

**T H E W O R L D  
C R I S I S A N D T H E  
I N T E R N A T I O N A L  
C L A S S S T R U G G L E**

**TWOPENCE**

**MODERN BOOKS LTD.**  
Publishers of Workers' Books  
**16 KING STREET, LONDON, W.C.2**

# THE WORLD CRISIS AND THE INTERNATIONAL CLASS STRUGGLE

(An outline of the debates and decisions of the XI  
Plenum of the E.C.C.I. held in March-April, 1931)

MODERN BOOKS LTD.  
16 KING STREET, LONDON, W.C.2

The sharp reduction of industrial production which is now at an unprecedentedly low level proves that the economic crisis is growing acute. Unemployment is growing, affecting thirty-five million workers, a figure hitherto unheard of. In spite of the curtailed production and the fall in prices, the supply of goods is increasing. The number of enterprises and banks to go bankrupt in capitalist countries is increasing. The home and foreign trade of capitalist countries is being reduced while the deficit in the State budget is increasing tremendously.

The following figures are an example of how production in capitalist countries has been reduced; industrial production in the first half of 1931, in comparison with the first half of 1930, was reduced:

- (a) STEEL: in the U.S.A., by 36 per cent.; in Germany, by 30 per cent.; in the United Kingdom, by 39 per cent.; in France, by 13 per cent.
- (b) PIG IRON: in the U.S.A., by 39 per cent.; in Germany, by 40 per cent.; in the United Kingdom, by 46 per cent.; in France, by 14 per cent.
- (c) COAL: in the U.S.A., by 16 per cent.; in Germany, by 17 per cent.; in the United Kingdom, by 12 per cent.; in France, by 29 per cent., etc.

Other important branches of industry in all capitalist countries are approximately in the same position.

The same is true of foreign trade.

Foreign trade of the largest capitalist countries has fallen sharply in 1931 in comparison with 1930.

The crisis is growing more acute. The class struggle is growing. The competitive struggle is growing. The internal and external contradictions of the capitalist system are increasing. The tremendous increase in tariffs and dumping, i.e. the sale of commodities on the world market at a price which is lower than the cost of production, testifies to the extreme sharpening of the contradictions of capitalism. In Germany, for example, in one year the duty on wheat rose from 55 marks a ton to 250 marks; on oats, from 13 marks a ton to 120 marks, etc.

Tin, 2.4 mm. thick, on the internal market costs: in the U.S.A., 170 marks a ton; in England, 175; in Germany, 178; while on the foreign market the very same tin costs 88 marks.

The present crisis is the severest one in the experience of capitalism. It is developing in an epoch of a general crisis of capitalism on the basis of the growth of all the contradictions of capitalist society.

The tremendous growth of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. can be seen in very striking outlines on this background of an acute crisis of the world economy. The U.S.S.R. is the only country which does not know of crises.

On the contrary, in the U.S.S.R., we have rapid and constant increase in industrial production. In 1929, production in all industries increased by 22 per cent., in 1930 by 25 per cent., and in 1931 it is to increase by 45 per cent.

At the end of 1931 the volume of production in the U.S.S.R. will be three times that of pre-war production.

The proletariat of the Soviet Union fulfils and surpasses the Five-Year Plan of industrial construction with great enthusiasm. In the basic industries, the Five-Year Plan will be fulfilled in three years; in some, such as in oil, the Five-Year Plan has already been fulfilled, in 2½ years.

The rate of development in the U.S.S.R. surpasses the rate of development of capitalist countries many times.

“One year’s development in the U.S.S.R. is almost equivalent to ten years’ development in capitalist countries. The U.S.S.R. is emerging from its age-long technical and economic backwardness as compared with the economic and technical standard of the advanced capitalist countries with a rapidity unprecedented in the history of the world.” (Manuilsky’s report.)

The Sixth Congress of the Soviets of the U.S.S.R. set the working class and the toilers of the U.S.S.R. the task of overtaking and surpassing, technically and economically, the foremost capitalist countries within the next ten years. The proletariat of the land of the Soviets is successfully performing this task and in 1931—the decisive year of the Five-Year Plan—has laid the foundation of Socialist economy.

The world economic crisis is bound up with a protracted, severe agrarian crisis which is a component part of the general crisis of capitalism.

The agrarian crisis is reflected in a sharp decline and disintegration of small and middle peasant households and in an unprecedented fall in prices of agricultural commodities. The fall in prices has rapidly impoverished the peasantry.

The tremendous growth of agricultural technique, of the use of agricultural machines, tractors, combines, has worsened the conditions of the wide toiling masses of the peasantry, particularly since only large capitalist and *kulak* farms can afford machines in capitalist countries.

The wide toiling peasant masses are growing poorer and poorer because of high taxes, dues, rent and usurious debts.

The measures to reduce the sown area, adopted by bourgeois governments in the attempt to liquidate the crisis, are not only futile but inevitably increase the poverty of the small and middle peasant.

The tremendous growth of agriculture in the U.S.S.R. contrasts

favourably with the grave agrarian crisis in the capitalist countries. The area sown in the U.S.S.R. increased by 10 million hectares in 1930, and 15 millions in 1931. The grain harvest in 1930 was 87.4 million tons against 71.7 millions in 1929. This powerful development of agriculture in the Soviet Union is the result of the poor and middle peasant having definitely taken the path of collectivisation. In 1930, six million peasant households, or 24 per cent. of all agriculture, had joined the collective farms. By May 10th, 1931, 50.4 per cent. of all the peasant households were in the collective farms.

The Five-Year Plan for the collectivisation of agriculture has been surpassed in two years.

Socialist reconstruction of agriculture raises the material and cultural position of the peasantry to a new level. The proletarian state is investing heavily in agriculture, thus putting it on a high technical foundation.

The number of agricultural machines and tractors in use is increasing from year to year, thus accelerating the process of the liquidation of the *kulak* as a class on the basis of complete collectivisation.

The bulk of the middle peasant masses of the Soviet Union are being united in the collective farms and are becoming a stable support of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The contrast between the impoverished peasant in capitalist countries and the toiling peasant in our country whose material conditions are improving, shows up the insolvency of the capitalist system of economy and the superiority of the Soviet system.

A comparison between the conditions of the Soviet proletariat and the working class of capitalist countries makes the bankruptcy of disintegrating capitalism and the strength and superiority of the Soviet Socialist system of economy strikingly visible.

The proletariat in all capitalist countries are growing poorer and poorer. This complete impoverishment is the result of the tremendous growth of world unemployment which, in the course of the year, increased from 17 to 35 millions, not counting the millions of unemployed agricultural proletariat and the millions of unemployed in India, China, Indonesia, etc.

The working class have been made poorer by the attack of capital on wages. Wage reductions of 20 to 30 per cent. and more are an ordinary phenomena in all capitalist countries. The suffering of the working class is increased by mass dismissals, reduction of social insurance, payments and relief to the unemployed, by increased taxation and the artificial maintenance of the old level of retail prices when wholesale prices had fallen considerably.

The capitalists of all countries are engaged in an embittered offensive against the working class and are trying to shift all the consequences of the industrial and agricultural crisis on to the

shoulders of the working class, the toiling peasantry and the city poor.

The working class, most brutally exploited in the capitalist countries and the colonies, are living in the greatest poverty.

In the Soviet Union, due to the tremendous success of Socialist construction, the living conditions of the working class are quickly improving. Unemployment has been completely liquidated and the number of workers drawn into industry increases constantly. In 1931 two million new workers will be drawn into production.

In 1931 the basis for the change to the seven-hour working day in all Soviet industry and for a simultaneous increase in wages will be definitely laid.

In 1929 the wages of the workers in the U.S.S.R. had already reached 167 per cent. of the pre-war level. In the last two years alone they have increased 21.1 per cent. In 1931, average wage increases will amount to 6 per cent., and for transport workers to 8 per cent. In the U.S.S.R., in spite of the complete liquidation of unemployment, the social insurance fund is growing from year to year. In 1931, it amounts to 2,138 million roubles as against 1,600 millions in 1930.

As the economic crisis in capitalist countries develops, the political reaction of the ruling classes increases. The methods of open Fascist dictatorship increasingly substitute the old "democratic" method of bourgeois rule.

The contradictions in capitalism are growing and becoming accentuated.

The contradictions within each capitalist country are growing. The unprecedented economic crisis in all fields of industrial life, which impoverishes the working class and the wide toiling masses, greatly intensifies the class struggle.

The crisis increases and intensifies the contradictions among the various capitalist countries. The crisis revealed the contradictions between the decaying capitalist world and the U.S.S.R. with unusual sharpness.

The U.S.S.R., building its Socialist economy rapidly, and completing the construction of the foundation of Socialist economy in the third year of the Five-Year Plan, contrasts favourably with the capitalist system founded on exploitation and slavery.

*The world economic crisis strongly intensified the class contradictions of capitalist society.*

*The class struggle is being intensified and the revolutionary upsurge growing in all capitalist countries and colonies.*

*In a number of countries, particularly in Germany and Poland, the prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis are*

*growing. In China and India the revolutionary crisis is developing.*

*The bourgeoisie seek a way out of the crisis by worsening the material conditions of the workers, and through intervention against the Soviet Union and new imperialist wars.*

The proletariat is fighting against this capitalist way out of the crisis with increasing energy.

“The class struggle, developing during the further evolution of the world economic crisis, confronts the widest working masses with the necessity of making the final decision: either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat; either economic and political slavery or making an end of capitalist exploitation and oppression; either colonial oppression and imperialist war or peace and fraternity among nations.” (Thesis on Manuilsky’s report.)

The revolutionary upsurge finds its expression in the tremendous growth of the economic struggle in all capitalist countries; in the growth of the unemployed movement; in the growth and the strengthening of the Red Army and the Soviet districts in China; in the growth of the revolutionary movement in the colonies; in the growth of the peasant movement in the capitalist countries; in the extension and strengthening of the ideological and organisational influence of the sections of the Communist International; in the great unrest of the Social Democratic workers; and in the beginning of the disintegration of the Social Democratic Party in individual countries.

The economic struggle in capitalist countries is growing stronger and more intense. In the first seven months of 1931, in England, the number of working days lost due to strikes was equal to 50 per cent. of all the working days lost for the same period of 1930 (6.2 million working days lost in 1931 against 3.6 million for 1930). In France, a mass strike movement among the miners developed for the first time in ten years.

The strike movement in the colonies is growing, particularly in India. After the textile workers in Bombay were defeated in 1930 a new strike wave rose, affecting hundreds of thousands of workers.

Strikes have acquired a more stubborn, more desperate character, and are growing sharper and sharper.

They are now becoming more protracted and acquiring an ever greater political significance. The economic and political struggles frequently lead to bloody clashes between the workers and Fascist gangs. The workers answer the bourgeois offensive with a counter-offensive more promptly and with great vigour.

The high level of the development of a revolutionary upsurge is also expressed by the fact that the Communists in a number of capitalist countries have begun **to lead class struggles independently.** This is a great achievement for our Sections of the C.I.

In addition to strikes, new forms of struggle—demonstrations of the unemployed, clashes between the workers and the police, the refusal of the workers to pay taxes and peasant uprisings—have come into more extensive use.

The upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement of the proletariat is being reinforced by the revolutionary mass movement of the proletariat and the toiling peasantry in the colonies. The world economic crisis accelerates and increases the national-revolutionary movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries for emancipation and sharpens the revolutionary struggle for liberation from the oppression of the imperialists, the national bourgeoisie and the landowners. The banner of the Chinese Soviets, under which the workers and the peasants are fighting against the Chinese counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and imperialist interventionists, for the victory of Soviet power all over China under the leadership of the Communists, is already being unfurled over a territory with a population of more than 60 millions.

The revolutionary movement among the peasants is also growing in capitalist countries. The peasant disturbances in Roumania and Western Ukraine, for example, bear witness to this. The reserves of the proletarian revolution, the millions of toiling peasantry, have already come into the movement, the oppressed and exploited of the whole world are rallying more and more closely around the banner of the Communist Party for the fight against the hated capitalist order.

The revolutionary upsurge does not develop at the same pace everywhere. Some countries go ahead, others remain behind, but the revolutionary upsurge develops in all countries in an ascending line.

The growth of the revolutionary upsurge is characterised by the growth of the **prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis** in a number of countries, such as Germany and Poland, and the growth of a revolutionary crisis in China and India.

The revolutionary crisis is the result of the sharpening of all the contradictions of the capitalist system and, above all, of the growth of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The XI Plenum of the E.C.C.I. characterised the revolutionary crisis in the following way:

“Growing out of the general crisis of capitalism, and the present economic crisis, the revolutionary crisis developed on the basis of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses. These elements of the revolutionary crisis are bound up with the extraordinary increase of poverty and suffering of the masses, with their growing revolutionary activity, with the undermining of the whole international and internal system of

capitalist domination, with the rapid regrouping of the class forces, with a crisis among the ruling classes which is seeking a way out of its own contradictions through Fascism, new imperialist wars and armed intervention against the U.S.S.R.” (Thesis on Manuilsky’s report.)

This definition embodies the nature of the development of the revolutionary process in its totality.

The Plenum connects the revolutionary crisis, not only with the revolutionary upsurge, but with the presence of a general crisis of capitalism and above all, with the existence and growth of the U.S.S.R., with the instability of international capitalist rule, with the maturing revolutions in China, India, Germany, Poland and other countries. It is further connected with the growth of the danger of war and intervention against the Soviet Union.

*The main factor in Fascism is its open offensive against the working class with the employment of every method of coercion and violence. It is civil war against the toilers.*

*The process of changing from a bourgeois dictatorship to the open form of dictatorship against the toilers is the essence of the fascisation of the bourgeois State.*

*The correct political evaluation of Fascism is of great significance in the struggle of the working class.*

Fascism is not a new form of government differing radically from the so-called democratic republics. To say that it is, means to fall in with the view held by the liberal bourgeoisie. International Social Democracy formulated it in this way advancing the new theory of the “lesser evil” and insisting that the democratic republic is the lesser evil in comparison with Fascism.

The bourgeois “**democratic**” **republic** and **Fascism** are only two forms, **two types of the bourgeois dictatorship**. It is impossible to mark the exact boundaries between bourgeois democracy and Fascism. Fascism is an outgrowth of the democratic republic. Bourgeois democracy is only the frame within which Fascism develops.

It is impossible to insist that Fascism is a product of an invigorated capitalism. On the contrary, it is the product of a weakened capitalism.

**The mistake of the Right** opportunists in their evaluation of Fascism was that they identified Fascism only as the ordinary capitalist offensive, only as an increase of reaction, and attributed the increase of Fascist reaction to a strengthening of the position of capital. Hence, the conclusions drawn that the working class has become

weaker, that it is impossible to strike during a crisis, that it must retreat, that an agreement with Fascism must be reached if civil war is to be averted, i.e. in other words—a definition of all the treacherous tactics of Social Democracy.

**The mistake of the “Left”** opportunists results in their seeing Fascism only as the product of the disintegration of capitalism. This is an absolutely wrong way of stating the question because it ignores the important fact that Fascism is not only the product of disintegrating capitalism, but is the form of an attack on the working class by capital.

Fascism contains within itself elements of the offensive of the ruling classes and elements of their disintegration. The ultimate fate of Fascism depends on the active class struggle of the proletariat. **The speed and decisiveness with which the elements of decay and disintegration will develop in Fascism depends on how actively the working class will fight against Fascism.** Passivity and retreat of the proletariat in the struggle with Fascism results, on the contrary, in an offensive of the latter against the working class—in the establishment of a Fascist dictatorship.

The revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in practice completely confirms this statement. In Germany, where the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party is fighting Fascism most actively, the elements of the decay of Fascism are rapidly developing. In Italy, where the working class showed passivity in the struggle with Fascism, the Fascist dictatorship was established.

Fascism is the form of the offensive of capital on the working class, but this does not mean that the proletariat is only on the defensive. In Germany, in France, in Poland, and England, for example, there is a capitalist offensive and a counter-offensive of the proletariat.

In other countries, we have a capitalist offensive and a very weak opposition by the working class.

Can the proletariat prevent the establishment of the Fascist dictatorship? The Plenum answered this question positively. The international proletariat **can prevent the Fascist dictatorship from being established by ruthlessly fighting against the capitalist offensive**, against every kind of dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The correlation of class forces determines whether or not the proletariat can prevent the Fascist dictatorship from being established. The struggle with Fascism, the struggle with the growing Fascist movement, the struggle against the Fascist dictatorship is now the most important task of the working class and its Communist vanguard.

*Why did the XI Plenum of the E.C.C.I. pay such great attention to Social Democracy?*

*Because Social Democracy is the main social pillar of the bourgeoisie in its struggle with the proletariat. The*

*successful struggle for the proletarian dictatorship is impossible unless the working masses are freed from the influence of Social Democracy.*

**Social Democracy** is the most active factor and vehicle for the **Fascisation of the capitalist states**. Social Democracy plays the same treacherous role in the establishment of the Fascist dictatorship that it played in all the basic stages of the development of the class struggle since the imperialist war.

“ It sent millions of the proletariat to the imperialist war under the flag of the ‘ defence of the Fatherland,’ it helped ‘ its ’ bourgeoisie carry on armed intervention against the U.S.S.R. in 1918-20. It saved capitalism from the proletarian revolution immediately after the war (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Finland). It actively helped the bourgeoisie to strengthen capitalist economy. It harnessed the working masses to the yoke of capitalist rationalisation. It now applies all its energy to save the capitalist system of exploitation and slavery from impending ruin.” (Manuilsky report.)

The Social Fascists’ treachery is manifest in **all the economic and political** struggles of the proletariat. They betray the proletariat by helping the others to plunder the national masses and the colonies economically and financially, co-operate with the imperialists in their plundering activities, and the preparation for intervention against the Soviet Union.

Social Fascists betray the interests of the proletariat in the day to day class struggle. In Germany, Social Democrat Zinsheim votes for reducing the wages of the Berlin metal workers by 8 per cent. The German trade union bureaucrats vote for a reduction of 6 per cent. in the chauffeurs’ wages. In the Ruhr, Berlin, Bradford, Lancashire, Warsaw, Paris, and Tokio the Social Fascists betrayed the interests of the miners, textile, metal and transport workers. They supported rationalisation which resulted in a reduction of wages and in tremendous unemployment. The Socialist party of Poland helps the Fascists break up workers’ demonstrations, workers’ meetings, workers’ strikes. In all countries the Social Fascists vote for war credit. Social Fascist Paul Boncour is the initiator of the law for the mobilisation of the entire population during war. Social Fascist Renaudel speaks on the military-air fleet budget in the French Chamber of Deputies. “ Socialist ” Beechwood in England organises the military expedition to India. The so-called “ workers’ Government ” in England suppresses the revolution in China and the uprisings of the colonial peoples in the English colonies. In Germany, the Social Democratic Government of Muller, builds battleship “ A ” and furnishes the means to construct a second battleship. All Social

Democracy supports the slanderous campaign against the Soviet Union. It supports intervention, supported, financed, and organised the counter-revolutionary work of the Russian Mensheviks in the Soviet Union.

Social Democracy has been transformed into a Fascist detachment against the working class and into a militant detachment of world imperialism against the Soviet Union.

That is why the struggle with Social Democracy as the ally of Fascism, as the chief social bulwark of the international bourgeoisie, is now the most important task of the proletariat.

The sharpening of the class struggle and the constant treachery of Social Democracy has resulted in stirring the ranks of the Social Democratic workers profoundly. The unrest is greatest where the development of the prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis is greatest, as, for example, in Germany and Poland. There the elements of the decay of Social Democracy are accumulating and with the masses of the Social Democratic workers growing more revolutionary, Social Democracy was forced to start a number of Left manoeuvres. Thus, for example, it is now manoeuvring in the question of Fascism and bourgeois democracy. It advances a slogan for the reduction of the working week, the “ five-day week,” it carries on a pretended struggle against the decrease in wages, against the attack on social insurance, for the reduction of armaments, against the preparation for intervention against the Soviet Union, etc. Everywhere, we see Social Democracy making new Left manoeuvres. But these Left manoeuvres cannot prevent the Social Democratic workers from leaving the party because its treacherous policy becomes increasingly clear to these workers.

*Why has the danger of armed intervention against the U.S.S.R. become an immediate menace to the whole world proletariat ?*

*In addition to an unprecedented attack on the living conditions of all the workers, the international bourgeoisie seeks a way out of the crisis in an armed intervention against the country building Socialism. The completion of the foundation of Socialist economy in the U.S.S.R. is the most revolutionising factor in the world. The overthrow of Soviet power would mean the liquidation of this revolutionising factor and in addition would open up to the imperialist plunderers the unlimited possibility of the exploitation of the millions of the toiling masses of the Soviet Union.*

The **U.S.S.R. has entered the period of Socialism**. The completion

of the foundation of Socialist economy " means an absolute preponderance of Socialist elements both in the town and the country.

" One can already say that from the point of view of internal class forces, the problem of the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. is already solved, here the solution of the problem ' Who will be the victor ? ' is guaranteed in favour of Socialism."

The successful execution of the Five-Year Plan of Socialist construction, the improvement of the material conditions of all the workers of the U.S.S.R., and the unprecedented economic crisis in industry and agriculture in capitalist countries proves to the toilers of the whole world that the Soviet system is the superior one.

The success of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. confronts international capitalism with the necessity of bringing an end to the historical quarrel between capitalism and Socialism by means of war.

" History is asking the straight question : ' Who will be the victor ? ' And as time goes on it will ask it more and more emphatically. That is why the menace of intervention looms big. It is so acute, first, because the bourgeois world, held in the grip of a very grave crisis, is losing all hope of finding a way out of the crisis at the expense of its workers and colonies and wants to transfer the burden of the crisis to the workers of the U.S.S.R. by including it in its sphere of exploitation ; because Socialism is victorious in the U.S.S.R. all along the line and views in a new light the competition of the two world systems, solving this problem in favour of the country of proletarian dictatorship, threatening the existence of the capitalist world no less than did the proletarian uprising in 1917, because the success of the Five-Year Plan creates the premises for the development of the country of the proletarian dictatorship without the help of the capitalist world ; because the existence of the U.S.S.R. is the source of disintegration of capitalism." (Manuilsky's report.)

Imperialist states **are preparing armed intervention** against the Soviet Union feverishly. The growth of military budgets in capitalist countries shows the extent of this preparation. According to official figures, the military budget increased from 1914 to 1930:

In France	£56 million	to	£91 million
" England	77	"	107
" U.S.A.	58	"	170
" Italy	26	"	49
" Japan	19	"	47

One must keep in mind that these are only official figures ; actual expenditures for armaments are considerably larger.

The frenzied armament going on in the bordering countries, the construction of strategic railroads, the reorganisation of the Roumanian and Polish army under the leadership and with the active participation of the French general staff, the military manoeuvres in Poland, Lithuania, Esthonia, etc., the tremendous import of ammunition and weapons into these countries, etc., shows the feverish preparation of intervention against the Soviet Union going on in order to prepare the armies for the invasion of the Soviet Union.

**The diplomatic preparation for armed intervention against the U.S.S.R. is being carried on with the same feverish haste.**

" Nearly one hundred and fifty conferences, commissions, sub-commissions, ostensibly to prepare peace, a tariff truce, disarmament, limitation of armaments, the right of minorities . . . have only one objective : the grouping of all anti-Soviet forces by spreading the most deceitful pacifist illusions in the minds of the peoples.

" There are secret military treaties, directed against the Soviet Union and concluded under the auspices of peace-loving Briand—among France, Poland, Roumania, Jugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and the Baltic countries. In all these countries the outward sign of these diplomatic and military alliances is the presence on permanent mission of the officers of the French General Staff. Every year and several times a year, the French Generals and Admirals come in great state to Belgrade, Warsaw and Bucharest. General Leroud, General Gouraud, Admiral Guepratte, Marshal Franchet d'Esperey, Minister of Air Eynac. In 1930, at Prague, in 1931, at Paris, there were conferences attended by the military representatives of France and her vassal States. The secret work of the Embassies prepares a more intimate collaboration of the military leaders who, in the sight of the whole world, are organising war against the peaceful Soviet Union." (Cachin's report.)

The capitalist countries are preparing an **economic financial** blockade of the Soviet Union. War is declared against the export of Soviet goods. France refuses to advance credits to the Soviet Union while it furnishes its vassals—Poland and Roumania, etc.—with credits running into millions for armaments against the Soviet Union.

A wall of **public opinion** for armed intervention against the U.S.S.R. is being energetically built up. Bourgeois papers spread slanderous reports of " Soviet dumping " and " forced labour " preparing public opinion for intervention against the Soviet Union.

The preparation of armed intervention against the Soviet Union can also be seen in the **ruthless suppression and extirpation of the revolutionary mass organisations** of the proletariat. The imperialists understand quite well that they will not succeed in mobilising the

toilers in a war against the Soviet Union as easily as they mobilised them in 1914, for the imperialist war. They understand that the revolutionary organisations of the capitalist countries, under the leadership of the Communist Parties, will oppose armed intervention against the U.S.S.R. most resolutely, that the Communist Parties will organise hundreds of thousands of workers for this purpose.

The French bourgeoisie, supported by the bourgeoisie of all other States, but chiefly by those of England and America, are the main organisers of intervention against the Soviet Union.

**The Soviet Union in contrast to the policy of war and intervention offers its policy of peace.**

“ Our policy is one of interweaving and increasing the normal economic and political relations with the capitalist states surrounding us. The result of this policy is the improvement in relations . . . with a number of countries and the concluding of a number of trade treaties, arranging for technical assistance to be given, etc. It resulted in the U.S.S.R. signing the Kellogg Pact, the famous protocol in connection with the Kellogg Pact with Poland, Roumania, Latvia, etc., the protocol renewing the treaty with Turkey on friendship and neutrality. This policy has resulted in the preservation of peace, in not allowing the enemy to draw us into conflicts in spite of a number of provocative acts and adventurist moves of the fire-brands of war. We will continue this policy of peace with all our energy, with all the means at our disposal.” (Stalin.)

But while the Soviet Union continues to fight for peace, it will fight all who try to draw it into war with an iron hand.

The growth of the danger of armed intervention against the Soviet Union does not remove the **war danger among capitalist countries**. The world economic crisis particularly increases the danger of new imperialist wars.

The world economic crisis sharpens all the contradictions of capitalism. Of all the contradictions between the imperialists, the principal one is the contradiction between England and the U.S.A. The crisis of English economy has already continued for years, the unprecedented growth of unemployment, of the revolutionary movement in India, of the attempt of the Dominions to separate from England, weakens the British Empire tremendously. In the struggle between America and England for world hegemony, England is forced to give way. But the English bourgeoisie do not retreat without giving battle. A stubborn struggle is going on between these two states which must lead to a new imperialist war.

The world economic crisis also sharpens all the contradictions of the post-war capitalist Europe, increases the contradictions between the victor-countries and the defeated countries. It is fraught with the danger of war.

The crisis also sharpened the contradictions between the **colonies and the whole system of world imperialism**. The whole of 1930 was filled with spontaneous colonial uprisings, in the Pacific Ocean countries, the Arabian East, and the heart of black Africa. The struggles in India and Indo-China which are directly striking at the basis of the rule of imperialism in these countries are most intense.

All these social-political consequences must lead to new important battles, to new wars. The danger of an imperialist war increases the danger of armed intervention against the Soviet Union. The threat of armed intervention against the U.S.S.R. is a direct threat to the workers of the world of still greater impoverishment, of the still greater growth of violence and terror of Fascist gangs.

The workers of the world must fight against the preparation of armed intervention against the Soviet Union, the Socialist Fatherland of the world proletariat, with unabating energy.

*The winning of the bulk of the working class and their preparation for the decisive battles for the dictatorship of the proletariat remains as formerly the principal task of the Communist Parties.*

Our brother Communist Parties, during these last years, have succeeded in achieving considerable success in the work of winning the bulk of the working people to their side. The Communist Parties have grown in number and in the extent of their political influence over the proletariat. The consistent tactics of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International and the X Plenum of the E.C.C.I. resulted in the Right opportunists being completely routed and the ranks of the Communist Parties cleaned from the Right and “ Left ” renegades and the conciliating elements. Never before have the sections of the C.I. been so united as to-day. But the defeat of the Right and “ Left ” opportunists does not mean that the struggle with opportunism is over, because the opportunist danger still remains.

**The chief danger** with which the world revolutionary movement is faced remains the **Right danger**. It will exist as long as capitalism and all its contradictions, its whole apparatus of oppression, repression, exists, as long as the influence of social democracy on the working class has not been annihilated. Finland gave a striking example of a Right deviation with the Communist Party actually capitulating before Fascism. In the Chinese Communist Party, the Right Chen Du-hsui-ist elements defended the liquidatorist views in the struggle against the dictatorship of Chiang Kai-Shek. In Italy, the representatives of Right opportunism were Santino Blasquo and Ferracia, who stood for liquidatorist pessimism in the struggle against the Fascist dictatorship. However, the Commu-

nist International all through fought all these Right deviations in the ranks of the Communist Party most ruthlessly.

**Among the Left mistakes**, that of Comrade Merker of Germany, who placed the Social Democratic workers on a level with their leaders, is the most outstanding. We must further note the "Left" mistake of Comrade Li Li-san in China, who, starting out with an incorrect evaluation of the revolutionary situation, liquidated the Chinese trade union organisations and came to absolutely wrong *putchist* deductions which threatened to destroy the Chinese Communist Party.

The XI Plenum of the E.C.C.I. affirmed the significant success of the German Communist Party and the growth of the political and organisational influence of a number of sections of other countries. This is confirmed by the results of the elections to the Reichstag and the factory mill committees in Germany, in Czecho-Slovakia, the growth of the influence of the Communist Party in Poland, the mass revolutionary demonstrations, etc. An increase in the membership of the Communist Party can be seen in Germany, Poland, Italy, China, Indo-China, Spain, Bulgaria, Austria, Hungary and other sections as well. The growing political influence of the Communist Party is to be seen in the successful revolutionary struggle of the workers and the toiling peasantry in China; the formation of Soviets and the Red Army there and in the growth of the Chinese Communist Party. This influence is further expressed in the organisation of a Communist Party in Indo-China and in India, reaching many millions of masses in Indo-China, and many Indian workers and peasants and which carries on a revolutionary struggle against the oppression of the national and imperialist bourgeoisie.

But accompanying these significant successes are **serious deficiencies in the work of our sections**. These deficiencies are the reasons why the growth of our organisations and the extent of their influence lags behind the revolutionary upsurge. This lagging behind can be seen in numerous fields of our revolutionary struggle. Our Communist Parties have by no means reorganised themselves into militant units everywhere, not everywhere have they taken the path of the independent leadership of the economic battles of the proletariat. This backwardness is particularly true of the Communist movement of three of the largest capitalist countries—the U.S.A., France and England.

This backwardness manifests itself in the under-estimation of the rate at which the working class is moving leftward. A number of strikes rose spontaneously, not prepared by the Communist Parties (Lancashire, South Wales, the political and economic war in Spain and others). The lagging behind manifested itself in the insufficient organisation of the movement of the unemployed, particularly in the countries of Fascist terror, where our parties had been driven underground. The lagging behind is also making itself

felt in the inability of our Communist Parties to mobilise the masses for the revolutionary struggle on the basis of their daily concrete needs, such as can be understood by every worker. It manifests itself in the influence of the Communist Parties being weakly consolidated organisationally. Most of our organisations are very weak in large industrial enterprises. The problem of shifting the centre of gravity from the party and trade union work to the mills and factories is even more acute. Only 10 per cent. of the party membership are in factory cells in the U.S.A.; in Czecho-Slovakia 14 per cent., etc. In England the position is even worse. And this proves the tremendous work ahead of us still in this field. The lagging behind further manifested itself in the actual capitulation of the Finnish Communist Party to Fascism in the summer of 1930, in the insufficient support given by the Communist Parties of the imperialist states to the revolutionary movement in the colonies, in the inadequate struggle against Fascism and Social Fascism, and the inadequate attention paid by our brother Communist Parties to the Young Communist Leagues.

In order to overcome this backwardness we must increase the struggle **for winning the majority of the working class** so that we can prepare it for the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. If our Communist Party is to carry out this task, the greatest activity is demanded. This demands that the Communist Parties become mass parties of the working class, that above all, the revolutionary trade unions become really mass organisations in all capitalist countries. The fight for the majority of the working class must be carried on by struggling against the capitalist offensive and the organisation of the counter-offensive of the proletariat, against the reduction of wages, against the system of part-time work, for the seven-hour working day at the same or increased wages, for immediate help to be given to the unemployed, etc. It must also continue to fight against every kind of bourgeois dictatorship; against bourgeois democracy as well as against the Fascist dictatorship. As the revolutionary struggle against the capitalist offensive develops our Communist Parties must ruthlessly and steadfastly expose the treacherous role of the Social Democratic and reformist leaders. The faith of the Social Democratic workers can be won and the Social Democratic organisations destroyed if a most resolute and ruthless struggle against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, independent of what form it may take, is carried on.

We must also liquidate as soon as possible the organisational lag in the political influence of our Communist Parties. Our Sections of the C.I. must pay very serious attention to winning the proletariat as our allies, winning the toiling masses in the city and village, and, above all, the many millions of the poor and small peasant. This struggle for drawing many millions of the peasantry over to the side of the working class during the present great agrarian crisis plays an important role in the fight against capitalism.

One of the most important tasks of the Communist Parties is the organisation of the working class and the toilers for the fight against the preparation of intervention against the Soviet Union.

The Communist Parties must expose the preparation of the bourgeoisie for a new imperialist war, for a war against the U.S.S.R., by pointing to concrete examples. It must expose systematically the Social Democratic lackeys, helping their masters prepare a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.

The Communists of all countries must increase their work in the capitalist armies. The XI Plenum of the E.C.C.I., in its resolutions on the report of Comrade Cachin, emphasises this and reminds all Communists of the instructions of the Second Congress of the Communist International, dictated by Lenin :

“ The obligation to disseminate Communist ideas necessitates the carrying on of steadfast systematic propaganda in the armies. Where this agitation is prohibited by special laws, it must be carried on illegally. To reject such work would be equal to betraying revolutionary duty and incompatible with membership in the Third International.”

The increase of the work in capitalist armies, the systematic explanation of the significance of the preparation of a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. to the working masses, the ruthless exposure of the treacherous rôle of the Social Fascists, the organisation of the proletariat and the toiling peasantry for the defence of the U.S.S.R.—such are the basic elements of the struggle of the Communist Parties with armed intervention against the country which is building Socialism.



For full explanation of the meaning of the XI Plenum read :

<i>The Communist Parties and the Crisis of Capitalism.</i>	
D. Z. MANUILSKY .. .. .	1/- 35c.
<i>Urgent Questions of the Day.</i> O. PIATNITSKY .. .. .	3d. 10c.
<i>War Preparations against the Soviet Union.</i> M. CACHIN and others .. .. .	6d. 20c.
<i>The Co-Report of the Y.C.I.</i> .. .. .	1/- 35c.
<i>Theses, Resolutions and Decisions..</i> .. .. .	3d. 10c.

From the publishers of this pamphlet.