

CARRYING OUT THE DECISIONS OF THE XII PLENUM OF THE E.C.C.I.

(Experience of the Communist Parties of Mid-Europe)

THREE months have passed since the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. The development of the class struggle for this period has stressed the correctness of the analysis of the E.C.C.I. on the end of the relative stabilisation of capitalism with still greater force. The "unexpected" events in Geneva which have already led to a rapid flight of capital from the city of the League of Nations, the quietest of capitals for the bourgeoisie; the rapid growth of the strike struggle of the German proletariat, after two years of quiet, which has already compelled the employers in heavy industry to temporarily postpone their attack on wage agreements for the purpose of making better political preparations for this attack; the big successes of the Communist Party of Germany in the Reichstag elections, and many other facts, show the extent to which the Communist vanguard will have to hasten the overcoming of its lagging behind the revolutionary upsurge, in the conditions of the end of the relative stabilisation of capitalism. The peculiarity of the end of capitalist stabilisation is that the revolutionary outbursts of the class struggle frequently take place unexpectedly, shortening the historic period of preparation for the revolution more and more for the Communist Parties. Hence the necessity arises of hastening the rate of solving the basic strategic task on the threshold of the decisive revolutionary battles for the dictatorship of the proletariat to the maximum extent—the task of breaking up the mass basis of social-democracy, and winning the majority of the working-class on the basis of taking the lead in all forms of the class struggle of the proletariat, the development of the economic and political struggle, and an able conversion of the economic struggle of the proletariat into a political struggle in accordance with the concrete revolutionary maturity of the conditions in the given country and in the given stage of the class struggle.

The question of checking the fulfilment of the decisions of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I., of how, and to what extent, the sections of the Communist International carry the knowledge of the general estimate of the development of the class struggle given by the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I., and the basic tactical line of the Communist vanguard to the widest masses is, therefore, of extremely great current importance. This is a question of the methods and forms of absorbing the greatest masses of workers into the struggle. It is a question of transferring the experience of one Party to another, the experience of one class conflict to another, of

correcting weaknesses and mistakes "on the run," in the heat of the growing revolutionary fights, mistakes which occur, mainly, owing to a still insufficient realisation of the very fact of the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, and its significance for the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat.

The experience of the Communist Parties of Central Europe (Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Hungary) is therefore of special interest because it includes the experience of such a Party as the C.P. of Germany, the achievements and shortcomings of which are of tremendous international importance, and from which all sections of the Communist International learn. The countries of Central Europe, on the other hand, give a picture of the adaptation of the basic decisions of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. to the concrete circumstances both of countries with a rapidly maturing revolutionary crisis (Germany), and countries with a growing intensity of the class struggle, and increasing transition from economic struggles to political struggles (Czecho-Slovakia); or such countries as Holland, where the economic struggles of the proletariat are, so far, the only form of the revolutionary mass upsurge.

The question of carrying out the decisions of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. is not merely a question of publishing the theses, or the other resolutions. It is not only a question of discussing them at Party meetings or conferences (although this is of tremendous importance from the view point of the Bolshevik ideological training of the Communist vanguard, and its mobilisation for carrying out these decisions). Above all, it is a question of how the decisions of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. are being expressed in the mass work of the Communist Parties, and especially in the practical and concrete leadership of class struggles. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the carrying out of the decisions of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I.—at least in the Mid-European countries—is considerably better than formerly, and, in particular, better than after its predecessor, the XIth. In particular, the path travelled by the Communist Party of Germany (especially the Berlin Party organisation) from the fascist *coup d'état* of July 20th to the general strike of the transport workers of a city of four million inhabitants; and the big successes of the Communist Party at the Reichstag elections, is one of great achievements, which the C.P.G. attained, during this period, firstly, on the basis of definitely adopting the instructions of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in practice and cleansing

the policy of the Communist Party from the elements of opportunist distortion (group of Comrade Neumann), in the struggle against social-democracy, as in the struggle against fascism. On July 20th, the call of the Berlin organisation of the C.P.G. for a general strike, unaccompanied by a genuine Bolshevik mobilisation of the masses for struggle, turned out in practice to be mere wind popping and had to become the starting-point of serious self-criticism by the German comrades, both at the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and the October Conference of the C.P.G.

To-day the entire Communist International observes, with the greatest satisfaction, how, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the working-class of Germany is offering growing resistance to the latest decree of the Fascist Government.

Only a few months ago the opportunists and panic-mongers, indicating the absence of a strike struggle of the proletariat in Germany, and some temporary lack of success in the election campaigns (the presidential election), drew the conclusion that the change in the relationships of class forces is shown at the present stage in the strengthening of fascism, in the growth of bourgeois reaction, and the defeats of the working-class. The opportunist platform of Humbert Droz on the eve of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. spoke of the "chain of defeats" of the Communist International, and the necessity of relying, even if only for a certain historic space of time, on a leaders' bloc with manoeuvring social-democracy. The Communist International ruthlessly repulsed these opportunist outbursts, taking the growth of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, including that in Germany, as the starting point for its estimate of the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism. The opportunists did not see the extreme intensity of class relations in Germany, which rapidly led partially rather to direct political battles than economic struggles. The fascist *coup d'etat* of the Von Papen Government at once put enormous masses of the proletariat in motion and, by taking the lead in the united front of anti-fascist actions the Communist vanguard succeeded in developing the economic struggle against the capitalist offensive, which, in turn, helped the more rapid development of the tempo of the political struggle of the German proletariat.

The very essence of the great achievements obtained by the C.P.G., on the basis of a consistent carrying into practice of the decisions of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. (which is of the most vital importance for all sections of the Comintern), consists in this realisation of the unity of the working-class under the leadership of the Communist Party, in the political sharpening of the struggle of the Berlin transport workers, the independent leadership of the strikes from beginning to end. They show *how*, in the situation of the end of the partial stabilisa-

tion of capitalism, the Communist Party can and will lead the working masses, *by concrete leadership* of the struggle for their everyday interests, to the most intense *revolutionary political struggles*.

By no means can all the Parties show such good utilisation of the favourable objective conditions of the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism as the C.P.G. Even in the C.P.G. itself, this satisfactory development was far from uniform. The spontaneous striving of the working-class to unity, for resistance to the capitalist offensive and bourgeois reaction, is, in many cases, not taken proper advantage of by the Communist vanguard. To take another example, a very powerful Communist Party of Central Europe, the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia, which was able to obtain great successes in its development between the XI and the XII Plenums of the E.C.C.I. (doubling its membership, a considerable growth of the Red trade unions, etc.) on the basis of the development and leadership of the *partial economic struggles of the proletariat*, which successfully led the general strike at Brüx, was unable to take advantage of the growth of the political antagonisms in the camp, of the bourgeoisie, in the new conditions of the great intensification of political antagonisms in Czecho-Slovakia; the national struggle; the peasant movement; and the sharpening terror of the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary movement; and mobilise the masses for the *political defence*, both of the Communist Party itself and the other mass proletarian organisations, against the bourgeois-fascist terror. For a number of months systematic attempts have been made in Czecho-Slovakia to drive all revolutionary organisations underground. The Communist Party, the I.L.D. and the W.I.R. have been prohibited, and an attack is being made directly on the leaders of the Communist Party, with the aim of depriving them of parliamentary immunity. Neither the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia nor the Y.C.L. have so far been able to mobilise the working masses in defence of the revolutionary organisations. In the conditions of the intensifying situation and the increasing terror, the task of the Communists of Czecho-Slovakia is, above all, to widely *popularise the Communist Party* as the only class Party of the proletariat, and defender of the toiling masses. Only in this way is it possible to rouse the broad masses, in defence of the revolutionary vanguard. However, in spite of dozens, and maybe hundreds, of mass meetings held by the Communists and the Y.C.L., the matter of the defence of the revolutionary organisations has not yet emerged from the walls of closed meetings, has not grown into a mass factory movement, into demonstrations or protest strikes.

An inevitable consequence of this is the stoppage of the further growth of the Party organisation, and even a slowing down of the tempo of further development of economic struggles. In spite of a series of

big strikes in the recent period, as, for example, the miners' strike in Rossitz, which is now going on under the leadership of the Communist Party, a number of metal workers' strikes, builders' strikes and others, which show the existence of an objectively favourable situation, the C.P.C. and the Red trade unions, have not succeeded in developing the struggle against wage-cuts in the textile industry and among the miners of Kladno, organising mass resistance to wage reductions among Government officials, strengthened their positions among the metal workers of Prague, after the successful united front demonstration of October 20th, been able to hold their previous positions in the gigantic enterprises in Vitkovitz and the Skoda plant; and, finally, have not been able to extend the revolutionary peasant movement in the Carpathian Ukraine. The C.P.C. is experiencing the difficulties of transition to higher forms of the political mobilisation of the masses in the conditions of the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism. It is not chance that the greatest lagging behind in the Party work is taking place in the national districts—in Slovakia and the German districts of Czecho-Slovakia, where, at the moment, there is the greatest growth of the revolutionary peasant movement and the national struggle.

The Communist Parties, in spite of the inequality of their development, are now *without exception*, devoting the greatest efforts to really carrying out the decisions of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in practice. In this the increasing Bolshevik maturity of the sections of the Comintern makes itself evident. But the big deficiencies of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia, like those of a number of smaller Communist Parties, become evident precisely in connection with the end of the relative stabilisation of capitalism, and the carrying out of the decisions of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I., and show *where* to seek their sources to overcome them more rapidly.

The question of the *concrete application* of the analysis of the end of the relative stabilisation of capitalism to *each separate country*, and the concrete elaboration of the immediate tactical tasks of the corresponding Communist Parties on this basis is the most serious one. There is a danger of a *mechanical* and *abstract* application of the basic analysis of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I., on the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism. The *internal* process of the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism is not *uniform* in all countries by any means. But the greatest significance of the analysis of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. consists in the fact that it indicated the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism as an *international* phenomenon, with which the development in every country is connected. This has not been *sufficiently realised*, especially in the small Parties (C.P. Holland, C.P. Austria, C.P. Switzerland) Hence searches for symptoms of the end of partial

stabilisation of capitalism arise exclusively on the basis of internal development and not in connection with the entire international position. Hence arises the more or less mechanical repetition of formulae as a sort of compulsory *political signboard* behind which the *old form of practical work* continues, or even a denial of the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism for one's own country (varieties of the theory of "exceptionalism"). For example, we cannot understand the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism for Holland if we do not connect the immediate situation in Holland with the situation in the Dutch colonies—the Dutch East Indies and its population, which is ten times greater than the population of the home country, its incalculable colonial wealth on the plundering of which the stabilisation of Dutch capitalism was maintained, by draining from this colony at least a billion gulden super-profits yearly. The intense crisis in the colonies is the main source of the end of the partial stabilisation in Holland itself. This was not immediately understood by the Dutch comrades, who are now preparing for the Congress of the Communist Party of Holland, and who continue to claim in their discussion that Holland, at present, only is "approaching the end" of capitalist stabilisation. The Dutch Communist Party is beginning, precisely on the basis of the crisis, to break through the masses for the first time, achieving considerable successes in the leadership of economic struggles of the proletariat. The inability to formulate the tasks which arise from the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism in Holland, concretely for its own country, will inevitably weaken the further development of the successes of the Communist Party.

Further, we cannot understand the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism for Austria, if we ignore it as an international factor. The stabilisation of capitalism in Austria was, perhaps, the most *unstable* in all capitalist Europe. The theoreticians of Austrian social-democracy, particularly Otto Bauer, to the present moment, seize on every "rumour" of the bourgeois economists that the economic crisis is beginning to end, for the popularisation of a new source for the salvation of Austrian capitalism. This was the case recently during the "boom" on the New York Stock Exchange; such was the case last year during the search for foreign credits to save the bankrupt Rothschild bank, "Kreditantalt." The legend of the beginning of the end of the economic crisis, now spread by the bourgeois economists aims, above all, at instilling a conviction of the impregnability of capitalism, of new inevitable eras of capitalist stabilisation in the masses, and thus chaining the workers to the capitalist system. Here, more than anywhere else, the rôle of Austrian social-democracy as the main social buttress of the bourgeois in their struggle for a capitalist way

out of the crisis is shown. Here the estimate of the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism as an international estimate is of special importance. The Austrian comrades were unable to draw concrete conclusions for their own country from this which indicates here, above all, a serious increase of *propaganda of exposure* of the social-democrats. This is the more important because the leaders of Austrian social-democracy are now excelling themselves in the most "left" manoeuvres, attempting to deceive the working masses, exploiting the spontaneous striving of the workers towards unity. This was shown, in particular, by the recent Congress of the Austrian social-democrats. The Communist Party of Austria, which has grown in the last two years, but is still small compared with the mass Austrian social-democratic party, can successfully struggle for real influence on the masses if it is able to raise the campaign of exposure to a great height. However, the Austrian comrades have not been able to do this, have not understood the international significance of the Congress of the Austro-Marixists from the viewpoint of the struggle of social-democracy for preserving its influence, not concentrated their work on the mobilisation of the masses against the new manoeuvres of social-democracy. This shows that the Austrian comrades, in spite of all the resolutions of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I., have not yet understood the tremendous significance in this country of the struggle for the social-democratic workers, and especially the work in the reformist trade unions, which has indefensibly weakened recently.

We cannot understand the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism in Switzerland without an estimate of the *specific international situation of this country*. Here, illusions regarding the firmness of the capitalist system are more possible than anywhere else. It is this very illusion of the strength of Swiss capitalism which nourished the opportunist platform of Humbert-Droz before the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. Here the danger of opportunist distortions of the tactic of the united front, and the replacement of the struggle of the working-class for unity, by a bloc of the leaders with social-democracy is most serious. The Swiss comrades are now making great efforts to eliminate the opportunist mistakes they have committed. On the basis of the decisions of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. they have been able to develop a decisive campaign against the renegade Bringolf and the manoeuvres of the famous Geneva "left" social-democrat Nichol. They have been able to stand at the head of the masses during the Geneva movement with great self-sacrifice, and considerably enlarge their political influence, which was shown by the participation of great masses of Geneva workers in the funeral of Comrade Furst, the member of the C.C. of the Swiss Communist Party

who was killed. But *distrust* in their own powers, *hesitation* when faced with mass social-democracy made themselves evident in a series of *waverings* before the declaration of the *general strike* in Geneva. By negotiations with Nichol, the Communists put themselves in *dependence* on the decisions of the social-democrats and *lost time in the independent* call for a strike, when the slogan of the strike was so popular that the Geneva T.U. bureaucrats and the social-democratic committee were *compelled*, in spite of their sabotage, to agree to the strike *under mass pressure*.

This mechanical and abstract presentation of the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism inevitably leads to an under-estimation of the chief characterisation of the present period by the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. as a period of direct *transition* to a new cycle of revolutions and wars; to the description of this period as *long and stable*, and, to some extent, even a complete new "fourth" period, which formally sounds very radical, but, in practice, leads to the weakening of the work of the Communist Parties. Even the theoretical organ of the C.P.G., "Internationale" in a special issue for September-October, 1932, dealing with the decisions of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I., writes that "the present decisive phase of the development of capitalism forms the end of the third period" (page 375). The XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. issued a warning against this very *playing with periods*; and also against the illusion that the successes obtained by the Communist Parties in the struggle against fascism and social-democracy (undoubtedly great successes!) have made it possible already for the Communist vanguard to put the social-fascists on the defence, to destroy the fascist danger, or to liquidate the chauvinist wave. For Communist Parties there cannot be anything more harmful than such self-deception. For the very reason that the historic duration of the transition period is short and is becoming ever shorter, the tactical tasks of the Communist Parties require *still more stubborn, systematic and devoted work for destroying the mass basis* of the rotten social-buttress of the bourgeoisie, and the wild wave of *chauvinism*. However, it is precisely in the struggle against nationalism, and the *direct* menace of imperialist wars, as a consequence of the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism that the Communist Parties have done extremely little since the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. With the exception of Germany and Czecho-Slovakia, the resolution of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the struggle against war has practically not even been popularised (and even in these Parties, the popularisation of these resolutions leaves much to be desired). With the exception of Germany the resolution of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. has been fulfilled on the question of the *concretisation* of the struggle against war and the conversion of this struggle into a *mass* campaign practically nowhere. In Germany itself,

where recently there were a whole series of actions by the C.P.G. against war and nationalism (the speech of Comrade Thälmann in Paris, the manifesto of the C.P.G. on October 23 against the Versailles system, the manifesto of the C.C., C.P.G. and the C.P.F. on October 26), there is not yet a *concrete* struggle against war, as stated by Comrade Thälmann at the Berlin Party Conference. The Berlin Party Conference raised such concrete tasks for the Berlin-Brandenburg district (which adjoins imperialist Poland) as the struggle against new patriotic films in Berlin, the exposure of the aggressive imperialist character of the autumn manoeuvres of the Reichswehr, the struggle against chauvinist propaganda under the flag of "the defence of the population of Berlin from aerial gas attack," for the first time, etc.

In Czecho-Slovakia, after the successful recruiting campaign, it was only very recently that the Y.C.L. began to hold anti-war conferences (Slovakia), forming anti-war committees at these conferences. But it was precisely in Czecho-Slovakia that the Communist Party lost considerable time in the struggle against nationalism and chauvinism, in connection with the growth of national antagonisms in that country on the basis of the further sharpening of the crisis, and the attempts of the Czech bourgeoisie to emerge from the crisis at the expense of the subject peoples. *The under-estimation* of the national question in Czecho-Slovakia found expression in the inability to combine the *peasant and national* movement in Slovakia. But this under-estimation was particularly brought to light in the *German* districts of Czecho-Slovakia, where some comrades (in practice) continued to defend the opportunist formula which had been rejected by the last Congress of the C.P.Cz. on "Czecho-Slovakian imperialism" (and not Czech imperialism), under the flag of the "left" formula that the German bourgeoisie in Czecho-Slovakia are merely *simple agents of Czech imperialism*. As the result, these comrades overlooked the growth of fascism in the German districts, which came forward "unexpectedly" for them at the last communal elections in the German districts of Czecho-Slovakia. At present the C.P.Cz. is *making serious efforts to catch up* this lost time. This is shown by the Party Conference in Reichenberg, a whole series of concrete measures by the C.P.Cz. on the national question, the speech of Comrade Gadek in Parliament with a programme of social and national liberation. The Party must continue to make up for lost time with still greater energy, rectifying mistakes in the course of the struggle, and also the excesses which have already been committed in the *process of rectifying* the shortcomings. For example, we must not launch such slogans, as was done in the programme of social and national liberation, as the slogan of "giving work to German workers in German districts." This produces, in practice, an imitation of the slogan of the

Hakenkreuzler* that "only Germans can help Germans," which, in reality, does not weaken, but nourishes chauvinism in the German districts. On the other hand, this loss of time in the struggle against chauvinism has already made itself felt in a symptomatic growth of fascism in the Czech districts themselves, where, at the recent elections of factory committees in Moravsky Ostrav, all parties *except the Czech fascists* lost ground (including the Communists) the German S.Ds. 6.5 per cent., the Czech S.Ds. 19 per cent., the Red T.Us. 11.7 per cent., while the Czech Fascists *gained* 13.4 per cent. This fact must compel the C.P.Cz. to raise the question of the causes of the lost time and the method of regaining it with the greatest seriousness.

Nothing could be more harmful to the Communist Party than the self-deception that social-democracy is completely *on the defence* everywhere. The examples already given show the extent to which the social-democrats can still manoeuvre, using, first of all, an opportunist faith in the "left" manoeuvres of social-democracy in various sections of the Communist Party, and also the absence of a consistent, systematic and decisive struggle against these manoeuvres by our Party. The Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia, for example, was really able to compel the social-democrats to pass to the defensive during the strike at Brůx, the demonstration of metal workers at Prague, and at present in Rossitz. But both Comrade Gottwald at the Prague Party Conference, and Comrade Schwerm in a special article, indicate a series of very big weaknesses and opportunist mistakes in the practical operation of the tactic of the *united front*, which, in particular, are the causes of such failures as at the elections for the factory committees in Witkovitz and in the Skoda plants. However, it is precisely in Czecho-Slovakia that the comrades so frequently repeat, including speeches at the last Plenum of the C.C. C.P.Cz., that social-democracy has already been driven to the defensive in the sphere of the united front. But, in reality, Czech social-democracy is still manoeuvring extremely seriously against the Communists, as these examples show, launching the most demagogic slogans such as "strikes for socialism." In reality there is *not yet any serious turn* in the revolutionary work in the reformist trade unions, and the positions of the trade union bureaucrats are still very strong. And this is in spite of the fact that Czech social-democracy participates in the government and all the repression used against the Communist Party, the revolutionary trade unions, and other revolutionary mass organisations of the proletariat.

All this is because there is not yet a real struggle against social-democracy, corresponding to the *present conditions* of the end of the partial stabilisation

† Fascists. Ed.

of capitalism, and the *present manoeuvres* of social-democracy. This not only applies to the C.P.Cz., but to every single Communist Party. Even in Germany, after the elections to the Reichstag, after November 6, some organs of the Party Press such as the *Sachsische Arbeiterzeitung* (the organ of the district committee of the C.P.G. in Saxony), wrote that the reduction of 700,000 in the social-democratic poll meant "a reduction in the importance of German social-democracy for the bourgeoisie as their chief social buttress." This completely diverges from the line of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

The Communist Parties have nowhere yet been able to get to grips with the problem of winning the broad masses of social-democratic workers, in spite of the ever-growing crisis of social-democracy. It is no chance that there is not a single country where there is even a *serious beginning* of a change in the work of the Communist Parties inside the reformist trade unions. This is shown by the unanimous speeches of all the speakers at the Berlin Party Conference, which correctly pointed out the extreme weakness of revolutionary work *inside the Metal Workers' Union* as one of the chief causes why it was not possible to *rapidly extend* the strike of the Berlin transport workers.

In the sphere of the *unemployed movement* a change can be seen. The fourth winter of hunger, bringing unheard of sufferings to millions of unemployed, is already opening with a period of enlightenment in the revolutionary movement of the unemployed. In Germany, the Communist Party and the revolutionary T.U. organisations have correctly *concretised* the task of mass work in the conditions of the growing revolutionary unrest among the unemployed, launching the simple and concrete slogan: "Bread, coal and potatoes," which will undoubtedly reach *enormous masses of the unemployed*. The lifting of this elementary mass movement for bread to the level of a political struggle will depend on the Communist Party itself, to the extent that such a political intensification is inevitable in the present conditions of

Germany. In Czecho-Slovakia the unemployed are demonstrating under the leadership of the Communist Party in Komotau, seizing the municipalities in Cashau and near Prague, organising revolutionary conferences of the unemployed in Reichenberg and Friedland. But all this is only a beginning. And all this shows the *tremendous revolutionary possibilities possessed by the Communist Parties* if they are able to organise and lead the struggle of the unemployed for their most burning interests.

Such are the first important lessons of the carrying out of the decisions of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. for three months. A new feature in the objective situation consists in the *rapidly changing relationship of class forces to the benefit of the working-class*, in favour of the forces of revolution. It depends on the Communist Parties themselves how short will be the historic interval which lies between the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism and its growth into a real revolutionary situation. The struggle for the development of political and organisational *initiative* in the localities, the struggle against all *schematism, bureaucratism, opportunist passivity* and especially a struggle against all *opportunist distortions* of the line of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I.; first of all, against right opportunism which is extremely dangerous at the present stage, will ensure that the Communist vanguard will convert this historic interval into the *shortest* historic interval. The Communist Party of Germany has already shown by the experience of struggle against the opportunist group of Neumann, what is meant, in present conditions, by a rapid cleansing of Bolshevik policy from opportunist distortions. By taking this path, mobilising the masses on the basis of the leadership of *all forms of partial economic and political fights*, imbuing every partial struggle of the proletariat and all its mass work with the slogan of the power of the working-class (which, in passing, is very slightly done by *all Communist Parties*), the Communist vanguard will be able to *prepare for the revolution* in a brief period and *lead the broad masses of workers to the decisive revolutionary fights*.