did indeed organise and lead the splendid strike of the Zurich fitters in which it came to street fighting, but we were not able to consolidate the growing desires of the masses throughout the country to struggle, precisely because we had underestimated this desire. For that reason we were also surprised by the events in Geneva. We left it to the "Left" **Nicole** to express the resentment of the masses, who by this only pursued the aim of directing the stream of the revolutionary mass storm into a false channel. After the outbreak of the movement, our comrades in Geneva, the Geneva members of the Central Committee, of course placed themselves at the head of the masses. But while the best of our comrades, such as Comrade **Fuerst**, a member of the Central Committee, fell and were wounded, there was a section of the Party leadership that went to Nicole and asked him what the S.P. intended to do. Thus it came about that Grimm, Reinhardt and others were in a position to put off the general strike. Only because the C.C., despite this delay, despite the fact that it was surprised as a result of the wrong political attitude, immediately sent a delegation to Geneva, was it possible to organise a general strike in Geneva and Lausanne. But it very soon became clear that, although the Party in the rest of Switzerland immediately called up the masses for protest meetings and demonstrations and issued the slogans for the strike, our force was not sufficient to meet the attack of the social fascists, for our Party was not sufficiently prepared on account of its erroneous attitude, on account of the fact that it did not know the situation and the position of the working class. In Geneva we have the situation where our comrades lead the struggles but where the masses of the workers are of the opinion that all that is being done by the social democracy, by the so-called "Lefts." And this estimation of the S.P. as a workers' party is at present still being expressed in the "Drapeau Rouge" and in a section of the Party leadership in Geneva. In the "Drapeau Rouge" the social democracy is characterised as a workers' party and the illusion is awakened that this party represents the interests of the workers. The same thing applies to Basle, where these "Left" social fascists are to-day being represented as if they were prepared to defend the interests of the working class, and as if this is not possible for them only on account of definite circumstances. It can be said that particularly now we again see a complete support of the "Lefts" in the press.

In our Party, with the help of the Comintern, we have carried on an energetic struggle against opportunism, and especially against rotten liberalism, which showed itself in its full extent in the Party, chiefly in central Switzerland. By correctly placing the question of the struggle against social democracy in Zurich, the Party acquired great sympathy among the working class, so that it was possible for us again to organise and lead strikes there, despite the fact that the whole social democracy and the entire reformist trade union federation came out against these strikes. And even when the reformists did everything in their power, and spent hundreds of thousands of francs in order to be able to take over the leadership of the strikes, it was possible for the Party to maintain the leadership, to expand it, and to co-ordinate the leadership of the various groups of strikes. But because we did not understand how to show the face of the Party in these struggles, we could not numerically show our increased influence during the elections in Zurich. That was a welcome occasion for the opportunists in our Party to attack the Party leadership.

The "Left" social democrats play a dangerous role, particularly in Zurich. As a result of the radicalisation of the workers, they are compelled to "threaten" the Executive Committee of the Party with the manoeuvre of a split in order to be able to retain the masses in that way. They even go so far as to declare that they are for the Soviet Union, for the Communists of the Soviet Union, but against the tactics of the Communists in Switzerland. Therefore it is especially important that the Party should now unmask these "Left" manoeuvres in order not to awaken any illusions in the masses about the split in the Party. It must be made clear to the social-democratic workers that only the Com-

munist Party, only the Communist International, is the real workers' Party. It is now particularly necessary to show the working class, and especially the social-democratic workers, the way out of the crisis and the perspectives for the Soviet power. In Switzerland we have already published a manifesto against the national deception and for social liberation, in which these questions are raised. In order to lead this struggle against the social democracy, against opportunism and rotten liberalism, as it can still be seen in the Party, it is necessary that we carry through the following tasks in the immediate future:—

Struggle against all manifestations of fascisation, no matter in what form, particularly against the anti-working-class laws.

Immediately commence work among the peasants. Intensify the fundamental ideological struggle against social democracy; develop systematic work to win over the oppositional social-democratic workers for the Communist Party. Intensify the ideological struggle against Right opportunist deviations. Strengthen the cadre of functionaries of the Party; liquidate the lagging behind of the Party organisation in French Switzerland.

If we shall carry out these tasks, then I believe that the Party will be able to say at the next International session that it not only led struggles, but that it has also won over a considerable section of the masses of the workers who are now still under the influence of the social democrats.

