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**GUIDE**  
TO THE  
**XII PLENUM**  
E. C. C. I.

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# GUIDE TO THE XII PLENUM E.C.C.I.



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## NOTIFICATION *re* THE XIIth PLENUM OF THE E.C.C.I.

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The XIIth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International took place in Moscow at the beginning of September.

The following reports were considered by the XIIth Plenum :

1. Report of Comrade Kuusinen on the international situation and the tasks of the sections of the Communist International.

2. Report of Comrade Thalmann (C.P., Germany) on the lessons of economic strikes and the struggle of the unemployed; also joint reports by Comrade Lenski (C.P., Poland) and Comrade Gottwald (C.P., Czechoslovakia) on the strike movement and the struggle of the unemployed in Poland and Czechoslovakia.

3. Report of Comrade Okano (C.P., Japan) on the tasks of Communists in the struggle against imperialist war and military intervention, in connection with the war which has commenced in the Far East.

4. Report by Comrade Manuilsky on socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. in connection with the completion of the first Five-Year Plan and the proposed fundamental principles of the second Five-Year Plan.

The Plenum received information from Comrade Bela Kun on the forthcoming fiftieth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx (March 13, 1933), and instructed the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. to prepare and carry on a mass campaign in connection with this anniversary to popularize Marxism-Leninism.

The Plenum elected supplementary members to the Presidium and endorsed the financial report of the E.C.C.I.

All the decisions of the Plenum were unanimous.

The theses, resolutions and decisions of the XIIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. are being published simultaneously with the present statement.

### **POLIT-SECRETARIAT OF THE E.C.C.I.**

## INTRODUCTION

The XIIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., which took place in September, 1932, discussed a number of important questions.

During the year and a half which elapsed between the XIth and XIIth Plenums, great changes took place in world conditions and a definite *turning point* became evident in the course of the development of the general crisis of capitalism.

The Plenum noted, as one of the fundamental changes in the world situation, *the change in the relation of forces between the socialist and capitalist world, owing to the growth of the relative importance of the U.S.S.R.*, "which is carrying out its great program of socialist industrialization, collectivization and the cultural revolution at a tremendous rate." (Theses XIIth Plenum: on Point 1.) The Plenum emphasized the enormous importance of this fact for the further development of the present revolutionary upsurge.

The *new factors* in the world situation are the actual *beginning of war* (the attack of Japan on China), *the new phase* in the preparation for an anti-Soviet war (the "independence" of Manchuria, the jumping-off ground for intervention in the East) and the *revolutionary upsurge* growing everywhere in the imperialist countries and colonies, which, in its extent and forms, is higher than at the time of the XIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

In the estimate of the world situation given by the Plenum, the most important conclusion is that of the *end of the temporary stabilization of capitalism, and the transition to a new cycle of revolutions and wars.*

The breakdown of capitalist stabilization was not unexpected to the Comintern. At the time of the highest development of stabilization, the VIth Con-



gress of the Comintern, in bitter struggle against the Rights, emphasized the rottenness, precariousness, instability and temporary character of capitalist stabilization. The Congress strongly resisted the Rights who over-estimated stabilization, and underestimated the revolutionary upsurge which was noticeable. To the preliminary theses of Comrade Bukharin on the international situation, Comrade Stalin, on behalf of the delegation of the C.P.S.U., put forward an amendment on the inevitability of the shattering of capitalist stabilization based on the further development of the general crisis of capitalism. It was precisely the VIth Congress, as against the pessimistic position of the Rights, which emphasized the tremendous significance of the revolutionary upsurge, observable at that time, and foretold its further development. The world economic crisis, bursting just over a year later, brilliantly confirmed the prognosis of the VIth Congress of the Comintern with its very first days.

Whereas the VIth Congress of the Comintern marked the beginning of a new rise of the revolutionary movement, the Xth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. (July, 1929) was able to state, on the basis of the rising strike struggle in many countries (the general strike in Lodz, the Ruhr strike, the textile strike in France, the strike in Southern U.S.A., in Bombay, etc.), and a number of demonstrations (in France, in Berlin in May, in Poland), the growth of revolutionary sentiments among the oppressed nationalities and the peasant masses, that "the sharp leftward swing of the international working class and the growth of a new upsurge of the revolutionary workers' movement" was taking place. (Theses of the Xth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.)

The sharpening and deepening of all the contradictions of capitalism, especially the growth of the U.S.S.R. and the revolutionary upsurge, developing at an accelerated pace under conditions of the spread

of an unprecedented world economic crisis, gave Comrade Stalin grounds for stating at the XVth Congress of the C.P.S.U.\* that "the stabilization of capitalism is nearing its end." The XIIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. was already faced with the fact of the end of capitalist stabilization.

The decisions of the Plenum are of still greater importance, in so far as, proceeding from the end of capitalist stabilization, they indicate *the immediate perspectives of decisive class struggles*, and anticipate the inevitability of the deepest convulsions, the possibility of unexpected explosions and uprisings. "In certain extremely important key-points, the antagonistic forces are already becoming unleashed for the conflict." (Theses XIIth Plenum.) In connection with this, the decisions of the Plenum stress, more than ever before, the question of the Communist Parties *preparing themselves, and preparing the proletariat for the impending struggle for power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

"The end of capitalist stabilization, the rapidly growing prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis in a number of capitalist States, and the international situation in general, sharply raises the problem of solving the main task of the Communist Parties at the present time, i.e., of preparing the working class and the exploited masses, in the course of the economic and political struggles, for the impending fight for power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Precisely because little time remains before the revolutionary crisis matures it is necessary, without losing a moment, to *intensify and accelerate our bolshevik mass work* to win over the majority of the working class; to heighten the revolutionary activity of the working class." (Thesis of the XIIth Plenum on Point 1.)

The sharpening and deepening of the world economic crisis, already in its fourth year; the unprecedented fall in production and the growth of unemployment, and continual fall of prices on the world market, the greatest convulsions in the credit system, the fall in currency in nearly every capitalist country, with an uninterrupted growth of socialist

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\* Modern Books. W.L.P.

economy in the U.S.S.R., is the *economic basis* for the end of the stabilization of capitalism.

The crisis is still sharpening and deepening, in spite of the fact that it is already in its fourth year and assuming an unprecedented sweep. All the attempts of the bourgeoisie to find a way out of the crisis have remained without result. The widely advertised American boom, from which not only the American bourgeoisie, but the entire international bourgeoisie expected the beginning of a new rise, and the Social-Democrats so strongly welcomed, revealed itself simply bluff. It becomes clearer and clearer that capitalism cannot emerge from this crisis by exclusively economic measures. Whether it can emerge from the crisis at all is a horse of another colour; the solution of this question depends on our revolutionary practice.

The successes of the socialist offensive along the whole front in the U.S.S.R., the great revolutionary upsurge which is growing everywhere and a sign of the growth of the influence of Communism, together with an increase in the antagonisms between imperialist powers, are *decisive factors* in the shattering of the relative stabilization of capitalism.

The broad masses are in motion. The revolution in Spain; the revolutionary situation in China; the approach of a revolutionary crisis in Germany and Poland; stubborn and stormy strikes in almost every country; revolutionary demonstrations of workers and unemployed; fierce clashes with the police and the fascists; the militant activity of the peasant masses; the upsurge of revolutionary struggle in India, Indo-China and the South American countries; the movement among the soldiers and sailors in the imperialist armies; all these characterize the present revolutionary upsurge. The end of the stabilization of capitalism means a further and still more rapid growth of the revolutionary upsurge, the drawing of new



hundreds of thousands and millions of workers, peasants, unemployed and subjected colonial peoples into the struggle.

The fierce trade war for world markets, unprecedented protectionism with a simultaneous increase of dumping, the violent seizure of Manchuria by Japan, the acute sharpening of antagonisms between Japan and the U.S.A., Great Britain and the U.S.A., France and Germany, Italy and France, the wild imperialist armament race, characterize the extreme sharpening of the external antagonisms of imperialism. "A new world imperialist war has become an immediate danger." (Theses of the XIIth Plenum.)

The powerful growth of the revolutionary upsurge is supported by victorious socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. The completion of the Five-Year Plan in four years, and the decision to carry out the great task of the construction of classless society in the second Five-Year Plan have increased the revolutionizing role of the Soviet Union. This centre of world revolution is rousing the whole world of the exploited and oppressed by its successes, and calls them to the struggle for the revolutionary way out of the crisis. Fear of proletarian revolution is driving the imperialist governments more and more to prepare for military intervention in the Soviet Union. By war against the U.S.S.R., Imperialism hopes to break world bolshevism and solve its own difficulties, at the expense of the country of the soviets. The world is slipping into a new war under conditions of a universally growing mass revolutionary upsurge.

"The end of relative capitalist stabilization has come. But a directly revolutionary situation has not yet arisen in the important and decisive capitalist countries. What is taking place at the present moment is the transition to a new round of big clashes between classes and between States, a new round of wars and revolutions." (Thesis of XIIth Plenum.)

This transition is taking place in the form of an uneven process.



"In Spain a revolution is taking place. In China there is a revolutionary situation, and a Soviet revolution has been victorious over a large territory. In Germany there is a tremendous sharpening of class antagonisms—on the one hand the growth of fascism, and on the other hand, the growth of the revolutionary mass struggle, the accelerated maturing of the prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis. Certain other countries are either approaching very closely to a revolutionary crisis (Poland), or, as a result of the extreme sharpening of antagonisms at home and abroad, may find themselves in the situation of a revolutionary crisis in the near future (Japan). In India and the Latin-American countries the development of the revolutionary crisis is retarded, primarily by the low degree of organization of the proletariat and the immaturity of the Communist Parties. In all capitalist countries the forces of the international proletarian revolution are steadily growing, but in such important countries of world capitalism as the U.S.A., Great Britain and France, the upsurge of the revolutionary movement, although developing, is still greatly lagging behind the high intensity of the whole international situation." (Theses.)

The Plenum took into account the inequality of development of the economic crisis and the revolutionary upsurge in individual countries, indicating the opportunist underestimation of revolutionary perspectives as the chief danger, and harmful "Leftist" tendencies and leaps over historic stages, and issued a warning against a mechanical transfer of the estimate of the situation in one country to another country, pointing out the necessity for a careful and complete study of the tasks of each Party in each separate country.

The Plenum warned against an *opportunist underestimation of the war in China*, which is the prelude to a world war and intervention in the U.S.S.R., against *fatalistic sentiments* and the theory that "war will come anyway," that "revolution will automatically arise out of war"—theories which conceal both opportunist passivity in the struggle against war, and passivity in the preparations for revolution.

The chief thing in these preparations, in most countries, is the development of *economic struggles*, to which question the Plenum devoted special attention.

The development of the *mass strike movement* in

Spain, China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Japan, France, Belgium, Bulgaria, Great Britain, India, U.S.A. and other countries during the past year, was the *principal component part of the revolutionary upsurge*, and one of the clearest indications of the end of capitalist stabilization.

Apart from the *mass character* of strikes, we should specially note the drawing of *new sections* of the proletariat into the struggle, from countries which entered the crisis later than others (the miners of Belgium, the textile workers of Holland, the woodworkers of Sweden, the fitters of Switzerland); the rapid conversion of *economic strikes into political strikes* (Czechoslovakia, Belgium, etc.); the *growth* of the *relative importance* of the leading *participation of the Communist Parties* and the revolutionary trade-union movement in strikes, and in the struggle of the unemployed, and the development of *new non-Party worker activists*, who, in spite of the reformists, carry on a heroic struggle against the capitalist offensive.

The Plenum pointed out that the economic struggle of the proletariat which is everywhere taking on a more *revolutionary character*, "is, at the present stage, in an overwhelming majority of the capitalist countries, the *fundamental link* for leading the masses to the forthcoming big revolutionary battles." (Theses on Point 2.)

In addition to this the Plenum called the attention of all sections of the Comintern to the growing political importance of the *unemployed movement*, which is more and more being directed against the capitalist state.

While focussing attention on the mass work of the Communist Parties, the Plenum devoted considerable space to the tasks of the revolutionary trade-union movement and especially the *work of Communists in the Reformist trade unions*. The Plenum struck

firmly at a series of mistakes of workers in the revolutionary trade-union movement, mistakes which hinder the fulfilment of the chief tasks of *winning over the workers in the reformist trade unions*, and in this way hindering the operation of the tactic of the *united front from below*.

It is these shortcomings which prevent the fulfilment of the chief strategic task—the *winning over of the majority of the working class*, which is the chief prerequisite for a successful struggle for power.

The Plenum paid great attention to the general situation in Germany, in particular giving a characterization of the von Papen government, and dealing in particular detail with the question of fascism and social-fascism, and also the inner Party questions of the C.P.G.

In spite of the careful and detailed formulations of the XIth Plenum on the question of *fascism and social-fascism*, there have been many distortions in interpreting the essence of fascism and social-fascism, during the past year in the sections of the Comintern, especially in Germany. These distortions have had a harmful effect on the solution of the important problem of carrying out a genuine bolshevik tactic of the *United front from below*. An opportunist over-estimation of the power of fascism and an under-estimation of the *general features of fascism and social-fascism* leads to *Right opportunist strivings to organize a united front with the leaders of social-democratic organizations, to defeatist moods, to panic and capitulation*, expressed by the theory that the sooner fascism comes, the sooner there will be a revolution. But a Leftist *underestimation of fascism and an underestimation of the difference between social-fascism and fascism*, has led to passivity, to limiting the struggle to a fight against social-fascism, while forgetting the struggle against fascism, to the identification of the social-democratic leaders and



workers, to a drop in the work among the broad masses.

The Plenum also emphasized the difference between the fascism of the period of the ebb of revolution, of the stabilization of capitalism; and the fascism of the period of the *upsurge* of the revolutionary wave, the end of the stabilization of capitalism, and fought against those who only see the elements of the strengthening of capitalism and the defeat of the proletariat in the offensive of fascism.

The end of the stabilization of capitalism compels the class enemy to gather all his forces for a more severe attack on the working class, and the merciless suppression of the revolutionary upsurge.

"In most capitalist countries, the big bourgeoisie are organizing fascist units for civil war, are making a system of political banditism, white terror, the torture of political prisoners, provocation, forging documents, the shooting down of strikers and demonstrators, the dissolution and suppression of the organizations of the workers." (Theses.)

However, though fascism is a weapon of finance capital in the offensive against the working class and all the toilers, it simultaneously contains the *elements of the disintegration* of capitalism. In the fascism of the period of the stabilization of capitalism, the most prominent features were the elements of the consolidation of capitalism, but at the time of the end of capitalist stabilization, the elements of the disintegration of capitalism become more and more evident in fascism. These elements are most evident in places where there is a powerful revolutionary upsurge, where the bourgeoisie are under the direct blows of the revolutionary masses.

The estimate of fascism as a one-sided process of the capitalist offensive, and the defeatist moods which arose from this after the presidential elections in Germany, were not only reflected among individual German Communists, but among individual members of other sections of the Comintern. The clearest ex-



pression of this was the Right opportunist estimate of the situation in Germany, and the world situation in general, given by Comrade Humbert Droz shortly before the XIIth Plenum.

Among some members of the C.P.G., this Right position was interwoven in a peculiar manner, and closely linked up with the leftist position of Comrade Neumann, consisting of an underestimation of the strength of fascism, and the weakening of the struggle against it. The criticism of these views undertaken by the E.C.C.I. and the Central Committee, C.P.G., even before the XIIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. had a considerable influence on the rectification of the mistakes in the agitation of the C.P.G. The resistance to this position at the XIIth Plenum will be decisive in improving the whole of the mass work of the Communist Parties, above all, the C.P.G.

The Plenum likewise resisted those who cannot see the *growing possibilities of the struggle against social-democracy*, which continues to be the *chief social bulwark* of the bourgeoisie, in spite of the fact that the end of capitalist stabilization is bound to affect its fate. The social base of social-democracy is shrinking. The end of capitalist stabilization means the end of a whole period of social reforms—this chief economic basis of the mass influence of social-democracy. The poverty, hunger and need of the millions is a convincing refutation of all the false teachings of social-democracy on a peaceful growth into socialism “through organized capitalism,” “state capitalism,” etc. All the illusions created by it vanish like smoke. The process of the disintegration of social-democracy is progressing, compelling it to increase its Left manoeuvres. By putting forward a series of radical demands such as the “program of socialism” (without revolution, of course), proposing to form a united front (from above only) for the struggle against the capitalist offensive and fascism, and opposition (in words) to the danger of new imperialist wars, and in

defence of the U.S.S.R., it attempts to slow down the desertion of its ranks by the workers and, as in 1918-20, to head the revolutionary movement—to behead it.

“The period of capitalist stabilization was characterized by the fact that the bourgeoisie utilised social-democracy as its main weapon (coalition, social-democratic governments). The end of capitalist stabilization increases the specific gravity of fascism in capitalist government administrations.” (Manuïlsky.)

Without rejecting the services of social-democracy, the bourgeoisie are setting it aside from direct participation in the administration and direction, in a number of countries, in proportion as fascism increases.

Some tend to conclude that the role of the chief social bulwark of the bourgeoisie will pass to the fascists. This is absolutely incorrect.

In spite of all the changes in the situation, social-democracy *has not ceased to be the main social bulwark of the bourgeoisie*. It is only by directing the *main blows against social-democracy*, only by destroying this chief social bulwark of the bourgeoisie that “it will be possible to strike at and defeat the chief class enemy of the proletariat—the bourgeoisie.” (Theses.)

The C.P.G., in spite of great objective difficulties, obtained considerable successes in the winning over of the masses, the independent leadership of the struggles of the working class, and the organization of the united front from below. In the struggle against fascism, and in strengthening its ranks, and exposing social-democracy, the C.P.G. has shown high manœuvring powers in complicated situations. At the same time, there are some shortcomings in the work of the C.P.G.

Some individual sections of the Party did not always react rapidly and correctly to the rapid change in the political situation and relation of class forces. A specially characteristic day was July 20,

when the von Papen government dismissed twenty prominent social-fascist officials at the head of the Prussian government, and replaced them by fascists. On this day the masses came out into the streets, there was extremely great unrest; but the Party was late in its appeal for a strike.

While indicating these and other shortcomings in the work of the C.P.G., the Plenum emphasized the proximity of revolutionary prospectives in Germany, which, together with Poland, is the most important centre of communism in Western Europe. The acceleration of the growth of the elements of a revolutionary crisis in these countries demands the *greatest* activity, bolshevik vigilance and initiative in the organization of economic and political fights and all the mass revolutionary activity of the proletariat, from the Communist Parties, and that they stand at the head of the anti-fascist front and the whole of the mass struggle against war, in defence of China, and the U.S.S.R.

The XIIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. noted many big *achievements* in the work of the sections of the C.I.

The Communist Parties have grown; their influence on the masses has increased. There has been a special growth in the influence of the C.P.s of Germany, Poland, China, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. In connection with the Belgian strike, the C.P. of Belgium doubled its membership. The numerical strength of all Communist Parties, excluding the C.P.S.U., increased by over 400,000 members during the last year.

The Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions organized and led a great many strikes in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Germany, etc. The C.P. of Japan gave an example of genuinely revolutionary mass work against war. The C.P. of China is rapidly growing. It has achieved big successes in the development of the soviet revolution in China, and organized



the anti-imperialist struggle of the Chinese people in the territory of the Kuomintang and other cliques of generals. The sections of the C.I. obtained marked successes in the operation of the tactic of the united front from below (in Germany, in the form of the anti-fascist front), in the strike at Brux (in Czechoslovakia), in a number of strikes in Poland, Belgium and Great Britain. The biggest parties secured successes in the sphere of work *in the factories*. Most of the sections of the C.I. were able to resist the Right and "Left" opportunists, to rectify mistakes in various places.

"Communists in all parts of the capitalist world, in numerous fights and trials under conditions of merciless terror, have shown themselves to be courageous and truly revolutionary advanced fighters of the proletariat." (Theses.)

However, a considerable *lagging behind* the tempo of development of the mass revolutionary upsurge and great possibilities created by the favourable objective situation of the Communist Parties still exists.

The chief weakness of the Communist Parties is in their *mass work*. This weakness is of the greater importance, because the conditions of the end of capitalist stabilization are rapidly educating and leading the broad masses to a realization of the necessity for the fighting leadership of the C.P.s and and the Red T.U.s.

The *shortcomings* in the mass work of the C.P.s are: the separation of most of the Communists from the reformist and other non-Communist workers, a sectarian approach to these workers, shortcomings and mistakes in strike tactics and strategy, the weakness of work in the factories, resistance (in practice) by many Communists to carrying on work in the reformist trade unions, the organizational weakness of the C.P.s in the factories, the abstractness of their agitation and propaganda, the backwardness of work among the unemployed, among women and youth.



The Plenum criticized the shortcomings in the mass work of the C.P. of *France* with special severity. In view of the exceptionally great responsibility of this Party, in view of the special role of French imperialism in the preparations for war and in general on the world arena, the Plenum paid great attention to this Party. The C.P. of France carried on a successful anti-war campaign last year. It carried on its agitation for the exposure of the French government, the general staff, the French police and the whiteguards, in connection with the Gorgulov trial, particularly brilliantly. The political influence of the Communists among the masses is increasing in France, the more so because the preparations for war can be felt more in this country than any other. But the C.P. of France does not consolidate its political influence organizationally, and even its political influence is often lost, owing to great shortcomings in its mass work. The loss of over 200,000 votes during the general elections to the Chamber of Deputies in 1932 compared with the elections of 1928 is especially striking.

The chief shortcoming consists of poor work in the factories, in the revolutionary and reformist trade unions, and among the unemployed. The Plenum emphasized the absence of really collective methods of leadership as one of the chief causes of the weakness of the C.P.F.

The work of the C.P.s of *Great Britain and the U.S.A.* was also sharply criticized at the Plenum. These Parties have made very poor use of the great possibilities for mass work under the conditions of crisis and unemployment, which have struck at these countries with special force.

The Plenum, as mentioned above, pointed out that the chief task facing all C.P.s at the present stage of the short period which remains before the maturing of the revolutionary crisis, consists in the *prepara-*

tion of the working class and the exploited masses for decisive revolutionary struggles, the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and indicated the main political and organizational content of these preparations.

These preparations must be carried on in a concrete struggle for the *majority of the working class*, for the destruction of the mass influence of social-democracy, for the organization of the mass revolutionary activity of the proletariat *against the capitalist offensive, against fascism and reaction, against the approaching imperialist war and intervention in the Soviet Union.*

The next link of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for power is the *mass political strike*. By organizing partial strikes, without falling into economism,\* without losing sight of immediate revolutionary perspectives, the sections of the C.I. must raise the task of extending the front of the everyday struggle, revolutionizing it, and popularizing the slogan of the mass political strike in all its breadth.

The question of the *winning of power* must be placed in the centre of communist agitation and propaganda. By a struggle for partial demands, the Communist Parties must lead the masses, according to the level of the workers' movement in every separate country, to the problem of the winning of power.

The most consistent and determined operation of the tactic of the *united front from below* still remains the bolshevik method of mobilizing the masses. Only the broad united front, the starting point of which is the spontaneous striving of the masses towards unity in the struggle against the capitalist offensive, fascism and war, will lead to the destruction of social-democracy, can be the lever which puts the millions

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\* See "What is to be done." Lenin.

of the proletariat into motion under communist leadership.

Every Communist Party must strengthen its ranks and its positions in the *factories* and, above all, in the big factories in the decisive branches of industry.

Bolshevik work must be based on the wide development of revolutionary work in the *reformist trade unions* and the maximum strengthening of the mass basis of the revolutionary T.U. organization. Any underestimation of this work, often concealed by Left phrases, must be resisted.

The work of the C.P.s must be based on a wide development of *proletarian democracy* in the lower Party organizations, the revolutionary T.U.s, the R.T.U.O., in economic fights, etc. Bolshevik self-criticism, the wide discussion of important political questions, concrete leadership, are conditions for further rapid development of the revolutionary upsurge under Communist leadership.

The Plenum devoted the deepest attention to the question of the struggle of the C.P.s *against imperialist war* and the preparations of the imperialists for military intervention in the Soviet Union.

The military attack of Japan on China was correctly estimated by almost all sections of the C.I. as the prelude to a new world war and intervention against the U.S.S.R. The first information on the events in the East evoked a rapid response from the whole of the Communist press, stirred the Communist Parties, and, in spite of some mistakes of the Communist press, and lagging behind in certain cases, it served as an impetus to a number of mass revolutionary actions in defence of the independence of China, against its partition, against Japanese, French and world imperialism, in defence of the U.S.S.R. The initiators and leaders of these actions everywhere were the Communists. In this sphere, n



the C.P.s of Japan and China performed specially great services.

Nevertheless, the Plenum stated that the Communist Parties have not succeeded in fulfilling the urgent task of mobilizing the masses of workers in the reformist trade unions, and other mass workers' organizations, on the basis of the tactic of the united front from below, and developing the agitation against war and military intervention among the masses of peasants, and the urban petty bourgeoisie, in general. The Plenum stated that inadequate bolshevik resistance was offered by the Communist Parties to the opportunist underestimation of the war in China, to the underestimation of the danger of imperialist war and intervention, to the opportunist failure to understand all the peculiarities of the present drift towards a war; individual pacifist deviations; opportunist passivity with regard to war; and fatalist moods, as expressed by the theory that revolution will automatically arise out of war.

The task of all Communist Parties is to show the masses the "great secret" of the birth of war, to carry on a systematic ideological struggle against chauvinism and nationalism, to expose all the measures of the bourgeoisie directed to the organization of war; and explain to the masses all the manoeuvres of the social-democratic leaders and pacifists to conceal the preparations for war and intervention.

The sections of the Comintern must not forget that the most decisive means of struggle against the danger of imperialist war and intervention in the U.S.S.R. is a determined struggle against the capitalist offensive and fascism, the mobilization of the masses for this struggle, and leading the masses up to the decisive fights for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The XIIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. emphasized a most important historical task for the C.P.S.U. :

"To continue undeviatingly to pursue the peace policy that has been so firmly pursued by the Soviet Government, in spite of the increasing provocation of the imperialists, and at the same time, to strengthen the defences of the U.S.S.R. and by carrying out the great plan of socialist construction, by rallying all the toilers around the Soviet power and the Party, to strengthen the U.S.S.R. as the base and stronghold of socialism." (Theses.)

Everywhere there is a growing striving among the masses towards the Communist Parties. The masses are seeking revolutionary leadership in the great fights approaching. The task of the C.P.s is to realise this leadership. And it is more than ever necessary, for this purpose, to eliminate all relics of social-democratic tendencies in the ranks of the Communist Parties which are sources of the Right deviation in communism, the most dangerous one at the present stage. It is necessary to uproot all vacillations and hesitations, opportunist passivity, sectarian tendencies, anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist prejudices and Leftist excesses.

The XIIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. assembled at a time when a definite *turning point* had been reached in the course of the general crisis of capitalism, in connection with the end of capitalist stabilization, and the keynote of the Plenum was the *nearness of revolutionary perspectives, the preparations for the decisive battles of the proletariat for power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

The materials of the Plenum had not yet been published when a strike wave arose in Germany, which led to the general transport strike in Berlin, the wave of the Soviet movement and the anti-imperialist struggle rose still higher in China, the guerilla movement rose in Manchuria. The press reported the important successes of Communists in the elections in Greece.

The few months which have elapsed since the XIIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. have already shown a further intensification of the class struggle—the growth of the strike struggle in all countries, bloody

conflicts between the unemployed and the police in Birkenhead, Liverpool, London and other English towns, the growth of a movement of revolt in Macedonia and Croatia (in Yugoslavia), a new peasant revolt in Polesia (Northern part of West Ukraine in Poland), the shooting down of demonstrating workers in Geneva (Switzerland) and other clashes between the workers and peasants on the one hand, and the government power on the other, in all capitalist countries. These facts showed that the Plenum was fully justified in taking the line of the approach of decisive class fights, of closely approaching revolutionary perspectives.

This is an additional guarantee that the decisions of the Plenum will play a powerful mobilizing role in the strengthening of the mass basis of the C.P.s and serve as an impetus to the further bolshevisation of the masses, the acceleration of the growth of the present revolutionary upsurge in a number of countries into a revolutionary crisis, and a revolutionary situation.



## II.

### THE END OF CAPITALIST STABILIZATION.

The relative stabilization of capitalism was the touchstone which served as a test of the correctness of the line taken by all revolutionary and pseudo-revolutionary adherents of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

What was the stabilization of capitalism?

The economic basis of the relative stabilization of capitalism was the restoration of capitalist economy. Capitalism temporarily extricated itself from post-war chaos.

"In characterizing the second period of post-war capitalism—the period during which the partial stabilization of the capitalist system was progressing—the VIth World Congress emphasised especially the restoration of capitalist economy and the development of the offensive of capital. Foreign currency was stabilized, the unity of world currency, the international system of credit, the production and the markets of the capitalist countries were more or less restored. By the beginning of the third period production had already reached and exceeded its pre-war level in the capitalist countries (and almost simultaneously in the Soviet Union also) and there began a rapid development of the technique of production, which in some countries (such as Germany and the United States) assumed the character of a 'technical revolution' (Resolution of the VIth World Congress). In connection with the ruthless carrying out of capitalist rationalisation, a great growth of productive forces was thus attained in the second post-war period and during the beginning of the third period. At the same time it was, even then, possible to observe the development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilization." (From Comrade Kuusinen's report.)

At the XVth Congress of the C.P.S.U. held at the end of 1927, at the time when capitalist stabilization had reached its utmost limit, Comrade Stalin, in his fight against the Right opportunist estimation of the situation, emphasized the relativity of stabilization and foretold its inevitable collapse. He said:

"Already at the XIVth Congress it was stated in the report that capitalism might reach and even exceed the pre-war standards, that it could rationalize its industry, but that this did not mean, by a very long way, that the stabilization of capitalism may as a result

of this become lasting, that capitalism could return to its former pre-war stability. On the contrary, stabilization itself, the very fact that technical progress and productive possibilities are increasing, while at the same time the world market, the limits of this market, and the sphere of influence of individual imperialist groups are remaining more or less stable, this very fact is giving rise to a very profound and acute crisis of world capitalism, which is pregnant with new wars, and menaces the existence of any kind of stabilization.

"Partial stabilization is giving rise to an intense crisis of capitalism, the maturing crisis is destroying stabilization—such are the dialectics of the development of capitalism at the present historical moment." (Stalin, Report to the XVth Congress of the C.P.S.U.)

The rule of the bourgeoisie was stabilized on the basis of the crushing of the first attempt of the international proletariat to storm the fortress of capitalism, which led to the temporary establishment of the Bavarian and Hungarian Soviet Republics, which reached its highest point in the fights of 1921 and ended with the defeat of the German proletariat in 1923. A temporary ebb of the international revolution commenced, which the liquidators regarded as the end of the world revolution. The rule of the bourgeoisie also became stabilized as the result of a temporary arrangement among the financial oligarchy on the question of the partition and exploitation of the whole world.

"... In what way does the concrete stabilization of capitalism find expression?" asked Comrade Stalin after the XIVth Party Conference.

"In the first place, it finds expression in the fact that, for the nonce, the United States of America, Britain and France have succeeded in coming to an understanding as to how, and to what extent they will despoil Germany. . . . The second way in which the stabilization of capitalism has found concrete expression is in the fact that British, American and Japanese capitalists have temporarily come to an agreement as to the allotment of their spheres of influence in China, and as to the best methods for the exploitation of that vast field for the investment of international capital. . . . Thirdly, the stabilization of capitalism has found expression in the fact that the imperialist groups of more advanced countries have agreed, for the time being, not to interfere in the exploitation and oppression of 'their' respective colonial possessions. . . . A fourth manifestation of capitalist stabilization may take the form

of an alliance of the imperialist groups in the more advanced countries in order to make a concerted attack upon the Soviet Union." (Stalin: "Leninism.")

Almost nothing remains now of these conditions.

The economic basis of the stabilization of capitalism has collapsed. During stabilization, production and commerce in capitalist countries, which had fallen terribly immediately after the war, began to rise and reached or surpassed the pre-war level. But during the last three years an unprecedented fall of production and commerce has taken place. Capitalist production has receded for decades.

In comparison with 1929, the year of the highest post-war prosperity of industry, the industrial production of the U.S.A. in 1932 fell by 52 per cent.; in Germany by 48 per cent.; in Great Britain, a country which has never emerged from the state of chronic depression since the war, it fell by 27.5 per cent.; in France, the country which came late into the crisis, it fell by 35.4 per cent., etc.\* These are the figures of bourgeois economic institutes, which do not exaggerate the decline of capitalist industry, but try as far as possible to present it in a rosy hue.

A tremendous *army of unemployed* was formed. More than half of the whole working class is wholly or partially unemployed. And this army is still growing.

*Prices have fallen* compared with 1929, in spite of the rapid raising of tariff walls and the growth of protectionism, on the average as follows: in U.S.A. by 40.6 per cent.; in Germany by 31.1 per cent.; in Great Britain by 30.1 per cent.; in France by 34.8 per cent.; and have brought ruin, above all, to the small agricultural producers in imperialist countries and colonies, deepening and sharpening the prolonged international agrarian crisis. One cannot see the end of the world economic crisis; on the con-

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\*Figures taken from the "Journal of World Economic Statistics," No. 5-6, 1932, Page 2.



trary, it is steadily deepening and sharpening. It becomes more and more clear that

"there is no purely economic way out of this crisis. The possibility of a capitalist way out of the crisis—for one individual country or another—can only be found in the successful use of the capitalist class's means of economic struggle in conjunction with the mailed fist of the bourgeois State, in making war upon and defeating the others, the competitors and rivals, the internal and external enemies of finance capital." (From Comrade Kuusinen's report.)

The fierce capitalist offensive led to a tremendous *impoverishment of the working class*. Here are some examples given by Comrade Thalmann at the Plenum:

"In Germany, on the basis of the recent reduction of unemployment relief by the emergency decree of von Papen, the income of millions of the unemployed is as follows: In big towns 16.4 marks, in the medium-sized towns 14.36 marks, and in small communities 13.14 marks. The most conservative estimate of the number of unemployed in Germany, together with their families, is 17,000,000, and the average monthly income of one-quarter of the population of Germany is only 20 marks. If we take 1927 as a basis, wages in 1930 were only 91 per cent., and in 1931, 81 per cent.; while in 1932 they were only 67 per cent. of 1927 wages. The weekly wage of German industrial workers during the last few years has changed as follows: 1929, 42.20 marks; 1930, 36.95 marks; 1931, 30.10 marks; June, 1932, 22.10 marks.

"In America the fall of weekly wages was as follows: 1929, 27.04 dollars; 1930, 22.95 dollars; 1931, 19.05 dollars; and June, 1932, 12.35 dollars.

"The change in the amount of wages in the U.S.A. is very noteworthy. If we take wages in 1929 as 100, the index of wages in 1932 is only 48; in the coal industry, 50 per cent.; in the metal industry, 35.1 per cent.; in the automobile industry, 39.1 per cent.; in the textile industry, 55.6 per cent.

"In Spain the real wages of the proletariat fell by 30 per cent. owing to the fall on the exchange of the peseta, while new taxes have reduced the standard of life by 30 per cent. Thus the index for the cost of living minimum in Spain rose from 162 in April, 1930, to 182 at the beginning of 1932. In addition, Spain has no social insurance against sickness and unemployment.

"The barbarously low standard of life of the Chinese workers has been lowered to an unprecedented level by the capitalist offensive. In 1929 the Chinese textile workers received 30 silver dollars a month, but in 1931 their monthly wages had dropped to 18 silver dollars. The wages of Chinese porters fell, in the same interval,

from 38 to 18 silver dollars, while the wages of sailors fell from 33 to 20 silver dollars a month. In addition, in 1932, there were 5,000,000 unemployed in Chinese industry, i.e., 50 per cent. of the entire proletariat."

Alongside this decline of the economics of world capitalism, there was a great rise in the socialist economy of the Soviet Union, which steadily increased its industrial and agricultural production, once and for all *liquidating unemployment*, drawing millions of workers and peasants into industrial production, which unceasingly raises the standard of life and the cultural level of the workers and peasants.

The economic independence of the Soviet Union is being secured more and more, clearly showing the foolishness of the statements of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism on increasing dependence and subordination to world capitalism. (See Chapter 6 for U.S.S.R.)

Here are some examples of the end of capitalist stabilization in the sphere of economics which were given at the XIIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.:

"By way of comparison, I will give an example which is not a mere figment of the imagination, but which is taken from that very sphere from which the conception of capitalist stabilization originated, in our economic and political literature—from the sphere of the stabilization of foreign currency. Has not the pound sterling lost its stabilization? In England, the classic land of capitalism—and not only in England, but in 40 other countries as well—the gold standard has had to be abandoned. The uniformity of the world's currency has collapsed. There is not a single country where the question of the depreciation of money has not been raised. In America this has become a question of the day, and at this very moment we read in the press that, in France, a campaign is being conducted for the depreciation of the currency, i.e., for inflation. This is happening in France, where the unit of currency has already been so depreciated since the war that to-day it only represents a fraction of the old pre-war franc. Who is prepared to wager to-day that in a year's time France or America will still have a stable currency, that these countries will not have abandoned the gold standard? (And if anyone is prepared to wager, he will be at once faced with the question, in what currency to make the bet. For no currency is now absolutely stable.)

"Another example. The same country of classic capitalism, England, has abandoned the system of Free Trade and adopted that

of Protection. Well, this may seem a small thing. England has only just done what other countries did half a century earlier; only England has been a bit late about it! No, the matter is not so simple. This change of system now denotes a transition to a great new accentuation in the commercial and political relations of the most important capitalist countries. France retorts with counter-measures. The United States follows suit. They are already beginning a system of protection and, to some extent, one of prohibition. A sliding scale has been adopted. Tariff wars and commercial wars have already virtually begun. But this only represents a prelude to an armed conflict. And thus we see that stabilization has come to an end, in the commercial relations of the capitalist countries, just as it has done in the sphere of money value and world currency." (From Comrade Kuusinen.)

A breach is taking place more and more in the Versailles system.

Though the stabilization of capitalism was expressed by the fact that "the U.S.A., England and France were able temporarily to come to an agreement on the methods and the extent of the plunder of Germany," this temporary arrangement between these countries is beginning to break down. Germany has practically paid no reparations for over a year. The pyramid of post-war debts is crumbling, causing a fierce fight among the victorious countries and above all between France, Great Britain, and the U.S.A., on all questions connected with the amount of reparations which the Germans can and must pay, on the extent to which the security for foreign credits breaks down in the payment of reparations, on whether private debts or reparations should be paid first, and how much of the war debts France, Great Britain, Italy, etc., must pay to America, in spite of the deep world economic crisis and the stoppage of reparation payments. The Young Plan and also the Dawes Plan are bankrupt. The Lausanne Conference has ended, and instead of solving all the pernicious questions inherited from the war, it has caused a sharpening of all the international antagonisms of capitalism and the impossibility of solving them by diplomacy.



The activity of German imperialism has grown. The spectre of complete financial bankruptcy with all its results, and above all, the fear of the ripening revolutionary crisis in Germany, compelled the countries receiving reparations to allow a moratorium on reparation payments of Germany. The German bourgeoisie are using every effort to enlarge the breach. By inflaming the wave of nationalism and chauvinism, developing the fascist movement, they loudly demand not only the postponement of reparations, but their absolute abolition, equality of armaments, a revision of the Eastern border, the return of the Danzig Corridor, etc.

All the antagonisms among the *victorious bourgeois countries* are appearing more and more plainly.

"French imperialism, in developing feverish activity in the struggle for hegemony on the European continent, is trying to strengthen its old military and political alliances and to form new ones (Danube Federation), but encounters the resistance of Germany, the U.S.A. and Italy." (Theses of the XIIth Plenum E.C.C.I.)

The so-called "Pact" which was adopted at the Lausanne Conference between Great Britain and France which has been extolled by the bourgeois press as the restoration of the *Entente Cordiale* between the two chief partners of the old Entente, turned out at its first trial to be insufficiently stable.

Mussolini, the fascist ruler of Italy, defends the German armament demands in principle, thus emphasizing the sharpness of the contradictions between Italy and France.

The League of Nations is crumbling. First Germany, then Italy, then Japan play the card of threatening to leave the League of Nations. And the League of Nations is an extremely important instrument for carrying out imperialist policy. In conjunction with international social-fascism it is of invaluable service to this policy, not only in deceiving the mass of the people and sabotaging the Soviet disarmament proposals, but also in carrying out the

imperialist policy of the plunder of weak peoples by strong ones, and the preparation and legalization of war against the Soviet Union.

The Geneva International Disarmament Conference, which lasted over six months, has shown, in accordance with the sharpening of all the imperialist antagonisms, that the imperialists cannot and will not disarm; on the contrary, a wild armament competition is taking place among them. All the proposals of the Soviet delegation aiming at really reducing armaments were rejected.

The stabilization of capitalism was expressed in the fact that "*British, American, and Japanese* capital succeeded in coming to a temporary agreement by establishing spheres of influence in China," but now *this arrangement has melted away*. Japan opened the era of *violent partition of China by occupying Manchuria*, attacking Shanghai, and attempting to seize the Yangtse Valley. A tremendous sharpening of *antagonisms in the Pacific* has become evident, and above all that between *Japan and the U.S.A.*

The concentration of the enormous fleet of the U.S.A. entirely in the Pacific Ocean shows this more clearly than any diplomatic notes and announcements. The late Japanese Foreign Minister, Ishi, stated at a meeting in June, 1932: "War between America and Japan is inevitable, if the U.S.A. continues its strivings towards domination of the Asiatic Continent and interferes with the natural expansion of Japan in this part of the world."

Although the stabilization of capitalism was expressed by the fact that the imperialist groups succeeded in reaching a temporary agreement regarding mutual non-interference in the plunder and oppression of "their colonies," this understanding has now collapsed. A struggle is proceeding between England and America in Canada, in Central and South

America and in other colonies for the partition of the world. All the antagonisms between Great Britain and the United States made themselves particularly evident at the Ottawa Conference. The war taking place between Bolivia and Paraguay, the internal struggles in many other small and large countries of South America are, in essence, the armed conflicts between American and British imperialism. Great Britain, forced step by step from its positions by America, is dextrously carrying on, with the aid of its centuries of experience in struggle for the possession of its colonies, a bitter struggle to defend them.

Though the imperialists endeavoured to reinforce the shaky stabilization of capitalism by the establishment of a united front and military intervention in the Soviet Union, they were unsuccessful. The realisation of intervention is hindered by the unswerving peace policy of the Soviet Government; the gigantic contradictions in the camp of imperialism; the tremendous rise of the anti-imperialist tide, and the growth of the revolutionary upsurge in China. Of course, this does not mean that the danger of intervention has lessened. On the contrary, all the efforts of the imperialists are directed towards its organization.

The sharpening of the class struggle was a most important factor in the extension and deepening of the world economic crisis itself.

"It is sufficient to remember what influence the movement in the British Navy had on the fall of the English pound. Such events as the revolutionary upsurge in China, with its 400,000,000 inhabitants, which brought about the establishment of soviet rule in one-seventh of the territory of China, the tremendous anti-Japanese movement which has broken through all the barriers of Kuomintang terror; the revolutionary upsurge in India which has been expressed during the last year in the growth of civil disobedience into nascent rebellion; the five and a half million Communist votes in the very heart of Europe—in Germany; the revolutionary struggle in Spain; the wave of strikes in Poland, Czechoslovakia, United States; the miners' and textile workers' strikes in France; the miners' strike



in Belgium; the present Lancashire strike—have played and are now playing a tremendous role in ending capitalist stabilization, and sharpening all its economic and political consequences." (Speech of Comrade Manuilsky on Point 1.)

In the termination of capitalist stabilization, the same role is played by the growth of the revolutionary movement of the toiling peasants in Poland, Yugoslavia, Spain and all other capitalist countries.

A considerable part in the bankrupting of all methods of the stabilization of capitalism was, and still is, taken by the revolutionary movement, and the unrest in the *armies and navies* of a number of capitalist countries, by the close relations established in Poland, Belgium, China, etc., between the troops and the strikers, demonstrators, rebellious peasants, etc., indicating the beginning of a definite process of the disintegration of this buttress of the rule of the bourgeoisie.

"... The Navy. The Navy is the pride of British imperialism. But when this Navy mutinies, as happened at Invergordon, this is certainly a disturbing sign in an imperialist fleet! Of course, this Navy has by no means completely lost its value for the British bourgeoisie. That is true (but that is true also of the pound sterling). The strike in the British Fleet was only a symptom of the disintegration of the forces of British imperialism, but it was a very eloquent symptom. Russian Tsarism in its day experienced similar symptoms of a very painful nature, at Kronstadt, Sevastopol, etc. Are the happenings at Invergordon to be regarded as a mere accident? Can we say "The incident has been quickly cleared up" and leave it at that? No, a navy which has mutinied once may mutiny again, and such a navy is, so to speak, a navy 'without stabilization.'" (Report of Comrade Kuusinen.)

The whole situation has brilliantly confirmed Comrade Stalin's statement that

"the stabilization of capitalism is not likely to endure, and this stabilization itself calls into being certain conditions which will lead to the disintegration of capitalism. On the other hand, the stabilization of the Soviet regime leads to a continuous accumulation of factors tending to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to spur forward the revolutionary movement in other lands and to bring about the victory of socialism." (Stalin; "Leninism.")

"Stabilization is not stagnation. Stabilization consists in the strengthening of the actual situation in a given country, and its

further development. World capitalism has not only strengthened its present positions; it has gone further and has taken a step forward, widening its sphere of influence and piling up more and more wealth. It is not true that capitalism is incapable of further development, that the theory (advanced by Lenin in his book, "Imperialism") of the decay of capitalism excludes the possibility of a further evolution of capitalism. In his book, "Imperialism," Lenin shows that the temporary advance of capitalism is but a preparation for the progressive decay of capitalism." (Stalin; "Leninism.")

Facts have shown how false are the assertions of the Second International that "capitalism has not yet completely fulfilled its historic role," that it has "enormous vitality," that "colossal revolutionary progress . . . has exhausted its strength and that at the present time the working class is confronted with a reinforced system of capitalism and is not strong enough to cause a breach in this system in the near future." (Minutes of the Brussels Congress of the Second International, Vol. VI., pp. 148-150.)

The end of capitalist stabilization does *not mean* that a revolutionary situation already exists in the decisive countries. At the present time, the *transition* to a "new round of big clashes between classes and between states, a new cycle of wars and revolutions, is taking place." (Theses.)

The characteristic feature of the moment, the end of capitalist stabilization, opens up the widest revolutionary perspective, indicated by the XIIth Plenum, in view of the existing relations of class forces and the communist movement.

"We cannot foretell the day and determine the exact period of transition of the end of capitalist stabilization to the zone of revolutions and wars," and "we are also unable to accept fatalistically, beforehand, that this period of the decay of capitalism will be of very long duration. The answer to this question belongs above all to the working class." (Speech of Comrade Manuilsky.)

### III

## THE REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE AND THE ECONOMIC FIGHT OF THE PROLETARIAT.

Apart from the world economic crisis and the tremendous successes of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., a decisive factor in the breakdown of the relative stabilization of capitalism is the powerful *revolutionary upsurge*.

The mass anti-imperialist struggle, the successful development of the Soviet movement, the great successes of the heroic Red Army in *China*; the powerful growth of the mass movement, with tendencies to develop into a people's armed revolt in *Spain*; a wave of mass strikes, numerous fighting actions by the peasants and a growing wave of the national revolutionary movement on the frontiers in *Poland*; the growth of the mass influence of the Communist Party, the successes of the anti-fascist united-front of communist and social-democratic workers in *Germany*; fighting activity by the workers, peasants, soldiers and students, who have broken through the framework of the military and police terror in *Japan*; mutiny in the British navy; the movement of the war veterans in the U.S.A.; stormy strikes in Belgium and *Czechoslovakia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Greece*; big strikes in *France* and the U.S.A., barricades, fights between strikers and the police; revolutionary activity of the *unemployed* in all countries; militant activity of the peasant masses in most countries; the growth of revolutionary unrest in *India*; a number of revolutionary mass actions and risings in the countries of South and Central America—such are the chief manifestations of the revolutionary upsurge during the last year.

In all these movements, a new feature is the *turbulent form* which they take (bloody clashes with the police and troops, the struggle for the street, the



defence of buildings, barricades, revolts), which contain the elements of civil war.

The revolutionary upsurge is taking place *everywhere*. There is not a single country or district forming an exception.

The greatest factor in the development of the revolutionary upsurge and the end of capitalist stabilization is the *wide development of the anti-imperialist struggle and the Soviet movement in China*.

In China, a struggle is now proceeding between two systems, between the landlord-bourgeois domination, personified by the Kuomintang, on the one hand, and the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants in the form of soviets, on the other. This struggle goes on while Japanese imperialism is invading the country, and the imperialists are carrying on a bitter struggle for the partition of China. During the XIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., when the Kuomintang organized its third campaign against the Chinese Red Army, after this army had won a series of victories for the Soviet power, when the Chinese Communist Party had only just eliminated the "Left" opportunist line of Li-Li-hsian, defeated the remains of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, the "reorganizationists" and the so-called "second Communist Party," some of the less reliable Communists shouted that the destruction and decline of the Communist Party and the Soviet movement were inevitable. But facts showed the contrary.

During the XIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., there was not yet a central Soviet Government, but only local organs of the Soviet power. At the end of last year, the *First Congress of Soviets* was called in the central Soviet district, with about 800 delegates—workers, peasants and Red Army men from Soviet China and also delegates elected by the workers of Shanghai and Canton. At this Congress was formed

the provisional *Central Soviet Government of the Chinese Soviet Peoples' Republic*, and the draft of the *Fundamental Laws of the Chinese Soviet Peoples' Republic* was adopted, the law on land, on labour, the decision to construct a Red Army, the decision on economic policy. Whereas a year ago the Soviet territory comprised 60-70 counties, it now covers 180-190. At that time practically all the towns without exception were in the hands of the white army. At present the Red Army has occupied a number of comparatively important towns in the provinces of Kiang-si, Fien-tien, Hunan, etc. Previously the Soviet districts were scattered. Now the chief districts are united to form two big concentrated Soviet provinces.

Great successes have been achieved in carrying through the *agrarian revolution*, the land of the churches, kulaks and other big landlords is being confiscated. The land is being distributed among the peasants, taking into account the quantity of labour power in the peasant's family, and the number of persons to be fed. Mass trade unions have been formed, particularly trade unions for farm labourers. There are groups of poor peasants, anti-imperialist organizations, mass organizations of the Y.C.L., pioneers, women.

After the defeat of the third campaign, the Kuo-mintang organized the fourth and sent about sixty-five divisions against the Red Army, but this campaign likewise ended in the defeat of the Kuomintang. At present a fifth campaign against the Red Army is in progress.

"During the XIth Plenum, our Red Army comprised about ten army corps, but the military effectiveness of these army corps, with the exception of a few of the basic ones, were insufficient and suffered greatly from a series of political and military weaknesses.

"At present we have twenty-six army corps which are organized in five armies. In addition we have sixteen independent divisions of the local garrison. Besides this there are mass fighting organizations like the Red Guard, Young Guard, Guerilla Detachments, etc.

We already have a well-armed G.P.U. These military organizations did not exist at the time of the XIth Plenum." (From the speech of Comrade Van-Min.)

The Red Army is united under the common leadership of the general staff and the war council. The military effectiveness of the Red Army has considerably improved.

The growth of the Soviet movement and the powerful upsurge of the anti-imperialist movement in China,

"arousing by its revolution the peoples of Indo-China, India and the Philippine and Malayan Islands and other colonies is the centre of the instability of the whole colonial system of world imperialism, and joins with the Soviet Union in the East through Mongolia," and plays an important role in the breakdown of capitalist stabilization. The victory of the Chinese Red Army is a "historic test of the possibility and suitability of the Soviet system not only for China, but for the colonial peoples in general." (Manuilsky.)

The rapid growth of the strike movement, tending to armed revolt, the steadily growing active participation of millions of exploited and oppressed peasants in the revolutionary movement, is the chief indication of the development of the revolutionary movement in *Spain*.

In spite of the anarcho-syndicalist and reformist leaders, wide masses of the proletariat are taking part in big strikes (one strike wave in January-February, 1932, included 2,500,000 workers). Not only the most advanced columns of the Spanish working class—the metal workers of Barcelona, Bilbao, Seville, the miners of Esturia, take part in them, but also the widest strata of transport workers and farm workers. The mass movement of millions of *unemployed* takes the form of the expropriation of the capitalists in a number of places, the seizure of land for harvesting the crop. The revolutionary movement of the *Peasants* is increasing and becoming ever wider. In some provinces, the village masses are seizing the land of the landlords, refusing to pay taxes or to carry out semi-feudal obligations. In



many places the workers and peasants make attempts to disarm the gendarmes and to seize the government and municipal institutions. Among the *national minorities of Galicia and Catalonia*, oppressed by the Spanish bourgeoisie, there is a growing national revolutionary movement, under the pressure of which the government was compelled to grant a petty "autonomy" to Catalonia, which, in practice, is only intended as a screen for the further national oppression of the Catalonian masses while granting various demands of the Catalonian bourgeoisie. The workers and soldiers, by means of a general strike and revolutionary demonstrations, have succeeded in *rapidly liquidating the open counter-revolutionary actions of monarchist reaction* under the leadership of the gendarme general Sanjuro, which was an expression of the terror of the bourgeoisie in face of the forces of revolution.

On the basis of this struggle, in the continuous partial fights of the toiling masses against bourgeois-landlord counter-revolution, under the hegemony of the proletariat and the leadership of the Communist Party (which is strengthening itself in the class struggle), a revolutionary fighting alliance of the workers and peasants is being forged; the *bourgeois democratic revolution is growing into a proletarian revolution*.

Of exceptional importance to the fate of revolution in Europe and the whole world is the revolutionary upsurge in *Germany*. This revolutionary upsurge is expressed by the growing efforts of the masses to create a united front below, in the struggle against the capitalist offensive and the fascisation of the state, in the decisive resistance to fascist gangs carried on by social-democratic workers, in spite of the cunning manoeuvres of their leaders, the defence of workers' quarters, printing plants, trade-union premises, in demonstrations and fighting actions of the unemployed against the reduction of social in-

surance, against forced labour, for unemployed relief, for work, in the rapid growth of economic and political strikes not only in small factories but in big ones, in the tremendous growth of the influence of the Communist Party (shown by the last elections to the Reichstag, where the Communist Party obtained 5,300,000 votes in spite of the terror),\* in the commencing disintegration of the national-fascists and social-fascists, in the growth of the C.P.G.

The Plenum recorded the considerable successes and achievements of the C.P.G., which works under very trying conditions.

"The Party has a great power of attraction for the masses of workers. During the past eighteen months the Party has made several hundred thousand new members. At the last elections it obtained, under very difficult and confusing conditions, 5,300,000 votes. The Party has displayed ability to regroup its forces and manoeuvre. You know, for example, that the leadership of the Party opposed taking part in the referendum on the dissolution of the Prussian Landtag. A number of Party newspapers published leading articles opposing participation in that referendum. But when the Central Committee of the Party jointly with the Comintern arrived at the conclusion that it was necessary to take an active part in the referendum, the German comrades, in the course of a few days, roused the whole Party. Not a single Party, except the C.P.S.U. could do that. This shows that the Communist Party of Germany is able to manoeuvre. A large part of the Party membership consists of capable workers. A large section of the members of the Party fight heroically against the national-socialists in the streets and in this way is creating the possibility of establishing an anti-fascist united front. At the last factory council elections the Party and the Red Trade Union Opposition was able to put up 18,000 candidates. In view of mass unemployment and victimization these candidates were candidates for dismissal, for being thrown on to the streets. No other Communist Party in the capitalist countries could have mobilized such a large number of members under such conditions." (From Comrade Piatnitsky's speech.)

The Plenum recorded the acuteness of the class struggle in Germany, and at the same time called

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\* This refers to the Reichstag elections which took place in the summer of 1932. In the elections that took place on November 6, 1932 (after the Plenum) the Party increased its vote to 6,000,000.

attention to a considerable lagging behind in one of the most important domains of the revolutionary movement in Germany, to the fact that the strike struggle lags behind the objective possibilities, and the development of the strike struggle in Poland, Czechoslovakia and a whole series of other countries. But already before the end of the Plenum, we saw the beginning of a great strike struggle in Germany in which scores of factories, and tens of thousands of workers, were involved. The weakest link in the class struggle is being overcome, and this accelerates the development of prerequisites for the revolutionary crisis.

In *Poland* the revolutionary upsurge is manifested in a wave of mass strikes, in a transition from economic struggles to general class conflicts, in the growing aggravation of the revolutionary struggle of the peasants, in the broad wave of the national liberation struggle in the outlying districts. Instead of the scattered strikes in small and medium industry occurring at the time of the XIth Plenum, strikes are now growing which embrace whole groups of factories and branches of industry. Before the XIth Plenum political strikes were a rare exception. Now, there are mass political strikes, to the point of the general strike of March 16, 1932. In place of the scattered actions of the peasants, there are now mass joint actions by many villages, reaching the point of a movement of revolt in Lisko, which included 10,000 peasants and 19 villages. Fascism is disintegrating; there is an increase in the Left manoeuvres of social-democracy, which is attempting, by these manoeuvres, to fight against the disintegration of its ranks.

The wave of mass strikes, the numerous militant actions of the peasants, and the rising new wave of the national revolutionary movement on the outskirts of Poland, has caused Poland to approach very near to a revolutionary crisis.

The growth of the revolutionary upsurge in



Poland, along with the growth of the revolutionary upsurge in Germany, is the *decisive factor for preparing the revolutionary outburst in the chief capitalist countries.*

The decisive link in the international revolutionary movement, which must be seized to accelerate the speed of the forward movement, is a development of economic struggles, above all the widest *strike movement* in all countries, the raising of this movement to a higher level, converting it into a movement of *mass political strikes and the general strike*. By an analysis of the strike movement, Lenin determined the "turning points in the social and political life of a country." By strike statistics he determined the relation of class forces on which depends the whole course of the development of events. "The movement of other classes is grouped around this centre."

The strike movement is developing in all countries.

"It is a highly characteristic feature of the strike movement in most countries at the present time that new forms of strike struggle are arising, that the methods of struggle are becoming converted into genuine revolutionary struggles. These are no longer isolated and accidental phenomena; they represent the typical development of the revolutionary movement. In Spain, in particular, we have been able to observe such revolutionary strike struggles going on uninterruptedly over a period of many months as the Spanish proletariat has never experienced before. What is happening in these struggles is above all the further development of the Spanish revolution." (From Comrade Kuusinen's report.)

Here is, for instance, a picture of the strike struggles of the Spanish proletariat, described by Comrade Hurtdago at the Plenum:

"In June, 1931, 37.55 per cent. of the local workers participated in the struggle in Seville (this struggle was the harbinger of the July days). In Barcelona, 38,000 metal workers joined the struggle, and in Cordova 5,000. In Malaga, a general strike broke out in which over 30,000 workers participated. In Asturia 8,500 workers joined the struggle, in Saragossa 4,000 metal workers came out on strike, and many other workers joined the struggle against unemployment. There wasn't a single district, town or village in Spain where the masses of workers and peasants did not struggle for

better conditions and against the terrorist measures applied by the government to the working class and peasantry.

"The general strike in Seville was the beginning of a whole series of large-scale general strikes throughout Spain—in Malaga, Cordova, Granada, Saragossa, Barcelona, Cadiz, Valencia, etc.—strikes accompanied by struggles for the pressing every-day demands of the workers. This is the best answer to the assertion of opportunists that strikes are impossible in the period of crisis." (From Comrade Hurtdago's speech.)

In *Poland* there is a growing strike movement, in spite of oppressive unemployment and the fascist terror.

Here are some figures showing the growth of the strike movement in Poland:

"From November 1, 1930, to December, 1931, there were 163 strikes in Poland, with a total of 202,000 strikers, the total number of working days lost being 1,741,000. During the first quarter of 1932 there were 37 strikes, which included 620,000 strikers, causing the loss of 3,031,000 working days. Thus there were six times as many strikers per strike, and three and a half times as many working days lost this year as in the previous period. It is noteworthy that in Poland a much larger proportion of the strikes were successful than in other countries. For example, during the first eight months of 1930 there were 34 per cent. successful strikes, in the next eight months there were 69 per cent., and in 1932 60 per cent." (Report of Comrade Thalmann.)

The wave of mass strikes spread to the tramway workers in Warsaw, the textile workers in the Lodz district, the glass workers in Petrokova, etc., and led to a general strike of miners in the Dombrov and Silesian coal fields, caused political sympathy strikes; the general political strike of March 16 and other militant actions.

The mass strike of miners in the Dombrov Basin and the general strike of March 16 in Poland, and also the big successes of the C.P.P. in the *leadership* of economic partial struggles of 1931-32, show how great are the possibilities of mobilizing the masses against the capitalist offensive.

In *Czechoslovakia*

"in 1930 there were about 150 strikes with 57,000 strikers. The number of days lost was 423,000. In 1931, 227 factories went on

strike with 76,700 strikers, the number of days lost being 525,000. Official statistics of strikes for 1931 give figures for 56 political strikes. The same official statistics for February to April, 1932, register about 98 strikes and 86,375 strikers. However, according to the figures of some of the revolutionary trade unions, it is plain that the strike movements spread much more widely." (Comrade Thalmann's Report.)

Of great importance was the general strike of miners in Brux, in Bohemia, which was carried on under the leadership of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia; a brilliant example of the formation of the united front from below in the process of the struggle, an example of the struggle for the undermining of social-democratic organizations, and the strengthening and consolidation of the influence of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia on the masses.

Thanks to the fact that the C.P.C. and the Red trade union led the strike, relying on the genuine activity of the Communists and the members of the Red T.U., and that they led it on the basis of genuine wide proletarian democracy, they were able to set up a strike leadership which was popular everywhere, to resist the attacks of the employers and the police, to compel the reformists and the national-socialists to formally leave the leadership of the strike and extend the strike to such an extent that it was converted into a general strike and became a general popular movement throughout the territory of the entire Brux mining district.

*In Germany the growth of the strike wave between the XIth and XIIth Plenums of the E.C.C.I. was weaker compared with its growth in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Spain, etc. The growth of the revolutionary upsurge was manifested here in the strivings of the masses to form a united front from below to resist the terror of the fascist gangs,*

*"in the joint defence of the workers' quarters, the workers' printing plants, the premises of the trade unions and the co-operative societies; in the bloody struggle carried on by the Communists, social-democratic and non-Party workers; in the demonstrations of the unemployed, in the growing economic and political strikes of*



the workers in the factories. In Germany, according to official statistics, "in 1929 there were 441 strikes with 234,000 strikers and a total of 3,935,000 working days lost. According to the same statistics, there were 336 strikes in 1930 with 224,900 strikers and 3,935,000 days lost. In 1931 the number of strikes was larger than in 1930, and in 1932 the number of strikes was also greater than for the similar period of 1931." (Report of Comrade Thalmann.)

Specially prominent are three strikes which took place in the Ruhr district during the last year and a half (January, 1931, October, 1931, January, 1932) which reflected the strong increase of the influence of the C.P.G.

In the summer of 1932, a definite *turning point* in the strike movement was evident in Germany. This is shown by the statistics of the strike movement for the last few months, and especially the development of the strike movement, after the Plenum, in reply to the prohibition of strikes against wage-cuts.

"If we take the last two months, we see that in June, according to the figures of the R.T.U.O., there were strikes in 150 German factories and there were 70 cases of passive resistance, i.e., when the workers threatened a strike and made a decision to declare a strike. Among these strikes, a considerable number took place on building work and among the workers on forced labour. Over 50 of the strikes in June were successful.

"In July there was the following strike movement: 88 economic strikes, 42 political strikes (against murders by the national-socialists, for the expulsion of fascists from the factories).

"From August 11-21 this year, i.e., for one week, according to the figures of the R.T.U.O. there were 21 strikes, of which 8 were successful. During the same time there were 10 protest strikes, of which one included four factories." (Report of Comrade Thalmann.)

A special place is occupied by the general miners' strike at Borinage, in Belgium. It has great international importance because it is a clear manifestation of the possibilities of developing strikes at the end of capitalist stabilization. This strike, which broke out spontaneously against wage-cuts, spread to practically all the miners of the country, and turned into a general strike of whole industrial districts, in addition to which considerable numbers of metal workers were drawn into the strike. This strike was distinguished by the exceptional strength and soli-

curity of the strikers. In spite of all the strike-breaking manoeuvres of the reformists, the strike was unexpectedly converted into a mass political movement in a country which was relatively slightly hit by the crisis. During this strike the influence of the reformists, hitherto unweakened, was broken. During the strike, in the course of the struggle, an extensive *strata of active workers*, lower active workers (local officials, etc.) of the reformist unions, grew up, openly acting against the treacherous policy of the Belgian Labour Party in this strike. The broad masses were mobilized in the struggle, and extensive support for the strikers was obtained from almost all sections of the proletariat. The active resistance of the strikers to the gendarmerie, the fraternizing of the troops with the striking workers, show the rapid accumulation of inflammatory revolutionary material among the wide toiling masses and the tremendous possibilities for an extensive strike movement.

The strike movement has also grown in all other countries, in Great Britain, France, India, China, etc., drawing larger and larger numbers of workers into its orbit and raising their struggle to a higher level. (Figures on strikes in China have already been given above.)

"In India there was the big strike of textile workers in Calcutta, Sholapur and Bombay, strikes which spread to the broad masses of working men and women. For the first time the struggle was sharpened also against the national reformist bureaucracy and assumed a new direction in principle, indicating a higher level for the given country, which is of specially great importance." (Report of Comrade Thalmann.)

The economic struggle at the end of capitalist stabilization has many peculiar features.

*The number of spontaneous strikes which took place without the direct interference of Communists or reformists, at any rate in the old capitalist countries, undoubtedly fell. The role of the sections of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. in the preparation of strikes and in conducting them increased.*

The reformists feared to lose their influence on the masses, and led a number of strikes, taking the line of starving the strikers out. This was seen in the Belgian strike, and is finding expression in the present miners' strike in the U.S.A., etc. The reformists, at present, fear the general political strike more than ever before, because the heated atmosphere of a general strike, or even a mass strike, is a serious danger for present-day crumbling capitalism. Therefore the German Federation of Trade Unions and the German Social-Democrats issued a slogan to the masses, "Only a provocateur will call a strike, at the present moment," with cynical brazenness.

The next characteristic feature of the strike movement is the *rise of a genuine proletarian united front* directly in the struggles (e.g., the strikes in Brûx, Vienna, Belgium, a number of strikes in Poland, etc.).

Another characteristic feature is the *great rapidity* with which the masses are brought into the strike movement, in spite of the difficulties at the beginning of the strike and in the process of its development. The exceptional boldness of the workers and the *length of the strikes* should be noted.

An important feature of the strike movement in a number of countries and, above all, in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Spain, Japan, Belgium and Germany, under the conditions of the end of the stabilization of capitalism, is the development of the movement for *political strikes*, developing on the basis of the growth of economic fights, embracing ever larger masses of the toilers, rousing the backward workers and encouraging them to the struggle.

Even at the present time, *the political strike is an extremely important weapon in the struggle against the danger of imperialist war and intervention in the Soviet Union.*

A splendid example of such development is given



by the miners' strike in the Dombrov Basin and Cracow district.

"This strike signified a serious movement in the relation of class forces to the side of the proletariat throughout Poland. The stubborn struggle of the miners which lasted for a whole month, gave an impetus to vacillating sections of the working class, aroused their resistance to the capitalist offensive, drew them into the strike movement, gave rise to sympathy strikes and strikes of protest against the bloody violence of the police. On this basis the provincial general protest strike of March 16 broke out, which, in spite of the social-fascists, and thanks to the activity of our Party, assumed the character of a mass revolutionary strike in the chief proletarian centres, affecting a considerable majority of the employed proletariat (over 300,000), including some of the decisive sections of the working class who formerly had not been in the strike movement (metal workers, railroad men, munition factories). The strike of March 16 showed that the strike movement is rising to the higher stage of the political struggle." (Speech of Comrade Lensky.)

One of the forms of the strike movement, directed against the capitalist offensive, and above all, the curtailment or stoppage of production, is the *stay-in-strike*. In Poland this movement bore a mass character, and led to the occupation of many factories by the workers. In Czechoslovakia and other countries this method of struggle was still more widely adopted.

"An heroic example of such struggles is the forty days' repeated strike of the thousand workers of the 'Hortensia' factory in Petrakov. It should be stressed that the 'Hortensia' workers avoided the many mistakes of the past.

"The workers were better organized, the connection with the mass outside the factory was better, the aid from without more reliable. The strike won the respect not merely of the workers of the works concerned, but also those of other places, and also the unemployed and a section of the local peasant poor.

"Thanks to the organisation of mass defence, permanent strike tickets, systematic meetings to hear reports, factory kitchens, and kitchens for the feeding of strikers' families, the workers occupied the factory for 17 days, around which, at the same time, the struggle between the neighbouring police divisions and the surging crowds of women and unemployed continued." (Speech of Lensky.)

A classic example of the seizure of a factory and the carrying of the struggle beyond its limits, which was linked up with the struggle in the streets and the actions of sympathy by the workers of other factories,

is the strike of the workers of Lodz, which was accompanied by very sharp conflicts bordering on civil war.

In the development of the strike movement, a very important feature is the growth of this movement into a *general mass strike*, and even into a *general strike*. Thanks to the daily struggles of the proletariat, and above all, owing to the economic struggles and their radicalization, the masses are being led on the basis of their own experience to decisive struggles for power—the Dombrov miners, the Upper Silesian miners, the Lodz textile workers, etc. We see this in the struggle of the Warsaw tramwaymen. The general protest strike of March 16 in Lodz showed the tremendous popularity among the masses of the slogan of the revolutionary general strike.

“The comrades who think that the task of popularizing the slogan of the general strike and the task of leading the masses up to the general strike is a premature task are clearly underestimating the situation in an opportunist manner and are belittling our tasks.” (Speech of Comrade Lensky.)

More and more frequently our Parties succeed in bringing into the strike struggle not only the workers who are immediately affected, but *other sections of the population are brought into the struggle*, the petty bourgeoisie and the toiling peasants. We see this in Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc.

“In some cases—for example, in Reichenburg (Czechoslovakia), in connection with the closing of big textile factories in a number of places in North Bohemia, and at a big glass works in Reichenburg, and in others in Czechoslovakia—the struggle against the closing of the factories attained the character of a national movement. In some places we were able to mobilize literally the whole population under our leadership against the closing of the factories. We developed the movement not only among the workers of corresponding factories, but also among the handicraft men, traders, peasants, intelligentsia, municipal representatives. In short, it was a province-wide movement embracing literally all sections of the proletariat in the province. It is noteworthy that in some important cases we actually hindered in the closing of a factory. For example, this was the case at the glass works in Breitendorf, Reichenburg and many other cases.” (Speech of Comrade Gottwald.)

"The great strikes everywhere have a different character from that which they had formerly. It is not sufficiently lucid to say that these strikes have a political character. The greatest strikes of the past also had a political character. The present great strike struggles, however, have a revolutionary, or, at any rate, semi-revolutionary character. Even in France there have been many strikes actually accompanied by barricade fighting. Still more have the great strikes in Poland and Czechoslovakia taken on, in a certain sense, the character of a civil war (of course, only as yet in the limited sense of this word). I refer only to such great strikes as that at Brux, and at the 'Hortensia' Works. The strike of the subway workers in Tokyo was highly characteristic: A relatively small number (about 200) barricaded themselves with some of the cars in a tunnel of the subway, shut themselves off from the outer world with barbed wire, turned on the electric current, and defended themselves successfully for several days on end against superior police forces, until they attained their strike demands. Our Japanese comrades can show more than a single example of a similar sort." (From Comrade Kuusinen's report.)

A characteristic feature of the strike movement throughout the world is the *heroic assistance given by the unemployed* to their comrades in the factories. Their assistance consisted in the fact that they did not stab their class comrades in the back when they commenced a struggle in the factories, and did not allow themselves to be used as strike-breakers. If we remember that millions of the unemployed have been years without work and are suffering the greatest want and privation, which is increasing every day with the growth of unemployment, owing to the abolition of unemployment relief, etc.; if we remember that these unemployed workers are hungrily awaiting the day when they will get a job, it must be stated that the fact that the unemployed do not act as strike-breakers is of exceptionally great importance.

The unemployed movement is growing and is being carried on with increased intensity, expressed in the *stronger actions* of the unemployed, such as the smashing up of village and town government offices in Poland, the siege of the Ratshaus and the expulsion of the police in Czechoslovakia, the struggle with the police during demonstrations in Glasgow, Bristol, Sheffield and other English towns, the revolutionary



struggle of the war veterans in the U.S.A. and the cessation of compulsory work in Germany, etc.

In spite of the fact that the unemployed have actively participated in the strike struggle of the proletariat, it must be stated that *up to the present the Parties and the revolutionary T.U. organizations have not succeeded in organizing serious mass actions of the employed workers in the factories in defence of the interests of the unemployed.* The unemployed movement itself is scattered and has not a broad mass character. It has not received proper revolutionary leadership.

An important question in the mobilization of the masses for the successful development of mass economic fights and the attraction of the masses of the toilers into decisive revolutionary battles is the question of the consistent operation of the *united front from below.*

"The proletarian united front, in the Bolshevik sense, is a militant agreement between the conscious revolutionary Communist vanguard and the not yet revolutionary masses of toilers." It follows from this that only the immediate practical aims of the present class struggles of the proletariat, the actual action slogans of Communist policy, can serve as a political platform for this militant agreement, *not the principles of the Communist program* which are as yet incomprehensible to the non-Party and reformist workers, but which ought to be popularized among them during the course of the actual partial struggles." (Report of Comrade Kuusinen.)

Such a tactic of the united front must contain short and clear practical proposals of what actions are under consideration, what needs to be done, for what demands we should act and which decisions the workers must adopt concerning the beginning, the leadership, the further operation and the conclusion of suitable actions. The organizational form for the formation of the united front from below, i.e., the contacts of the Communist vanguard with the broad masses, can only be the form of proletarian democracy.

"The bolshevik policy of the united front from below must be carried on seriously, because otherwise we cannot win over the social-democratic, catholic, christian, non-Party and other workers. It is not a policy of bluff.

" But it is not a ' bloc ' policy; it does not mean ' making peace ' with the social-democratic or reformist leaders (as the renegades of Communism, Brandler, Trotsky and others would have it), because the whole meaning of the bolshevik united front lies, firstly, in the class struggle against the bourgeoisie; and, secondly, in isolating the agents of the bourgeoisie from the mass of the proletariat." (Report of Comrade Kuusinen.)

The united front of Communist and non-Communist workers against the bourgeoisie must be sharply and unambiguously contrasted with the policy of the united front of the social-democratic leaders with the bourgeoisie.

Since the XIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. we have had a wide development of the revolutionary peasant movement, in some places rising to the height of real peasant rebellions. Finance capital under the conditions of world economic crisis is driving the peasant masses of the whole world, not only in the colonies, in China, Indo-China, etc., but in the most highly developed countries like the U.S.A., Germany, etc., on the basis of the prolonged agrarian crisis, into a state of barbarism. Villages are ruined. There is going on practically a mass sale of peasant property for failure to pay taxes, debts, rent, etc., farmers are being evicted on a mass scale in the U.S.A., etc.

On the basis of this process of the ruin and pauperization of the peasants there is developing the present powerful peasant, movement. The end of the stabilization of capitalism means the strengthening of the process of the radicalization of the peasants. We see this in the increase of the peasants' struggle against the payment of taxes, debts, against forced labour, the sale of their property by auction, violent evictions, etc., in the growth of the unauthorized

actions of the peasants, cutting forests, seizing the grain of the landlords, seizing land, burning the houses of the landowners, clashes with the authorities, reaching the point of armed conflicts, peasant mutinies and rebellions.

The movement of the peasants frequently meets with success. By their struggle, the rebellious peasants frequently cause the withdrawal of the orders to sell up peasant property, moratoriums and even the complete annulment of some taxes, as took place in Italy, Bulgaria, etc.

In Spain the revolutionary struggle of the peasants is spreading.

"In Penades (Catalonia) the peasants commenced the struggle, despite the threats of the Civil Guard and shock detachments. They succeeded in paralysing the whole trade of this locality by refusing to satisfy the demands of the big landowners, and by compelling the government to adopt resolutions regarding the situation that had arisen, in order to prevent the extension of the struggle. In Badajos, the landowners, with the support of the Civil Guard, tried, by threats, to frighten the peasants into paying rent for the years of the Bourbon Monarchy. The peasants of this province refused to pay the rent, despite all the resolutions of the socialist leaders." (From Comrade Hurtdago's speech.)

"In Germany, the resistance to the sale of peasant property is an everyday occurrence all over the country and is spreading like an epidemic. In the Carpathian Ukraine, in Czechoslovakia, the movement against taxes had a specially widespread character, including whole countries, districts and provinces." (Speech of Comrade Kolarov.)

A noteworthy feature is the recent *mass farmers' movement in the U.S.A.* in which about a million farmers took part, carrying on an active struggle by strikes, demanding the raising of prices for agricultural products. They blocked the railroads and all the highways, stopped automobiles with food and did not allow the big companies to haul produce into the town.

In Poland the peasant movement became very wide. Instead of scattered isolated actions as in the



past, there are now taking place big mass fights which include the toiling peasants of several districts. The elements of organization and planning are appearing more and more in the spontaneous peasant movement. The peasant movement is spreading to Poland proper and the occupied districts. In the occupied districts we find also the beginning of peasant riots and national liberation revolts.

In the struggle for the proletarian revolution, the *peasant movement in Japan* is of great importance. In this country, where the peasants, alongside the young revolutionary proletariat, form half the population, crushed by the unbearable oppression of the big financial oligarchy and feudal landowners, the toiling peasants will play a very great role. During the last year there were about 4,000 conflicts between peasants and landlords, at present not always extensive but often very sharp.

Direct conflicts with the police accompany every such conflict, as well as attacks by peasants on police stations and the homes of landlords. These have recently become very frequent.

In Yamanashi, the peasants, with the support of the workers, occupied the court buildings. In Akito and Toyama the peasants attacked the prison to liberate the leaders in prison there. In Saitama, Totsig and Aitsa the peasants attacked the police station in an attempt to liberate arrested leaders. *The Japanese peasants are also fighting against the predatory war.* The peasants in Toyama held a demonstration with the following slogans: "Down with the war," "The immediate abolition of conscription," "Defend the Soviet Union," "Down with the bourgeois landlord government," "Long live the workers' and peasants' government." The peasants of Takasaka headed a mutiny of two hundred soldiers of the Takasaka regiment. It may

be stated that the Japanese villages are on the eve of a gigantic rebellion. (Speech of Comrade Okano.)

The revolutionary movement of the peasants has developed everywhere, interwoven with the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. The proletariat everywhere supports this movement, introducing the elements of organization, more and more leading it and raising this peasant movement to a higher level.

In the attempts to find a way out of the crisis, there is a development and an increase in the *national liberation struggle* of the exploited and oppressed peoples, which is expressed in the growth of a wave of the national revolutionary struggle in the occupied districts of Poland, in the growth of the elements of the national liberation struggle of the toiling peasants in Yugoslavia, in a powerful anti-imperialist movement in China, in the growth of the national liberation movement in India, etc.

On the basis of the revolutionary upsurge, a revolutionary movement is commencing among the *soldiers and sailors* of imperialist armies.

The instrument of the bourgeoisie by means of which it crushed every revolutionary action of the exploited and oppressed is breaking into pieces. The mutinies which took place in the British Navy, on the basis of which the British Admiralty was compelled to grant the basic demands of the sailors, the movement among the Japanese troops which compelled the Japanese military command to arrest and execute hundreds of soldiers and even whole military units for mutiny, for refusals to go to the front, etc., the fraternization of soldiers in Poland, Belgium and other countries with the strikers, refusing to shoot at rebellious peasants, that whole units of the Kuomintang troops desert to the side of the Red Army—all these movements signalize the *beginning of disintegration of the imperialist armies on the basis of*

*the powerful development of the revolutionary upsurge.*

**The revolutionary upsurge has gone far ahead.**

It is this growth in the quantity and quality of the revolutionary upsurge in all countries which is at the basis of the statement in the theses of the XIIIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. that we are passing "to a new round of big clashes between classes . . . to a new round of wars and revolutions.



#### IV.

### THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE BOURGEOISIE, NATIONALISM, FASCISM AND SOCIAL- FASCISM.

The growth of the revolutionary wave under the conditions of the end of the stabilization of capitalism calls forth the greatest intensity of the forces of counter-revolution and the *increase of the fascisation* of the bourgeois state. "In most capitalist countries, the big bourgeois are organizing Fascist units for civil war, are making a system of political banditism, white terror, the torture of political prisoners, provocation, forging documents, the shooting down of strikers and demonstrators, the suppression and destruction of the organizations of the workers." (Theses of the Plenum.)

Here are far from full statistics regarding the victims of the class terror of the bourgeoisie in the last years, which show the rapid growth of white terror:

Years.	No. of Arrested.	No. of wounded and crippled.	No. of killed.	No. of death sentences.
1925 .....	59,573	21,150	11,853	447
1926 .....	138,131	21,343	9,688	385
1927 .....	103,370	52,740	66,030	11,688
1928 .....	117,238	64,767	146,520	23,266
1929 .....	137,705	65,761	140,854	14,625
1930 .....	306,744	159,852	295,906	90,842
1931 .....	360,491	241,435	369,707	91,548

This fascisation of the State is accompanied by a contraction of the basis of the bourgeois power and the appearance of deep dissensions. Some strata and groups of the bourgeoisie, under the conditions of crisis and the end of stabilization, are carrying on among themselves a sharper and sharper struggle for the advantages which are connected with the possession of the government power. The bickerings among the National-Socialists and the old bourgeois parties in Germany, between the Lapuas'ites and the

"moderate" parliamentary groups in Finland, between the supporters of the unlimited fascist domination of the Serbian bourgeoisie and the "Democratic" groups who have formed a block with the bourgeois parties of the national minorities in Yugoslavia, in these countries has taken the form of the *splitting* of the bourgeoisie into hostile camps. "As a rule, the bourgeoisie are finding it more and more difficult to smooth over the conflicts which arise among them." (Thesis of the XIIth Plenum on Point I.)

The fascist dictatorship has *two sides*: on the one hand it means the struggle of the bourgeoisie for the *consolidation* of their power, and on the other hand it is the result of the *disintegration* of capitalism, and, if in a fascist dictatorship, established in the period of the beginning of stabilization, it gave great prominence to the elements of the *consolidation* of capitalism, in the fascism of the end of stabilization, the elements of the *breakdown* of the rule of the bourgeoisie stand out more and more plainly.

On the other hand, the bourgeoisie keep the National-Socialists in reserve because they are the party of the most unbridled national and social demagogy, which the bourgeoisie *fear* to compromise prematurely before the masses. In addition they are afraid that if Hitler comes to power it will create an extremely intense *international* situation for Germany and will hasten the maturing of a revolutionary crisis. The Hitler party of the National-Socialists is a component part of the fascist dictatorship of Germany, and "it would be democratic idiocy to *contrast* the formal state apparatus to the non-government "private" (Hitlerite) section which terrorizes the workers in practice with the consent of the government apparatus and formally with the connivance of it." (Speech of Comrade Knorin.) The Social-Democrats and their Trotskyite and Brandlerite agents, while utilizing this clever manœuvring

of the German bourgeoisie, deny the fascist character of the Papen-Schleicher Government, attempting to implant among the masses deceptive illusions that the victory of the fascist dictatorship is impossible unless Hitler comes to power, unless the fascist domination is openly proclaimed, unless there is a German edition of the "march on Rome."

The chief peculiarity of the situation in Germany is the fact that the fascist dictatorship was not formed during the ebb of the revolutionary wave as in Italy, but, on the contrary, during the flow of the wave, during the *revolutionary upsurge*.

*It is an opportunist capitulatory view to look on present events in Germany as a defeat of the revolution and the victory of counter-revolution.* Such capitulatory views were expressed in a fairly open form by Comrade Humbert-Droz, who looked on the development of fascism not as the result of the dialectics of development of the class struggle, but as an unforeseen and inconceivably great difficulty for revolution, which was manifested, according to him, as the result of the incorrect line of the C.I. and its sections. On the basis of such a view, it is only possible to come to the conclusion of the necessity of capitulating to fascism which decides in advance the inevitable doom of revolution.

However, in reality, the development of fascism in the period of revolutionary upsurge does not imply the weakening of the development of the forces of revolution.

"The Party of revolution rallies the party of reaction." (Marx.) The counter-revolutionary forces are welded together just because ever-growing masses join the revolutionary front. This important point Comrade Humbert-Droz has failed to understand.

Comrade Humbert-Droz's mistake is not accidental. He has underestimated the forces of revolution, and has therefore been guilty of Right mistakes.



He made a similar mistake after the VIth Congress of the Comintern, when he failed to understand in 1928, owing to his underestimation of the strength of the rapidly developing revolutionary upsurge, the relativeness, instability and rottenness of stabilization, and spoke at the presidium of the E.C.C.I. against the decisions of the VIth Congress of the Comintern.

The same objectively capitulatory essence denotes the theory which arose among certain workers of the C.P. of Germany that fascism is an inevitable stage in the process of the development of the proletarian revolution, that the working class must pass through fascist reaction to understand the necessity of revolution. This fatalistic theory was the most dangerous hindrance to the mobilization of wide masses against the strengthening and completion of the fascist dictatorship. It delays the preparation of the working class for the ensuing decisive fights for power.

The XIIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. also severely condemned the theory of Comrade H. Neumann that fascism is merely a product of the disintegration of the bourgeoisie, that fascism is only capitalism's defence. But though the XIIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. rejected this overestimation of disintegration, it rejected the underestimation of the disintegration of fascism under the conditions of the end of the stabilization of capitalism, the estimate of the fascist dictatorship as a factor for the complete consolidation of capitalism, during the Plenum.

In the present stage, the *elements of disintegration* are growing more and more in the fascist camp. German fascism is showing this very plainly, in spite of its rising curve. The National-Socialists carried the petty-bourgeois and peasant masses, and some sections of the working class with them by their anti-capitalist demagogy. The masses hoped to receive something from the fascist dictatorship. But they

received nothing, and cannot receive anything; either from the Papen-Schleicher government; or the fascism of Hitler. Discontent is growing among the fascist masses, the signs of disintegration are increasing, especially among the Storm Troops of Hitler. A number of leaders have resigned their positions, and there are more and more frequent cases of whole National-Socialist groups passing over to the anti-fascist camp. On these grounds, various groups have arisen among the leaders of the National-Socialists fighting against each other. But this growth of the elements of disintegration in the camp of fascism *does not at all mean the automatic approach of the end*. It will not die of itself. *It will have to be overthrown*. Only the fierce mass revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against the fascist government and the Hitler gangs, together with mass work among the National-Socialist masses, can lead to the destruction of the fascist dictatorship.

The fundamental ideology of fascism is *nationalism and chauvinism*, for which the crumbling of world economy, and the fierce struggle for markets have created very favourable conditions. The wave of chauvinistic sentiments was specially strong in Germany, where hatred of the degrading and predaceous conditions of the Versailles Treaty has accumulated for years, and created specially favourable conditions.

While inflaming chauvinistic sentiments and destroying the revolutionary organizations of the working class under nationalist slogans, German fascism, at the same time, does not hesitate to *capitulate to the "national enemy"* at every step, *i.e.*, before the strongest imperialist powers.

In Poland and Rumania, chauvinism is nourished by the national antagonisms inside the country, slander of the U.S.S.R., and the annexation tendencies of the bourgeoisie. In France it takes the form of the slogan of "safety," the defence of the

sanctity of the Versailles treaty, and the well-advertised civilizing mission of France in the colonies. In Japan and Italy, chauvinism is demagogically justified on the grounds of over-population, etc.

The end of capitalist stabilization, and the strengthening of fascisization which accompanies it, also leads to definite *changes* in the position of *social-democracy* in the bourgeois state. The relative importance of fascism in the system of the administration of the government of capitalism increases. While not rejecting the services of the Social-Democratic Party, the bourgeoisie are squeezing the Social-Democrats out of direct participation in the government and the administration of the country in a number of countries. For example, on July 20th the Papen-Schleicher Government in Germany drove out the social-democratic ministers, and leading officials, from the Prussian government apparatus.

The question arises as to whether social-democracy still remains the chief social bulwark of the bourgeoisie under such conditions, and whether fascism is not the chief bulwark of the bourgeoisie, in capitalist countries where social-democracy has been driven underground (Italy). The XIIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. replied to this question that social-democracy is still the *chief social bulwark of the bourgeoisie*, because it is the only party, by the aid of which the bourgeoisie can strengthen its rule by using wide strata of the proletariat, i.e., the class which is destined to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie. "Without support among the proletariat" (through bourgeois agents of the old and the Two-and-a-half Internationals) "the bourgeoisie in Western Europe and America are not in a position to stay in power." (Lenin.) Social-democracy hinders the struggle of the proletariat against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in all its forms, everywhere, even in the most fascised countries, easing and helping the bourgeoisie to carry out the fascisation of the government. The Italian



Socialists brought Mussolini to power, the Polish Socialists brought Pilsudski to power, and the German Social-Democrats, by supporting the candidature of Hindenburg as President of the Republic, opened the way for the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany.

Under the conditions of the end of capitalist stabilization, *the social basis of social-democracy is rapidly contracting.* "After the crisis which was brought about by the war and the October Revolution, Social-Democracy consolidated its position as the party of capitalist stabilization. The end of capitalist stabilization undermines its base." (Speech of Comrade Manuilsky.) But the hunger of millions of workers compels the great masses of the social-democratic workers to doubt the soundness of the social-democratic teachings more and more. They are more and more leaving the ranks of social-democracy, *and the process of its disintegration is increasing.* But this does not mean that social-democracy is no longer the main social bulwark of the bourgeoisie. It will remain this, because it is the chief force in the working class which disorganizes and demoralizes, distracting the workers from revolution. The sections of the C.I. must therefore direct the *chief blow against Social-Democracy*, because the isolation of Social-Democracy from the proletariat is a pre-requisite for the winning over of the majority of the working class, a pre-requisite for the victory over fascism, and the overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The end of the stabilization of capitalism and the fascisation of the State also increases the process of the fascisation of Social-Democracy. In every place where Social-Democracy has been faced with the alternative of proletarian revolution or fascist dictatorship, it has chosen the latter. In Germany it glosses over the fascist character of the government established by Papen, and by this hides its own

fascisation which consists of the cowardly capitulation of the Social-Democratic ministers to the fascist *coup d'etat* on July 20th, the recognition of the principle of "presidential government" which is a synonym for the fascist power in Germany. In Italy, Social-Democracy, driven underground by fascism, does not cease to negotiate with Mussolini regarding an agreement on the platform of the fascist dictatorship. In Yugoslavia and Portugal, the fascist dictatorship has prohibited all the bourgeois oppositional parties, and gives the Social-Democratic Party alone the right to existence.

The conclusion should not be drawn from this that fascism and social-fascism are identical, that social-democracy is a "component part of fascism." The social-fascists can accomplish their role of main bulwark of the bourgeois dictatorship for the very reason that, in spite of their community with fascism, they differ considerably from them in tactics and the forms of their political activity. Both "stand for the maintenance and the strengthening of capitalism and bourgeoisie dictatorship, but from this position they each adopt different tactical views." (Thesis of XIIth Plenum.)

The fascists insist on the crushing of every independent movement of the proletariat by the extreme measures of naked force, on the establishment of an *open bourgeois dictatorship*, even if this means narrowing of its basis, on the reduction of parliamentarism to a minimum. On the contrary, the social-fascists are interested in the *formal observation of "legality" and the greatest maintenance of parliamentarism*, and the democratic concealed dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, because the absence of this screen hinders them in carrying out their special function—the deception of the working masses. Therefore they support a more moderate application of the class violence of the bourgeoisie. *The friction between fascism and social-fascism has not the character of a*

*class struggle.* It is, above all, the result of the rivalry between these two parties of the bourgeoisie for influence in the government, and on the masses. They reflect the whole contradictoriness of the position of the bourgeoisie, who are compelled to manœuvre between the line of commencing a decisive struggle with their enemies at home and abroad, and a more cautious policy with the aim of retarding the process of the sharpening of home and foreign antagonisms.

The divergencies of Social-Democracy from fascism *do not convert it into a real anti-fascist force.* The social-fascists have never taken up the struggle against attacking fascist dictatorship. By their pseudo-struggle against fascism, they merely distract the masses from the really revolutionary struggle against the fascist dictatorship. In Germany social-democracy has called on the workers three times in six months to smash fascism at the ballot-box. The result is the Hitler government and the establishment of the fascist dictatorship.

*The estimate of the similarities and divergencies between fascism and social-fascism is of great importance from the point of view of correctly carrying on the struggle against social-democracy.* The under-estimation of the points which social-fascism and fascism have in common leads to an opportunist idealization of social-democracy as an anti-fascist force. On the other hand, a "left" under-estimation of the differences between the social-fascists and fascists makes it impossible to explain the main questions to Social-Democratic workers.

The increasing process of the disintegration of Social-Democracy, the increasing desertion of Social-Democratic workers, the splitting off of such groups as those of Seidewitz and Rosenfeld, the formation of a whole "left" wing in the Second International, the growth of the ferment in its ranks



and fall of its mass influence, compel Social-Democracy to *increase its Left manœuvres*. At present, we find a large number of skilful and cunning manœuvres. It is trying to get possession of the process of radicalization of the working class, putting forward a number of extremely radically-sounding slogans. "Acting for decades as the party of social-reforms, it now informs the working masses that it has changed its policy and is coming forward with the 'programme of socialism,' by carrying out a program of Nationalization, but without the proletarian revolution, because, as the president of German social-democracy, Otto Wels, stated in 'Vorwärts,' 'German social-democracy has decided that the time has come for the socialist reconstruction of economy.' This manœuvre of social-democracy is a most cunning attempt to save capitalism, using the anti-capitalist sentiments of the masses, using their strivings towards Communism." (Speech of Comrade Knorin.) A similar manœuvre was the widely advertised social-democratic theory of state-capitalism, as a step to socialism. In reality it is only a theoretical justification of the "socialization" of the debts of the bankrupt big capitalists. The nationalization of enterprises in capitalist countries is not increasing, but on the contrary, state and municipal enterprises are being sold and government monopolies are being handed over to private capital and government measures to save the big bank trusts (subventions, loans, tariff and tax rebates, etc.) "are not establishing state control over private monopolies, but . . . the direct control of the private monopolists over the state." (Theses of the XIIth Plenum, Point I.)

By this program of nationalization, by these theories of state capitalism, the Social-Democrats conceal, justify and give a basis to the real nature of the counter-revolutionary policy of the bourgeoisie at the given stage of the class struggle. To expose this manœuvre of the Social-Democrats, the Communist

Parties raise the question of power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the only possible way for the real establishment of socialism at the present stage with special sharpness.

The third big "Left" manoeuvre of Social-Democracy is "going into opposition" to the bourgeois state. In a number of countries it pretends to break with the policy of collaboration with the government, to sow illusions among the masses on its turn to the class policy. In using oppositional demagoguery, Social-Democracy adopts many of the fighting slogans of the Communist Party, such as the demand for a Workers' and Peasants' Government, removing the revolutionary nature of the slogan. In Poland, the social-fascists even advanced the slogan of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, while continuing the vilest slander against the U.S.S.R. and the Communists; in Belgium, in connection with the miners' strike, Vandervelde stated that the masses of the Socialist Party are less and less prepared to support the policy of conciliation with the bourgeois parties. The German Social-Democrats are also adopting more and more radical phrases in their "struggle" against fascism, and, to restrain the workers from mass anti-fascist activity, they direct their attention entirely to the election struggle. The French Socialists remained in "opposition" to the Herriot government, concealing their active aid to the government in the offensive of the working class, and preparations for war, under the slogan of "peace" and "struggle" with reaction. The Austro-Marxists advance the slogan of the struggle against fascism and defence of the U.S.S.R.

Another big "left" manoeuvre of Social-Democracy is the proposal recently made to the Communists for joint action in various election campaigns, in the struggle against fascism, against the capitalist offensive, etc. These proposals of Social-Democracy are made under the pressure of the

working masses, who are seeking and forming the unity of the working class for the struggle against all methods of the capitalist offensive.

All these "Left" manoeuvres of social-democracy are attempts to wreck the real united front which is formed from below in the revolutionary struggle, and to replace it by united front only from above, by negotiations with the leaders, without the participation of the workers.

The Social-Democrats use the same "Left" manoeuvres in the sphere of the struggle against the danger of new imperialist wars and in defence of the U.S.S.R. against intervention, etc. All these manoeuvres are very dangerous to the revolutionary movement, because the Social-Democrats are trying to be at the head of the revolutionary movement, as in the fights of 1918-21, to betray it again. The sharpest vigilance of the Communist Party is necessary in this sphere, and the most merciless, consistent exposure of these "Left" manoeuvres, so that they will be understood by the most backward worker.

Already at the beginning of the new revolutionary upsurge, Stalin wrote about these "Left" Social-Democrats:

"To ensure the success of the struggle against social-democracy, it is essential to concentrate on struggle with the so-called 'Left' wing of social-democracy, the same 'Left' wing which, by bringing into play 'Left' phrases and cunningly deceiving the workers in this manner, impedes the desertion of social-democracy by the workers. It is clear that without smashing the 'Left' Social-Democrats, it is impossible to overcome social-democracy in general." (Stalin, on the Right Deviation in the C.P.S.U., April Plenum, 1930.)

It would be a great mistake to regard the "Left" manoeuvres of the social-fascists as a weapon for the mass activity, and the carrying out of the united front of the working class, and to suppose that these "Left" manoeuvres play an objectively revolutionary role. There has been such an idea in the ranks of



some parties. A weapon for carrying out the united front can only be the *exposure of the manoeuvres of the social-fascist leaders to the Social-Democratic workers*. It is necessary "to utilize the mood of the Social-Democratic workers against the bourgeois government to develop it into real action, in the process of which, the masses would learn from their own experience the value of the pseudo-'opposition' of the Social-Democratic leaders." (Speech of Comrade Manuilsky.)

Only in the really revolutionary struggle against the capitalist offensive, organized and led by the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions, will it be possible to expose all the falsity of all the Social-Democratic theories, the treachery of their "Left" manoeuvres in practice. Only a genuine revolutionary struggle, the strict distinction of Social-Democratic leaders from workers, will enable the Communists to break down the "wall" which sometimes separates them from the Social-Democratic workers, to form a united front with them against the capitalist offensive, and growing fascism, to break down the chief social bulwark of the international bourgeoisie.

## THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST, THE DANGER OF IMPERIALIST WAR AND ARMED INTERVENTION AGAINST THE U.S.S.R., AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES.

The breaking-up of the Versailles system, on one hand, and the annexation of Manchuria by Japan and the attack on Shanghai, on the other, mark a new, *higher* and more *immediate* phase of the danger of another world imperialist war and armed intervention against the U.S.S.R. "A new world imperialist war has become an immediate danger." (Theses on the first point.)

On the strength of a more or less definite military alliance with French imperialism, and with the benevolent support of Great Britain and the League of Nations, *Japan* invaded and occupied Manchuria. Having created in Manchuria a puppet government of corrupt generals and officials, Japan, at the end of the first year of occupation, *officially converted Manchuria into a colony* by openly recognizing the "independence" of the Manchurian state. In reality, the whole power in this vast Chinese territory is in the hands of the Japanese army command. "Independent Manchuria" is a new "*place d'armes*" of the *anti-soviet war*, a place d'armes in the East which is to supplement the Western place d'armes in Poland and Rumania. The struggle of the imperialist powers for the re-partitioning of the world is concentrated in semi-colonial China with its enormous population and colossal national wealth, *first*, because owing to the treachery of the Kuomintang and its capitulation to the imperialists, China has become the main object of imperialist greed. The imperialists want to *divide* China among themselves, and convert semi-colonial exploitation in China into colonial.

"Secondly, because *the Chinese Revolution*, the

victories of the Chinese Red Army, the expansion of the Chinese Soviet territory, and the influence of these facts on the growth of the revolutionary movement in India and on the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants of Indo-China has become a *direct menace* to the very foundation of colonial robbery on the part of imperialism as a whole.

Third, because socialist construction in the Soviet Union is very successful. This adds to the *might* of the U.S.S.R. and to its authority among the Eastern peoples, which *constitutes a menace* to one of the weak links of world imperialism—*Japan*.

The Japanese militarists have resorted to armed struggle against the Chinese people and preparation of a *place d'armes* in Manchuria for the invasion of the Soviet Union, on the basis of a detailed plan worked out long ago regarding the extension of their sovereignty to the Asiatic continent and the annexation of the Soviet Maritime Region and West Siberia. It is common knowledge that an exposé of this plan formed part of the "famous" *Tanaka Memorandum* already in 1927. The Japanese bourgeoisie did not choose the autumn of 1931 for its military demonstration haphazardly,

"but because class differences in Japan had become very tense, and the ruling classes wanted to divert the discontent and struggle of the workers and peasants into the channels of patriotism, chauvinism and national hatred." (From Comrade Okano's report.)

Japan's war in the Far East does not solve but *sharpens all the differences between the imperialists* in the Pacific enormously, which, more than ever before, is becoming the heart of the impending gigantic military collision. Particularly sharp is the antagonism between the imperialists of the United States and those of Japan.

The Japanese rulers, who imagined that the cupidity of the Chinese generals, and treacherous sabotage on the part of the Nanking Kuomintang Government would make the expedition of the



Japanese armed forces against Shanghai as easy as the "walk" to Mukden and through Manchuria, were mistaken in their calculations, owing to the heroic resistance of the Shanghai proletariat.

The heroic defence of Shanghai gave an impetus to the anti-imperialist frame of mind of great masses of Chinese workers and peasants. The better the exploited masses of China understand the treacherous counter-revolutionary part of the Nanking Government, the more they turn to the only truly revolutionary and anti-imperialist organised force of China, to the *Chinese Red Army and the Chinese Soviets*. The Chinese Red Army has already repulsed four large military expeditions of the Chinese militarists, and the Nanking Government.

The great revolutionary significance of the decisive victories of socialist construction in the Soviet country, and the hope of the world bourgeoisie to *crush world bolshevism and find a way out of the crisis at the expense of the U.S.S.R.*, induce it to strengthen the preparations for armed intervention against the U.S.S.R. in every possible way.

The preparation of intervention against the U.S.S.R. has entered a *new and higher phase*. Preparations are made for a simultaneous blow from West and East. French imperialism, the gendarme of Europe, works hand in glove with Japanese imperialism, the gendarme of the East. All the military administrative and economic measures of the Japanese bourgeoisie in Manchuria, and Japan itself, are not only intended to strengthen Japanese rule in the occupied part of China, but also to *create the necessary military premises for war against the U.S.S.R. as soon as possible*.

The military expenditure of Japan has almost doubled. The output of the war industry has increased enormously. Gigantic purchases of war material are made abroad.

The Japanese Admiralty has announced that

"with the object of helping the unemployed" the naval budget for 1933 will be already fully expended before the Spring. In 1932, two Tank works and an automobile works were completed and set going in the town of Kawasaki, as well as two aircraft works and an aviation institute in the town of Iakosuka. New chemical works are nearing completion with a productive capacity of 600,000 tons nitrate, and in South Manchuria an asphyxiating gas (phosgene) works is nearing completion. According to the correspondent of the New York "Herald Tribune," the Japanese Minister for War asked Parliament for additional credit (13.4 million yen) for the manufacture of ammunition.

Here is the volume of the *Japanese orders of arms and ammunition abroad*. According to far from complete information, Japan has ordered: In Czechoslovakia 280 field howitzers, 100,000 rifles, 1,500,000 shells, 12,400 heavy machine-guns; in France, 6,000 light machine-guns, 20 heavy tanks; in Great Britain, 400,000 rifles, Japanese type, tanks and whippet tanks worth several million yens, 200 aircraft motors;\* in Germany, 27,000 rifles, Russian type, 10,000 cases of explosives, 400,000 tons nitrates, about 100,000 tons other chemical war materials.

Japan is also rapidly carrying through the mechanization and motorization of its armed force. In 1932 alone the number of armoured trains increased from 6 to 36, the number of large tanks from 140 to 500, the number of whippet tanks from 10 to 240. The programme of widening and re-equipping all the ports adjacent to Soviet territory will be carried out in the Spring of 1933. Port Arthur is being rapidly converted into a large naval base. There are six gunboats on the Sungari River. In the course of 1932, 25 aerodromes and 6 landing grounds have been built.

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\* Together with United States.

The numerical strength of the Japanese army in Manchuria and the adjacent Korean districts reached 125,000. To this must be added about 80,000 reserves who are already settled in Manchuria and Korea.

In addition, Japan has commenced to establish an army of 25,000 men in Inner Mongolia. A *whiteguard* Russian division is also being set up in Manchuria, consisting of the "Baikal," the "Ussuri," the "Amur" and the Manchurian regiments. This whiteguard movement is officered by 4,000-6,000 ex-officers of the Kolchak and Semenov forces.

The agreement between French and Japanese imperialism for a joint attack on the Chinese people, and the preparation of intervention against the U.S.S.R. finds expression in *direct military measures on the part of France* against Chinese provinces from Indo-China. French imperialism has concentrated large military and naval forces in Indo-China. In Saigon (the main naval port in Indo-China) an arsenal and a wharf have been constructed which, according to certain data, are as well equipped as the famous British naval base in Singapore.

The military and naval budget of French imperialism has grown from 13,800,000,000 francs in 1929 to 16,000,000,000 in 1930-31. The official estimate for 1931-32 was 15,300,000,000 francs, but by means of supplementary and special credits it grew to 18,000,000,000 francs.

The military and naval budget of Poland was: in 1923—77,000,000 dollars. In 1932, despite the grave economic crisis, the fascist Polish Government spends officially 95,000,000 dollars on the war department, while further expenses for war preparations amounting to about 40,000,000 dollars are disguised as expenditure of other departments (Ministry of the Interior, of Communications, Public Instruction, and others).

*The mobilization and operative plans* of France and its five vassal states (including Belgium) are



being strictly *co-ordinated*. The regular inspection visits of French marshals and generals are intended to strengthen the already close connection. According to official figures the numerical strength of the army of France, and those of its direct military allies in Europe reached, in 1932, the following enormous proportions:

Country.			Peace time standing army.	Trained Reserves.	Number of airplanes.
France	...	...	724,300	4,260,000	2,810
Poland	...	...	290,000	2,000,000	1,200
Rumania	...	...	240,500	1,200,000	800
Czechoslovakia	...	...	138,600	1,200,000	600
Yugoslavia	...	...	184,400	1,875,300	500
Belgium	...	...	86,400	600,000	400
Total	...	...	1,644,200	11,135,300	6,300

To this must be added the steadily growing number of *military fascist leagues* which constitute a reserve army of several millions. But the number of combatants alone does not yet give a clear idea of the actual growth of armaments. One must also take into consideration that contemporary armies are highly mechanized and motorized, their fighting capacity being enormously increased by machine-guns, tanks, artillery, aeroplanes, all the appurtenances of gas war, etc.

France lavishly finances the anti-Soviet war preparations of its vassals. According to official figures alone, Rumania received between 1929 and 1931, two war loans of 500,000,000 and 675,000,000 francs, Poland two loans of 575,000,000 and 100,000,000 francs, Yugoslavia two loans of 400,000,000 and 200,000,000 francs. A new French War Loan of 270,000,000 francs was mentioned recently in the European press. In January, 1932, France granted a new war loan of 500,000,000 francs to Czechoslovakia. There is also a new agreement with Yugoslavia regarding a loan of 1,025,000,000 francs.

That the war industry is feverishly developing is shown by the following tables:

Country.	Total No. of arms and munition works.		No. of workers (in thous.).		Value of production in million dollars.	
	1928.	1932.	1928.	1932.	1928.	1932.
Poland ... ..	5	37	8.5	45.0	2.0	35.0
Rumania ... ..	4	18	2.0	12.0	1.0	8.0
Finland ... ..	3	16	1.0	6.0	0.5	4.5
Latvia & Esthonia	2	5	0.3	2.5	0.5	1.5
Czechoslovakia ...	15	65	20.0	70.0	20.0	100.0
Yugoslavia ... ..	8	16	1.5	10.0	2.0	7.5

These figures refer only to factories already entirely devoted to the production of war materials. It must be pointed out that, despite the growth of the war industry of Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia, they produce only about 25 per cent. of their own "military requirements," the remainder being supplied by the French Schneider-Creuzot firm and by the Czechoslovakian joint-stock company of the Skoda Munition Works, which are under its control. The same large war-material concerns are responsible for the erection of a large number of new chemical, metallurgical, aircraft, and other war-material works in Poland and Rumania.

Both in Poland and Rumania new strategical railways are being constructed, and airlines extended.

Poland was *compelled* to sign the non-aggression pact, under the pressure of the growing sympathy for the U.S.S.R. not only on the part of the proletariat, but also of the middle peasantry and the urban petty-bourgeoisie. The signing of the pact was considered a demonstration against the attempts at a Franco-German rapprochement by Polish fascism.

But the Polish fascist press said frankly that the West Ukraine and West White Russia, forms part of non-aggression pact is a "scrap of paper." All these and many other facts show that fascist Poland is

zealously playing the part of first detachment in the preparation of anti-Soviet intervention.

The *frenzied terrorism* by which the Pilsudski Government tries to crush the anti-war struggle of the working class, and the toiling masses of Poland, the preparation of intervention against the U.S.S.R. A whole forest of gibbets is springing up throughout the country. Most of the death sentences passed by field courts-martial are based on the false testimony of agents-provocateurs, ostensibly for "espionage in the interests of the U.S.S.R."

*British imperialists* not only participate in the world armament competition by re-equipping and modernizing the Army and Navy, by rapidly increasing their Air Forces and by organizing large expeditionary colonial forces, but also steadily pursue their policy of war against the Chinese people and preparation of armed intervention against the U.S.S.R. They support Japanese aggression in Manchuria. They despatch their naval forces and landing parties to the Far-Eastern ports. From Tibet, British troops occupy Chinese territory, carry on ruthless war for the extermination of the population settled along the Indian and Afghanistan frontiers, which fights against the British oppressors. In the course of the last twelve to eighteen months, the British have concentrated considerable military and air forces there, have built strategical railways, war material store-houses, aerodromes and bases; and have hereby created a military base in comparative proximity to the Soviet Frontier. Great Britain has also constructed a powerful army and air base in Mesopotamia.

It is the intention of Great Britain and France to draw *Germany* more and more into the anti-Soviet front. The German fascist Hitler Government presents its terms. But even within the limits of present possibilities German reaction is not asleep. The four hundred thousand members in the



fascist Storm detachments, 500,000 members in the "Steel Helmets," the Nationalist military organization, and the 1,000,000 members or so in the "Reichsbanner," all under military command, are not only the prop and pillar of internal counter-revolution, but also the trained and partly-armed supplement of the Reichswehr. By introducing compulsory labour service for unemployed young workers, and organizing "labour conscript camps," the German bourgeoisie are intent on military training of reserves, and imbuing the ranks of the youth with anti-bolshevist, aggressive chauvinist ideology. It is expected that there will be about 400,000 young workers in these camps in the spring of 1933.

The armoured cruiser "A" was constructed with the direct participation of social-fascist Ministers and leaders. The Brüning Government, "tolerated" by the social-fascists, commenced in the very midst of financial crisis to build the armoured cruiser "B," and President Field-Marshal Hindenburg, elected by Social-Democratic votes, issues an emergency decree regarding the construction of the armoured cruiser "C."

In his instructions to the Soviet delegation to the International Congress at the Hague\* in 1922, Lenin pointed out the necessity of explaining to people the "secrecy" under which imperialist war is prepared. Since then the bourgeoisie of all countries has greatly *improved its mode of action*, it uses *new methods for organizing the rear and for the mobilization, ideological and diplomatic preparation of war*. In contemporary conditions it is already difficult to say exactly when a war situation has arisen.

The Japanese attack on the Chinese people has clearly shown that there is no necessity of an *official declaration of war*, or even of a general mobilization order. Mobilization takes places much sooner, un-

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\* See "Attitude of the Proletariat to War."

noticed and without much ado, and goes on in the very midst of military operations.

A considerable number of special military units, so-called covering armies, or "special alarm corps," are ready for immediate action, without the mobilization of reserves. In Poland, these military units include one-third of the whole infantry and one-half of the mounted, air and armoured forces. They can be despatched to the U.S.S.R. borders at any moment.

Such special armies are also organised in France.

In France, the more and more frequent *manœuvres* on land, sea, and in the air assume such enormous proportions and bring such gigantic masses of means of war into motion that they can become not only the prelude, but even the first chapter of the creeping into a very real war at any moment. Such *manœuvres* are staged in other imperialist states also, above all, under the leadership of the French General Staff in the countries adjoining the U.S.S.R.: Poland, Rumania, Finland, Esthonia and Latvia.

Hypocritical pacifist talk of all kinds, "disarmament," "conciliation" and other conferences under the ægis of the League of Nations, pretence of an ostensibly peaceful attitude to the U.S.S.R., such as the signing of the non-aggression pact by Poland, etc., are intended to conceal the facts of feverish preparation for, and gradual creeping into, another war as far as possible from the toiling masses.

The most important instrument of the imperialists for the ideological preparation of war and intervention, and large-scale deception of the toiling masses, is *Social-Democracy*, whose leaders indulge in a whole series of new *manœuvres*.

From the commencement of war in the Far East they have urged the workers to depend entirely on the League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact. At the same time, at the signal given by the President of the

Second International, Vandervelde, they organized a campaign against the U.S.S.R., repeated the old stories about "Red Imperialism," embellishing them by slanderous assertions that an agreement exists between Japan and the U.S.S.R. to divide Manchuria.

The French Social-Fascist, Renaudel, declares in the periodical, "Vie Socialiste," 26/9/31: "To judge by the latest news, Asiatic Russia, after the subjugation of Little Georgia, intends now to annex part of Manchuria."

But when the truth about the predatory war in the Far East began to penetrate deeper among the masses, ever-growing numbers of workers in capitalist countries began to understand that the U.S.S.R. is the bulwark of peace. The heroic resistance of the Chinese people to the Shanghai adventure of Japanese imperialism aroused the sympathy of broad strata of workers for revolutionary China throughout the world. The toiling masses show more and more inclination to establish a united front for struggle against the impending war and for defence of the Soviet Union.

At that time, the Second International, to avoid losing contact with the masses, indulged in one of its usual *manœuvres*. At the Zurich conference of leaders of Social-Democratic Parties and reformist trade unions, it adopted a resolution against imperialist war and for defence of the U.S.S.R. At the plenary session of the Executive Committee of the Second International (held soon after) a manifesto in the same spirit was issued.

Social-Fascists who have become "left wingers" use their hypocritical declarations about readiness to defend the Soviet Union for a drive against Communists in their own country, for sabotaging the spontaneous desire of the masses for a broad united front of the working class, in the struggle against war and intervention. Under the pretext of defend-



ing the U.S.S.R., they demand that Communists should refrain from exposing the treachery of the Social-Democratic leaders, for defence of the Soviet Union is only possible "under the leadership of large socialist parties, and not under the leadership of Communist sects." (Otto Bauer, "Vienna Arbeiterzeitung," June 28.)

But the manoeuvres and fine words of the Social-Democrats serve to conceal their *practical activity*, the aim of which is support of world capitalism in general, and of *their own* bourgeoisie in particular. The Social-Democratic Parties continue their anti-Soviet campaign, they support the Russian Menshevik interventionists, they take the pack of white-guard hounds under their protecting wing (in connection with the Gorguloff affair). They frequently vote war credits (recently in Czechoslovakia). They stand up for the sanctity of the Versailles robbery, and for the policy of armed "security" in France, and the demands for more effective armament in Germany. They sabotage all concrete steps taken by the workers against the manufacture of arms and transport of war material. They sabotaged the Amsterdam International Congress against imperialist war,\* held at the end of August under the slogan "united front of the working class and of the best elements among the advanced 'intelligentzia.'" They now carry on a shameless drive against the two hundred and nineteen social-democratic delegates who, at the instruction of rank-and-file workers, expressed their solidarity with the toilers of the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese people by their participation in this Congress, as well as their readiness to carry on a genuine struggle against war and intervention.

The XIIth E.C.C.I. Plenum *summed up the anti-war struggle of the Comintern sections*, from the commencement of the war in the Far East. The heroic bolshevik struggle of the Communist Parties of Japan

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\* See "United Front Against War."

and China against this imperialist war were given prominence in the speeches of the delegates, and resolution of the Plenum.

*The Communist Party of Japan* issued a proclamation, the day after the occupation of Mukden by Japanese troops, which gave a correct appraisal of the character of the war, "as a reactionary challenge of Japanese imperialism thrown to the proletariat and the toiling masses of China and Japan itself, as well as to the toilers of the Soviet Union . . ." and in which it brought forward correct bolshevik anti-war slogans:

But the anti-war work of the Japanese Communist Party was not confined to propaganda and proclamations. Despite strict illegality and brutal persecution, the Party organized mass demonstrations against the war danger already before the war actually commenced.

Illegal demonstrations were organized in many towns and villages throughout the entire country on International Anti-War Day, August 1, 1931. The Japanese bourgeoisie retaliated by arresting over 1,500 revolutionary workers.

After the commencement of the war and despite martial law, the Communist Party was able to organize, in Tokyo and in other big centres of the country, a whole series of anti-war street demonstrations with clear slogans against the Japanese imperialists, in which an ever-growing number of people participated. (On September 27, 1931, demonstrations in the streets of Tokyo, Osaka, and other places; on October 7, in eight Tokyo districts in which about 1,000 people participated; on December 26, demonstrations in the main streets of Tokyo; on January 21 and February 10, students' demonstrations of the Tokyo University in which up to 1,000 students participated.)

Imposing workers' and peasants' May Day demonstrations took place throughout the country. Most

of these demonstrations were organized by the social-fascists, but the cry "Down with the imperialist war—down with the social-fascists" came in a mighty chorus from the ranks of the demonstrators. Apart from this, the Party and the revolutionary trade unions organized their own demonstrations with anti-war slogans in many Tokyo districts and other towns. During the May-Day demonstrations 1,300 workers were arrested in Tokyo alone.

The whole work of organizing the anti-war demonstrations of the workers is linked with the economic struggles of employed and unemployed workers. In several cases the anti-war demonstrations were organized by strike committees of workers on strike. A whole series of strikes had their origin in the demand that workers mobilized for the front should continue to receive their wages. On the basis of this demand, alongside of other economic demands, tumultuous tramway men's strikes took place in Tokyo, and subsequently also on the Metropolitan Railway, under the leadership of the Party and the revolutionary trade unions. It is characteristic that these economic struggles, which assume a more and more political character, end with growing frequency in victory for the strikers, because the Government, being afraid that the movement will spread to the army, brings pressure to bear on the employers.

The work of the Japanese Communist Party and Y.C.L. is also reflected in the army. It has already been reported several times in the press that the Japanese military command has discovered revolutionary Communist organizations in the army and navy. Information penetrates the newspapers on the arrest and execution of scores and hundreds of soldiers, and even whole army units for mutiny, for refusal to go to the front, for attacking their own officers.

An anti-war meeting was held by Japanese soldiers in Shanghai, in the very midst of the mili-



tary operations of the Japanese invaders. This was followed by numerous arrests and executions. Many soldiers had to be sent back to Japan.

Letters by revolutionary soldiers and sailors appear in every number of the illegal Party Press. *The Chinese Communist Party* successfully leads the heroic struggle of the Chinese Red Army and soviets, and is at the head of the whole anti-imperialist mass struggle of the Chinese people. The Chinese Communist Party has been able to correctly link the struggle against Japanese imperialism, with the struggle against the policy of the other imperialist powers in China, with the exposure of the treacherous role of the Kuomintang and the mobilization of the masses against it. The Chinese Communist Party has placed itself at the head of the large-scale anti-Japanese movement. By participating energetically in the organization of the heroic defence of Shanghai, acting, in this case, as an independent force, and by supporting the guerilla war of the revolutionary masses of Manchuria against the Japanese invaders, the Party has placed serious obstacles in the way of the fomenters of a world war, and has given a brilliant example of how to mobilize the masses for the defence of the Soviet Union. The Workers' and Peasants' Government of Soviet China has given effective support to the revolutionary masses of the whole of China in their struggle against Japanese imperialism.

"We can confirm, without the least exaggeration, that the Communist Party of Japan, despite political shortcomings and organizational weakness, as well as the strong Chinese section of the Communist International, do full justice to their part of leader and organizer of the revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war, and for the defence of the Soviet Union." (From Comrade Bela Kun's speech on the fourth item of the XIIth Plenum agenda.)

With regard to the anti-war struggle of the Communist Parties of the other capitalist countries, the XIIth Plenum pointed out that, despite a series of positive achievements in anti-war work, the main

weakness, common to all, consists in the Communist Parties still being unable to mobilize broad masses for concrete revolutionary acts against war.

The *International Day* against imperialist war, August 1, developed this year into gigantic international demonstrations, which attracted millions of participants in all the most important centres of all capitalist countries.

A very significant sign of the growing anti-war mood, not only among workers and peasants, but also among certain strata of the advanced intelligentsia, is the *International Anti-War Congress in Amsterdam* which almost coincided with the XIIth E.C.C.I. Plenum. Despite police repression and the drive and counter-agitation of the Second International, the Congress was held, and was attended by about 2,200 delegates. Among them were 1,800 workers, 250 representatives of the intelligentsia, 70 peasants, etc. According to Party adherence, there were at the Congress 315 Social-Democrats, 830 Communists, over 1,000 non-party elements, radicals and others.

An *international committee of struggle* against imperialist war, and for the defence of the U.S.S.R. was set up at the Amsterdam Congress. It consists of representatives of manual and mental workers and the revolutionary intelligentsia, and is based on a broad united front. Similar committees have been set up in the various countries.

The XIIth E.C.C.I. Plenum called attention to the *lagging behind and the gaps* in the anti-war work of the Communist Parties. In this respect the Right danger is the greatest, namely, opportunist underestimation of the very real danger of war and invasion of the Soviet Union. A fight must also be waged against the standpoint of "Left" sectarians, whose argument is: "Serious obstacles to the outbreak of war are impossible, war is inevitable. And war will be followed by revolution."

The Plenum emphatically rejected this fatalistic standpoint, for it means

"relinquishment of struggle for revolution, and against war. It is only by waging bolshevik struggle, from day to day, against all the concrete measures of war policy by the imperialist bourgeoisie and its agents, in every country, that we can guarantee that, in the event of an imperialist war and intervention against the Soviet Union, we may not only put forward the slogan of turning the war into a civil war, but also be in a position really to turn the imperialist war into a civil war; nay, more, not only to turn it into a civil war, but to wage this civil war to a victorious conclusion." (From Comrade Kuusinen's Report.)



## VI.

### THE U.S.S.R. AND THE WORLD PROLETARIAT.

The inclusion of a report in the agenda of the XIIth Plenum on the Results of the first Five-Year Plan and the prospectives for the second Five-Year Plan, was of exceptional importance. The last occasion on which the Comintern heard a report on the U.S.S.R. was at the enlarged session of the Presidium in February, 1930 (report of Comrade Molotov).<sup>\*</sup> That was the moment of the great change in the direction of mass collectivization, when the "middle farmers poured into the collective farms," when the liquidation of the kulaks as a class had just commenced. At that time slander of the U.S.S.R. had assumed incredible dimensions (the "Crusade" of the Pope, the Kutepoff Affair, etc.).

The XIIth Plenum coincided with the completion of the first Five-Year Plan in four years, and the preparations for the second Five-Year Plan, the gigantic tasks of which were outlined by the XVIIth Party Conference of the C.P.S.U.

The year 1932 is characterized by an enormous growth in the relative importance of the U.S.S.R. on the world arena, and its ever-growing revolutionary influence on the great masses of toilers and the oppressed of the whole world.

One peculiar feature of the last year is that great masses are taking a great and increasing interest in the U.S.S.R., as also the bourgeois economists.

This by no means signifies any amelioration of their aggressiveness and hatred of the U.S.S.R. New, in their position, is the growing terror on the part of the enemies of the Soviet Union regarding the increasing influence of the U.S.S.R., and the efforts of social-democracy to weaken the impression produced on the masses by the colossal successes of

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<sup>\*</sup> "The New Phase in the Soviet Union." M.B. W.L.P. 6d. 10 cts.

socialism in the U.S.S.R., the more readily accepted by them under crisis conditions, by more subtle deceptions (shouts about readiness to defend the U.S.S.R., but chiefly howls about the difficulties and sacrifices of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R.).

The U.S.S.R. stands at the present time on the boundary between two Five-Year Plans. It is already possible to confidently state that *the toiling masses of the U.S.S.R.*, under the leadership of the C.P.S.U., will, on the whole, fulfil the Five-Year Plan in four years.

The basic social, political and economic results of the first Five-Year Plan are as follows:

"A powerful industrial basis for socialism has been created in the U.S.S.R. Not only have we ceased to be an agrarian country, we have ceased to be a country of small industry, which is a characteristic feature of all backward, colonial, and semi-colonial countries. The share that large industry contributes to the national income has increased during the last four years from 27 per cent. to 37 per cent. We have now our own engineering industry, the output of which in 1931 amounted to almost five billion roubles. The output of iron and steel has almost doubled compared with pre-war output. We have created a second metallurgical basis in the East—the Urals, Kuzbass. We have re-equipped all of our industries on the most up-to-date technical basis. Moreover, 75 per cent. of the equipment of our industries has been renewed during the first Five-Year Plan. We have set up a number of new branches of industry which never before existed in this country. We are becoming a land of tractors, a land of automobile transport, a land of chemistry, a land that can build blooming mills, powerful turbine-generators, Diesels, oil cracking plants, etc." (Report of Comrade Manuilsky.)

The successes of socialist industrialization, the increase in the confidence in proletarian dictatorship by the poor and middle peasants, permitted the *U.S.S.R. to reconstruct agriculture on a socialist basis.* The results of the collectivization of agriculture are exceptionally great.

"We have created the largest-scale agricultural industry in the world, and we are therefore not only able to mechanize as in America, but also to apply chemistry to agriculture as in Germany. We have carried out the agrarian revolution in the possibility of which not only the capitalist world and its social-fascist

hangers-on, but also the panic-mongers and opportunists in our own midst did not believe. Having organised more than 60 per cent. of the peasant farms in collective farms, having now whole regions completely collectivized, having put an end to the class differentiation in the countryside, we have abolished the age-long scourge of agrarian over-population, which in the past, under Tsarism, created a vast army of unemployed, and enabled the capitalists to keep the standards of life of the working class in old Russia down to the verge of starvation and extinction." (Manuilsky.)

Thanks to the industrialization of the country, and the collectivization of agriculture, the Soviet Union has attained a rapid improvement in the material and cultural level of the toiling masses.

"I am not speaking only of the fact that wages here are continually rising, that from 1928-32 wages in all branches of national economy have risen on the average by 62 per cent. The total wage fund increased in the general budget of our national economy from eleven billion roubles in 1928 to twenty-six billion roubles in 1932. I am speaking of the fact that we have no unemployment, that the number of factory and office workers from 1928-32 has almost doubled, reaching a total of twenty-one millions, that the material and cultural requirements of the masses are constantly rising, that the outlay for social insurance, for cultural services, education, medical service, etc., has doubled during these four years, reaching an average of two hundred roubles per worker in 1932. House-building is developing in our industrial districts (from 1928-31, we provided houses for three million workers, and in 1932 alone a further three million workers will be provided with house accommodation). New industrial centres are being built, public dining-rooms are being developed, and already provide for 35 per cent. of the population. Opportunities have been created for every worker to improve his qualifications. The doors of our universities are wide open for the children of workers and peasants. There is a great increase in the number of clubs, reading-rooms and parks of culture and rest are being opened everywhere. Feverish work is going on for the improvement of working-class districts and suburbs where the working-class population predominate, sanitary conditions are continually improving, rest homes and workers' sanatoria are increasing in numbers." (Manuilsky.)

The first Five-Year Plan assisted in bringing about the widest development of *proletarian democracy*. The nationalities, previously kept in subjection by Tsarism, are now free and developing along socialist lines. A new socialistic attitude to labour has arisen, and is continually extending. Three-



quarters of the working class and the great masses of collective farmers participate in socialist competition and shock work. Labour, which under capitalism is a heavy burden for the toilers, has become in the land of proletarian dictatorship "a matter of honour, a matter of pride, a matter of valour and heroism."

The first Five-Year Plan has brought about tremendous *social and political changes* in the country, which have greatly strengthened the proletarian dictatorship. On the basis of the widest collectivization, the last hostile class—the kulaks—is being abolished. The middle peasants, on joining the collective farms, *are converted from allies into a firm bulwark of the Soviet state*. Millions of peasants, millions of workers' wives have been drawn into industry.

All these achievements have permitted the U.S.S.R. to solve the question of "who—whom" finally and irrevocably for socialism in town and village. Whereas in 1928 the socialist sector supplied 62.7 per cent. of the national income, in 1931—the third year of the Five-Year Plan—the proportion was already 81.5 per cent., and in 1932 it was over 90 per cent. This circumstance, together with the tremendous increase in the material well-being of the toilers, signifies that the U.S.S.R. *has completed* the construction of the foundations of socialist economy.

"The significance of the fulfilment of the first Five-Year Plan lies in the fact that we have provided a powerful material basis for the world proletarian revolution, that the relative importance of even the smallest of our Communist Parties grows tremendously as a result of the victory of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R., that the proletariat in capitalist countries, relying on this firm support, will be able more easily to destroy their bourgeoisie, to overthrow capitalism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat as the condition for winning socialism." (Manuilsky.)

The second Five-Year Plan will mean the completion of collectivization even in the first few years, the completion of the technical reconstruction of agriculture, on the basis of mechanization. It will mean

160,000,000 hectares of land under cultivation, 130,000,000 tons of grain a year, the increase in the number of machine tractor stations serving the villages from 1,500 to 5,500-6,000, the increase in the number of tractors to 700,000-750,000, and the number of automobiles serving agriculture to 750,000.

"This programme, however, is not a song of the remote future. Part of this programme is already being carried out. And these achievements in the socialist industrialization in the U.S.S.R. cannot but demonstrate to the broad masses in the capitalist countries the powerful impetus that the productive forces will receive when they are liberated from the chains of capitalism." (Manuilsky.)

*The Soviet Union is continually growing and developing in face of the direct hostility of the bourgeoisie and Social-Democrats.* Every measure taken by the Soviet Government, which is directed to the development of economy, and improvement of the material condition of the masses is always belittled by the bourgeoisie, and their social-fascist agents.

Some comrades occasionally forget this irreconcilable struggle of two systems, and tend to regard the so-called "breathing space" as something more than the temporary balance-of-power of which Lenin spoke at one time. In reality, there has never been a breathing space, in the sense of the guarantee of quiet conditions for socialist construction.

No country in the world, in the whole course of history, ever built up its economy in such an atmosphere of bitter class hatred on the part of the bourgeoisie, such increasing plots and intrigues, "legal" and illegal sabotage, and systematic repetition of hostile campaigns, as the U.S.S.R.

"We have not plundered other peoples as Great Britain has done, nor waged wars as Germany and France has done; we have levied no contributions on anyone; we have received no long term loans for the purpose of developing our economy. We have built it for the toilers, but only with the efforts and resources of the toilers of our Union.

"If we received equipment from abroad, we paid in cash. We have had no moratorium on credits as Germany. And moreover,

never for a moment has the menace of war ceased to hang over the toilers of our Union.

"Finally, when characterizing the conditions under which the Five-Year Plan was carried out in four years, we must not forget the fact that the two last decisive years of the Five-Year-Plan (the third and fourth) coincided with the time when the world crisis was at its height. Of course, our economy does not suffer from crises, and this is one of the chief features that distinguishes it from capitalist economy. But on one sector of our front, in the sphere of foreign trade, we came in contact with the capitalist world which is deeply infected with crisis. Our country exported grain, lumber, flax and raw materials, and was inevitably affected by the catastrophic fall of world prices for agricultural raw materials. At the same time, we paid trustified industry prices for machinery and equipment imported from abroad (and don't forget that our machinery imports in 1931 comprised 24 per cent. of the world imports of machinery). Therefore we were the losers in the foreign trade turnover." (Manuilsky.)

"And if the first Five-Year Plan played a tremendous part in turning the workers in the capitalist countries towards Communism, the role of the second Five-Year Plan must become, and will be, decisive." (Manuilsky.)

The successes of the first Five-Year Plan enabled the C.P.S.U. to draft the tremendous program of the second Five-Year Plan. *The tasks of the second Five-Year Plan are the construction of classless society, the complete reconstruction of national economy as a whole, the heightening of the welfare of the toiling masses to double or treble its present level.*

The second Five-Year Plan brings us face to face with the carrying out of the Leninist task of overtaking and passing the foremost capitalist countries in technical and economic development (in 1937 the U.S.S.R. will have the most powerful productive apparatus in Europe, exceeded only by the U.S.A.).

The successes of socialist industrialization and collectivization are obvious to every proletarian and every toiler in capitalist countries.

The smoking chimneys of our gigantic plants, our new factories and mills, cannot be concealed from the eyes of the international proletariat. Dniepros-



troi, Magnitogorsk, Stalinsk, stand vividly before every proletarian. The fact that we are building, at a time when factories and mills are being shut down all over the world, when production is falling everywhere, this is a fact which cannot be glossed over, which cannot be lied out of existence either by the bourgeoisie or the Social-Democrats.

"But doubts begin to arise in the minds of the social-democratic workers in capitalist countries, when they hear of the difficulties of the socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. And this is where the despicable role of international social-democracy is made plain." (Manuilsky.)

"They are building, it is true," say the Social-Democrats, "but still they have not socialism, they have not equality of consumption. What sort of socialism is that? They have not enough meat, fat, cloth, boots! They have a rationing system. How can that be called socialism?" And finally, the favourite conclusion drawn by social-democracy: "The present generation is being sacrificed to the tempo of industrialization just as in the epoch of early capitalism." (Adler.)

"It is true that we have not equality of consumption, but the U.S.S.R. is only passing through the first phase of socialism. We have entered the period of socialism, but we are in the initial stages.

"'It is true that we have not enough,' say the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., 'because socialism has increased the requirements of 150,000,000 toilers who were forgotten, oppressed, in the past, who lived in filth and vermin, eating grass in famine years, dying from epidemics. Before the war we made 25,000,000 pairs of boots a year and now we make 80,000,000 pairs, i.e., three times as many, and there is still not enough because our peasants no longer want to wear bast shoes, because the man who yesterday was the nomad, the Kirghis tribesmen of yesterday, now work in a factory and now justly demand a house with electric light, a bath, soap, working garments, factory-made boots. The standard of life of the formerly privileged classes and groups has fallen. The relics of the old bourgeoisie and their hangers-on, the intelligentsia, the Government officials, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the ex-traders, the owners of small workshops, etc., have a lower standard than they have formerly enjoyed. But we have improved the standard of life of the main strata of the toilers of the 108 nations and peoples who inhabit the U.S.S.R., whom the old system tried to

convert into human fertilizer to serve the aims of Russian imperialism.

"But in the U.S.S.R., say the Social-Democrats, in view of the difficulties arising in connection with the construction of socialism the present generation has to make sacrifices for the benefit of future generations. . . . To think that our young generation of workers and peasants which is growing up amidst the conditions of the greatest revolution in the world, of the most extensive proletarian democracy, which has not experienced capitalism or the Tsarist regime, to think that this generation, with its growing political, material and cultural requirements, will accept socialism only in the form of sacrifices and deprivations, is sheer lunacy. The heroic struggle of this generation for the happiness of future generations, its advance under the flag of service to the interests of the world proletarian revolution, is not the detached, romantic asceticism of the intelligentsia, but an all-embracing synthesis of the great social ideal with the immediate material interests of the masses. Therefore, it is for this reason that Social-Democracy and all the General Staffs of the world have been unable to crush the proletarian revolution and to prevent socialist construction in the Soviet Union." (Manuilsky.)

It is true that we have difficulties. *But our difficulties are of a different kind from the difficulties of capitalism, which is rushing towards a breakdown and which carry with them the elements of further decay and disintegration. Our difficulties are difficulties of growth, i.e., difficulties which contain in themselves the elements for overcoming them. Our difficulties are the difficulties of the class struggle. We have won to socialism in a severe class struggle. We must not forget that the struggle for the socialist attitude to labour, as one of the forms of the class struggle, will remain even after the liquidation of classes, that this is a long and difficult struggle, a struggle for the "socialist remaking of the consciousness of people."*

"And those who fail to appreciate the concrete social-economic and political conditions under which we are constructing socialism in the U.S.S.R. will wander from the general line of the Party. In the sphere of collective-farm policy, they will substitute bureaucratic administration for mass work among the peasant collective farmers. They will regard collective-farm property as State property and not as the collective property of the farmers. On distributing the harvest in the collective farms they will widely apply the equalization method on the principle of distribution

according to the size of the family. They will have fantastic ideas about forming agrarian-industrial combines. In the sphere of socialist industrialization and circulation they will ignore the last stage of NEP, which is still essential for us—business accounting, financial control, the regime of economy, etc.

And these 'Left' distortions interfere, and will in the future hamper the Party in fulfilling the important task of increasing the efficiency of labour and the problem connected with this—reducing cost of production and improving the quality of production, the organizational and economic consolidation of the collective farms and the improvement of supplies for the toilers of our country. These 'Left' distortions also foster Right opportunism, which is the chief danger, opportunism which is trying to drag us in the direction of restoring capitalism, and its methods of economy (drift, conniving at kulak tendencies, the dissipation of social property, etc.). It is true that since it was taught a lesson not long ago, Right-opportunism does not dare to come out openly with its platform. It dreams quietly about slowing down the rate of industrialization, about returning to the previous stages of NEP, the revising of the collectivization policy. Our Bolshevik Party, which grew up and became steeled in the struggle against opportunism, will strike mercilessly at it in future, even if it comes forward without a platform, and in the form of vague amorphous sentiment." (Manuilsky.)\*

The Soviet Union has achieved tremendous and undoubted successes, thanks to the revolutionary enthusiasm of the great masses of toilers, *led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and its C.C., with Comrade Stalin at its head.*

"Historical truth obliges us to mention here the role of the man under whose firm and tried leadership the Party and its C.C. marched through the difficult mountain pass after the death of Comrade Lenin.

"Through all the dangers that we encountered during the last decade, through all the many difficulties which stood in our way, Comrade Stalin, the true comrade-in-arms and best disciple of Comrade Lenin, led the Party, the working class and the entire

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\* A few days after the Plenum of the E.C.C.I., a number of counter-revolutionaries were expelled from the C.P.S.U.—Riutin, Ivanov, Galkin, etc. Along with some ex-oppositionists—Zinoviev, Kamenev, etc.—they were taking advantage of the temporary difficulties of socialist construction, reflecting the counter-revolutionary feelings of the defeated bourgeois classes, and put forward a bourgeois-kulak programme of the restoration of capitalism; and, deceiving the party, formed an illegal counter-revolutionary organization.



country. Never yet has our Party been so firmly consolidated and united as it is now under the leadership of Comrade Stalin.

"The strengthening of the internal and international position of the U.S.S.R., the whole of the stupendous work of socialist construction carried out during the past ten years in the conditions of capitalist encirclement, which demanded the greatest Leninist firmness and flexibility, combined with steel-like determination, all this bears the direct imprint of the ideas, the will and the actions of Stalin.

Marx and Engels gave to the international proletariat the theory of scientific socialism—Marxism—and on the basis of an analysis of the laws of capitalist development and the development of the class struggle, revealed the historic mission of the proletariat as the grave-digger of capitalism, and the inevitability of the dictatorship of the proletariat by means of which the working class, after breaking the resistance of the exploiters, and leading the oppressed masses of the whole people, will organize planned socialist industry and prepare the ground for classless society.

"Lenin further developed the teachings of Marx and Engels for the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, analysed the problems of monopolist capitalism, the proletarian dictatorship, the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution, the role of the national-colonial revolutions, the Party and the problem of the successful construction of socialism in the period of the proletarian dictatorship, and gave to the world proletariat the experience of the first proletarian revolution and the first proletarian dictatorship in the world, leading them through the most dangerous and difficult years of ruin caused by the imperialist and civil wars and intervention, and, at the same time, laid a firm foundation for the construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R. The great name of Lenin is linked with Leninism as Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

"In the minds of the toilers of our country and of the international proletariat, the whole period of socialist construction and its victory in the U.S.S.R. is linked up with the name of Stalin. On the basis of the law of the uneven development of imperialism, he worked out and carried into operation the Leninist teachings on the building up of socialism in a single country. Under the leadership of Lenin, the C.P.S.U. defeated menshevism, which stood in the path of the proletarian revolution in Russia; under the leadership of Stalin, in the period of socialist construction a decisive blow was struck at the menshevism of our epoch which sometimes appears in the form of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, and sometimes in the form of the Right opportunist deviation.

Stalin's articles, such as 'The Year of Great Change,' the 'speech at the Conference of Agrarian Marxists,' the 'speech at the meeting of factory managers on the mastery of technique,' the six points of Stalin, these are not only directives for our Party, not only historic landmarks of our achievements and victories, they are

documents of tremendous theoretical importance for the whole Comintern, whose significance is not confined to our country, or to our times." (Manuilsky.)

The Soviet Union achieved its victories *with the support of the international proletariat*. This support was given at the time of the first intervention, when the workers and peasants of capitalist countries revolted against intervention, when "Hands off Russia" committees were organized in many capitalist countries, when the workers in the ports of England, France and U.S.A. prevented the dispatch of arms to armies fighting against the Soviet Union. This support was and is given to the Soviet Union throughout the whole of the "peaceful" period of its existence. The sympathy of the broad masses of toilers to the Soviet Union is a serious hindrance to carrying out the anti-Soviet interventionist plots of the imperialists. Under the pressure of the working masses, the bourgeois governments have been compelled to enter into economic relations with us, trade with us, to sign non-aggression pacts, etc.

But the higher the successes of the Soviet Union rise in the construction of socialism and the stronger the love and sympathy of the toiling masses of the whole world to their proletarian fatherland, the more vicious becomes the hate of the imperialists for the U.S.S.R. *The danger of an anti-Soviet war is now nearer than ever it was.* The task of the U.S.S.R. is to strengthen its defences to the maximum degree, continuing to carry on its unswerving policy of peace, the policy which has broken down many of the interventionist plots of the bourgeoisie and the Second International. It is the duty of the toilers of the whole world to fight in defence of the U.S.S.R. By their growing strength, they must make the international imperialists understand that an attack on the U.S.S.R. will turn against themselves.

The U.S.S.R. ensured the victory of socialism with the support of the world proletariat, but up to the

present without the practical help of the world proletarian revolution.

"The experience of our first Five-Year Plan and the prospects of the second tells the workers in capitalist countries who still fear the cost of revolution and the difficulties of constructing socialism: that in 1918-19, after the end of the World War, you feared the cost of revolution, but during the past fifteen years you have suffered greater loss by preserving the obsolete capitalist system. And will it be only fifteen years? You were afraid that revolution and civil war would destroy productive forces, but the world crisis of capitalism has destroyed them to a far greater extent than revolution would have done. You were afraid of the convulsions which might be caused by the proletarian revolution—unemployment, depreciation of currency, fierce class struggles, bloody war; but capitalism has put you into a zone of tremendous convulsions, war, the undermining of the material basis of existence for millions of human beings. You dreamt of 'stabilized capitalism,' but the relative, decayed capitalist stabilization which was established after the first round of revolutions and wars has come to an end. You were afraid of the difficulties of socialist construction, but capitalism has compelled you to share with it all the suffering of its own death agony—the closing of factories, the failure of banks, unemployment, and the loss of small savings, wage cuts, the reduction or even the abolition of social insurance, the increase of exploitation.

"Proletarians, you must choose between capitalism and socialism, between reaction and revolution, between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of your own class. There is no other way. And we have no doubt as to the choice which the working class of the world will make. It will choose the path of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., the path of revolution and victory." (Manuilsky.)

The representatives of all Communist Parties expressed their attitude to the report on the U.S.S.R. and to the leading Section of the C.I.—the C.P.S.U., in their declarations at the XIIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

Besides individual declarations, the Plenum adopted a general address to the C.P.S.U. and the toilers of the U.S.S.R. Among other things, this declaration says:

"In the midst of the ever-growing world crisis of capitalist economy, in face of the direct danger of a new imperialist world slaughter, vast and increasing numbers of the exploited and the oppressed in capitalist and colonial countries, doomed to still greater impoverishment by the growing capitalist offensive, and



who are oppressed by the bloody fascist terror, are beginning to realise that the only path which can lead to their liberation from the yoke of capital, is the path which was taken by the Soviet workers and peasants, the path of merciless class struggle, the path of proletarian revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the establishment of the Soviet power.

"Under the leadership of the Communist International, relying on the experience and the lessons of the victorious October Revolution, on the lessons of the heroic civil war and socialist construction, imbued with the spirit of Leninism and steeled with the experience of their own revolutionary class struggle, the Communist Parties in imperialist colonial and semi-colonial countries are rallying their ranks for a decisive struggle against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and for the dictatorship of the proletariat." (From the address of the XIIth Plenum, E.C.C.I., to the C.P.S.U. and the toilers of the U.S.S.R.)

## VII.

### THE CONDITION AND TASKS OF THE SECTIONS OF THE COMINTERN.

The Plenum recorded a series of considerable *achievements* of the C.I. sections. The greatest achievement is the growth of the influence of the C.I. sections on the masses. The Parties have grown, and strengthened organizationally. Apart from the C.P.S.U., which added one million members to its ranks in the last eighteen months, the Communist Parties of all the capitalist and colonial countries *increased their membership by almost 400,000*, the total membership by June 1932 being 913,500.

The C.P. of Germany has grown from 246,000 to 332,000, the C.P. of Poland from 7,000 to 15,000, the C.P. of Spain from 1,500 to 17,500, the C.P. of Czechoslovakia from 30,000 to 75,000, the C.P. of China from 192,300 to 250,000, the C.P. of Austria from 3,100 to 6,800, the C.P. of Italy from 3,500 to 8,000, the C.P. of Australia from 250 to 2,500, etc.

The growth of the influence of the Communist Parties on the masses is also reflected *in a series of successful election campaigns*. Thus, under very difficult conditions, the C.P. of Germany's poll in the last Reichstag elections was 5,300,000.\* At the last factory council elections the C.P. of Germany and R.T.U.O. were able to put up 18,000 candidates, although, in the existing state of employment, all of them were candidates for dismissal. The C.P. of Japan achieved considerable successes. Its candidates obtained 15,000 votes in the election campaign of February, 1932, and the Workers' Party in Bulgaria was successful in the parliamentary, district and municipal elections in 1931 and 1932. For

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\* As is well known, this was subsequently increased to 6,000,000.

instance, its poll in the parliamentary elections was 175,000.†

Another sign of the growing influence of the Communist Parties is the fact that they, and the revolutionary trade union movement, play a more and more important part in the *strike struggle*. In this respect, the C.P. of Poland and the C.P. of Czechoslovakia lead the way. The C.P. of Poland succeeded in leading many strikes.

That an organizationally weak Communist Party can strengthen its contacts with the masses, by participating in the preparation of strikes, and in the strike struggle itself, is shown by the C.P. of Belgium, which gained in some centres (Borinage, Charleroi) considerable influence on the leadership of the whole strike. This miners' strike put new life into the Belgian Communist Party. The Twente strike in Holland strengthened the Dutch Party and deflected its work along new lines. This can be said of all other Communist Parties.

The growth of the influence of the Communist Parties on the masses finds expression also in *the leadership of the struggle of the masses against imperialist war*. The successes of the C.P. of Japan, in this respect, set an example to all C.I. sections. The Party has grown in numbers and strength in the anti-war struggle: in the election campaign of February, 1932, the candidates of the Party obtained 15,000 votes, and the circulation of the Party organ has grown from 3,000 to 10,000; the membership of the Red trade unions from 5,000 to 15,000. The Party has now a majority in the left peasant union. It embraces 70 per cent. of the membership of reformist organizations, and has strengthened its influence among the cultural organizations.

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† Already after the Plenum came the news of considerable election successes of the C.P.s of Greece and Bulgaria. In Bulgaria, the workers' party was at the top of the poll in Sofia (20,000 votes).



The last conference of the reformists was attended by only 50 delegates, whereas the conference of our cultural organizations, despite arrests, was attended by 800 delegates.

The most important achievement of the Comintern is the success of the C.P. of China. Under its correct leadership, the Soviet regime has grown and firmly established itself in a whole series of districts. The Soviet revolution and the anti-imperialist movement are spreading. All the counter-revolutionary expeditions against the Soviet districts have been repulsed, etc. The Party has grown, and so has its influence on the masses, owing to its correct policy.

The XIIth Plenum brought to light the successes of the C.I. sections, attained through the *application of the united front from below*. The most valuable experience in this respect, during the report period, was that of the C.P.s of Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia, which, in the struggle against fascism in Germany, and the strike struggle in Poland and Czechoslovakia, were able to mobilize broad masses of workers for struggle against the capitalist offensive, fascism and the war danger.

The work of *factory cells* is improving. It happens more and more frequently that by bolshevist mass work and by making use of all partial demands, even the most trivial ones, factory cells and local organizations mobilize and carry with them the majority of the workers in the factories and localities. This has been demonstrated by a series of strikes in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Germany, etc.

"Germany. A.E.G., Henningsdorf. There are 1,500 workers employed there. The factory section of the Red Trade Union of Metal Workers of Berlin reacted to the smallest requirements and has grown in a short space of time from 250 to 315 members. In the preparation for the political twenty-four hour protest strike, the section succeeded in getting all but 200 workers to join the strike.

"A month later 33 workers of the welding machine factory, members of the reformist union of metal workers, carried out passive

resistance to reduction of wages under the leadership of the section of the Red Union. The administration made concessions, agreeing to pay also for the time spent by the workers of awaiting issue of piece-work. The section of the Red Trade Union then organized passive resistance in the tool department, against the 15 per cent. wage cut, and was successful here also.

"The section of the Red Trade Union was once again successful by organized passive resistance in the press department (135 workers), when the company attempted to cut the piece rates in the production of radio cabinets, with the result that the old piece-work rate was retained. All this work caused a split among the reformist members of the factory committee." (From the materials of the R.I.L.U. brigade which investigated A.E.G. Henningsdorf.)

"It proves that even during a crisis, in the presence of tremendous unemployment, if there is an initiative group which sees to it that at least the collective agreement should be observed, the workers follow them, even the reformist workers. Whenever we do something in the factories and shops, we can defeat the reformists. It is certainly not a trifle, when all the factories around do not strike, while our Party cell and the R.T.U.O. succeed in organizing a 24-hour strike, during which only 200 out of 1,500 workers remain on the job. This was a tremendous success, and such successes could be achieved everywhere, if only we worked properly. This example shows us also the necessary method of work, the proper approach to the workers; not by show, not by general political slogans which do not explain anything, but by concrete work based upon the needs existing in the factories and mills. This is the way to mobilize the workers for political action." (From Comrade Piatnitsky's speech.)

There are many such examples, not only in Germany. These achievements of the C.I. sections which confirm the *correctness of the Comintern line*, definitely remove the basis of the theories spread by the renegades of all shades regarding the erroneousness of C.I. leadership. The increased vigilance of the leadership of the Communist Parties has helped the Parties in the struggle on two fronts. It has helped them to rectify, in the course of their activity, any opportunist mistakes that had slipped in, and to expose every opportunist deviation, even in its embryonic stage. Thus the C.P. of China not only overcame the Li-li Siang Putschist line, but also fought Right opportunism in the trade union movement with the greatest determination, all Right and Left deviations in the Soviet movement, all those

who infringed the iron bolshevik discipline, and removed several leaders who showed no desire to correct their mistakes, and tried to undermine the authority of the Party.

The C.P. of Germany fought for the rectification of errors with regard to the current situation, against running ahead; under-estimating the work for winning social-democratic workers; against a liquidatory and fatalistic appraisal of the growth and advance of fascism, against an opportunist and liquidatory view in regard to the R.T.U.O., against fatalistic theories, and the theory and practice of individual terrorism, against the practice of the united front from above.

The *Right danger* continues to be the *main danger* in the present phase of transition to a new cycle of wars and revolutions.

The growing difficulties of the struggle revive Right opportunist theories in the appraisal of the international situation and the condition of the C.I. sections, in the appraisal of the manœuvres of the Social-Democratic, and the tactics of the Communist Parties. That this is so is shown by the two Right platforms set up in the ranks of the C.I.: the platform of the Rights in the C.P. of Poland and the Humbert-Droz platform in the C.P. of Switzerland.

Alongside of considerable attainments in the work of most of the C.I. sections there is also a series of defects. *The greatest weaknesses of the Communist Parties are, above all, defects in the work among the masses.*

This weakness is all the more significant, as the influence of Communism is growing among the masses, which look to Communist leadership.

The XIIth Plenum brought to light all the shortcomings which prevent the Communist Parties getting the leadership of the mass movement, and the mass actions into their own hands.



The first obstacle is the isolation of the majority of our Party workers from non-Communist, reformist and other workers, and the sectarian way of approaching these workers and their organizations. Lenin's instructions regarding the duty of every Communist to carry on daily work among the masses, wherever they congregate, have remained on paper. Many Party workers know nothing about the frame of mind of non-Communist workers, what agitates them, and what their every-day demands are. Most of our Party workers over-estimate the influence of the trade union bureaucrats on non-Communist workers. Hence, belated and not speedy enough reaction to all incidents, to all the changes in the correlation and re-shuffling of class forces.

In the summer of 1931 the C.P. of Germany did not react at the right moment to the incidents connected with the failure of the Danat Bank, when the petty-bourgeoisie was in a state of panic, and the men and women workers in the factories were wondering whether wages would be paid. Neither did the C.P. of Germany make use of the situation of July 20, 1932, when the *coup d'état* in Prussia evoked a strike mood among the workers, including the social-democratic workers. The Party issued the very correct slogan of the general strike, but the Party organizations did not respond. The dilatoriness, sluggishness and hesitations of the Communists gave the Social-Democrats time to collect their wits in many cases, and master the situation.

In the C.P.s of Great Britain and the U.S.A. the sectarian mode of approaching the masses is the result of an erroneous tactical line. When the Independent Labour Party left the Labour Party, the C.P. of Great Britain failed to see that behind the tricky I.L.P. leaders there are the rank-and-file members who sincerely want a renovation or, as they say themselves, a "rejuvenation" of the Party, its transformation into a revolutionary party, like the

Communist Party. Not seeing the masses of workers, the C.P. of Great Britain did not do everything in its power to help the united front from below, and the practical result was that not a single ship laden with arms for Japan could be detained.

Characteristic of the attitude of the C.P. of the U.S.A. to the masses is division of the workers into "ours" and "not ours": it regards the struggle led by the revolutionary trade unions as the struggle of "our workers," and the strikes led by the A.F. of L. as a struggle of "not our workers." In the veterans' movement, a mass political demonstration which got hold not only of manual workers, but also of considerable strata of the petty bourgeoisie, the decisions of the C.P. of U.S.A. tended towards demobilization of the masses. When this movement spread, and up to 25,000 veterans assembled in Washington, demanding their bonus, when it was necessary to extend the influence of the ex-Servicemen's League (which is under our leadership) and endeavour to lead the whole movement—it adopted the line of splitting the movement, a line which handed an enormous majority of veterans from petty-bourgeois ranks over to the Fascists.

The greatest obstacle to Communists taking control of mass movements is *shortcomings and mistakes in strike tactics and strategy*. Very frequently strike movements spring up and go on without the participation of communist organizations or Red Trade Unions. Then there are also cases when a strike is declared from above, simply by order, without laying the question before the broad masses; and frequently inability to choose the right moment for the termination of the strike. Our comrades sometimes make the mistake of wanting to continue the strike at all costs, when circumstances demand its termination. In strikes led by the reformists, on various occasions, Communists either refused to participate in the struggle or gave their own Committee of Action, set

up by a small minority, the name of "Central Strike Leadership" (miners' strikes in South Wales, January, 1931; textile workers' strike in Lawrence, U.S.A., in 1932).

In most strikes our comrades showed great daring, determination and self-sacrifice, but did very little to spread the struggle and show to all striking workers by a correct strike tactic that it is the communist, and not the reformist tactic which serves their interests.

There is in the work of the Communist Parties a lack of bold application of forms and methods of proletarian democracy, to accelerate the radicalization and activization of broad masses of workers (general factory meetings, or of unemployed, election of various delegations and committees of action, their regular reporting to the general meetings, factory committees, unemployed councils, women delegate meetings, trade-union democracy, ballots, etc.).

Another obstacle is actual opposition on the part of Communists to carrying out decisions *regarding the development of work in reformist trade unions*, in whose ranks there are splendid opportunities for communist activity in every country which we neglect.

"What does it mean to work inside the reformist trade unions? It means to agitate, to propagate, to move resolutions, to show by our work that we do better than the reformists, and that the reformists have no monopoly of the routine work, that we, too, are able to work and to achieve results; working in the trade unions is to criticize the trade union bureaucrats for their mistakes, showing how to act in each individual case, and why the trade union bureaucrats do not act so; to submit proposals to the leading bodies and demand a vote on them, even knowing beforehand they will be rejected. But we must see to it our resolutions should be made known to the masses of the trade unions and to the workers in general, and then the workers will learn that we have a correct line, and that we are doing something. And in order to do all this, it may be necessary to take some measures to egg on the trade union bureaucrats. How is it possible to work in the reformist trade unions, unless we egg on these fakirs by submitting our resolutions and seeking to have them carried into effect? Comrade Thalmann told me last time he was here that a



trade union meeting was held in Chemnitz or Dresden, I do not quite recall, and our people went there and moved resolutions and made speeches, and as a result the trade union bureaucrats obtained five votes and we received 300 or 400. How else is it possible to work in these trade unions?" (From Comrade Platnitsky's speech.)

In Great Britain and Germany, where it is more necessary to work in the reformist trade unions than anywhere else, the state of affairs is deplorable in this respect. Something is done in America among tailors and furriers, but by no means sufficient. Neither is the state of affairs satisfactory in Poland or China.

"To avoid work in the reformist trade unions some—the sectarians and Left phrasemongers—either invent themselves, or seek and find in the articles and speeches of some of the leaders of the communist and revolutionary movement a whole arsenal of little "notions," such as: 'The reformist trade unions are a part of the State apparatus'; 'The reformist trade unions are fascist strike-breaking organizations'; 'Not only the upper layer, but also the rank and file of the social-democracy and reformism are reactionary'; 'You cannot change the social-democratic officials and the reformist machine-men (without any sub-division into 'lower and upper groups) or, for instance, 'To urge the trade union bureaucrats to a struggle is opportunism,' etc. Yet experience has shown us how it is possible to force the trade union bureaucracy by revolutionary means to fight.

"The stronger the reformist unions, the stronger is capitalism, and vice versa.' This claim is being made generally without any sub-division into varying countries. And what about the United States? In America the reformist trade unions are very weak, but capitalism is strong. Obviously you cannot take such a sweeping view. This may be said about Germany or England, especially when the Labour Party was in power, but it is wrong to apply this to every country indiscriminately.

"You cannot capture the trade union apparatus" (without indicating that what is meant is the central apparatus). "But how is this to be applied to those organizations which have actually been captured? In Germany, there were, in 1930 (I do not know how things are to-day) 207 local trade union organizations in which the Communist Party had a majority, while Comrade Thalmann reported from Czechish sources that there the entire motor drivers' union has been captured.

"The reformist trade unions are a school of capitalism,' 'the social-democratic and reformist trade union bureaucrats are Zoergiebls,'\* 'the members of the social-democratic and reformist

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\* The bloody Social-Democrat Police President.

trade unions are small reactionaries and Zoergiebel's.' It is interesting to note what a certain social-democratic worker said on this score in the Baden-Pfalz district, at a united front conference of chemical workers, called by the R.T.U.O. He said: You must distinguish between our members and our leaders. When you say, for instance, 'The reformists have betrayed the workers,' this sounds like a generalization, and the trade union leaders then tell us rank-and-file members: 'See how the Communists denounce you.' In reality the rank-and-file members do not want treachery, but want a struggle. At the end of his speech he made the following plea: 'I would very much wish that our colleagues the Communists would deal with us as gently in the factories as they do at this conference.' Is this an isolated case?

"The reformist trade unions do not conduct strikes, and betray those strikes which do break out.' This is also said without any concrete indication of just which strikes have been betrayed. Many comrades, who sincerely desire to work in reformist and other trade unions, fear to stand up—at the meetings, conferences, etc.—in these organizations, with resolutions, with criticism of the trade union bureaucrats and with the demand to struggle, for they do not want to fall into opportunism or become 'disciples of capitalism.'

Now! What about the capture of the apparatus? It is said that it is impossible to capture the trade union apparatus, and that it is therefore not necessary to struggle for it. But

"can we fight for these elective offices, especially in the lower apparatus? We not only can, but must fight for them. But how will our members work in the reformist trade unions, if it is wrong to egg on the bureaucrats because this is opportunism? If the lower apparatus cannot be captured, even beginning with the trade union delegate? What are they to do in the trade unions at all, and what stimulus will they have for their work? At this Plenum we must put an end to these 'Left' notions . . . proclaimed by cowards who do not want, who fear to work in the reformist trade unions." (From Comrade Piatnitsky's speech.)

Right and "Left" opportunists do not want to work in the trade unions. Because we do not work in the reformist trade unions the trade-union opposition is declining. An impediment to work in reformist trade unions is the fact that not all the members of Communist Parties are members of the reformist trade unions, or any other. For instance, in the C.P. of Czechoslovakia, 14,753, i.e., 56 per

cent. of the total membership of 26,000 do not belong to trade-union organizations.

Experience has shown that where Communists do real work, it is possible to achieve successes.

The *fourth* obstacle is the fact that the Communist Parties have not yet firmly entrenched themselves in the factories, and do not make them the centre of Party and trade-union work. The following facts illustrate this:

In the C.P. of Germany, between January 1, 1931, and April 1, 1931, local groups have grown from 3,786 to 6,470, street cells from 3,358 to 6,021, factory cells from 1,524 to 2,210. In December, 1931, there were 4,021 R.T.U.O. groups and Red Trade Union branches, and in March only 3,896. *The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia*—22,090 actual Party members: on January 1, 1932, 13,887, i.e., 58 per cent. were employed and 12,207 were unemployed, i.e., 47 per cent. (of the 13,887 employed workers 3,867 belonged to factory cells), i.e., 14 per cent.; 17,247, i.e., 67 per cent. to local groups, and 4,980 or 19 per cent. to street cells. In *France*, one cell in the Paris District has 25 members. One member only actually works in the factory; the others are all "attached." Another cell—not a single member employed in the factory, all of them "attached" members.

There are many defects in the work of the factory cells and groups itself. For instance, the members of the cell at Zeiss, in Jena, Germany, have hardly any time to work in the factory (which employs 8,400 workers) because their time is chiefly occupied with Party work in the residential districts.

How little is required for the workers to respond to the call of the Party and trade-union organs is shown by the following facts:

"In the Cowlairs factory, in Glasgow (2,500 workers, the cell has nine members) the cell put forward the demand that the basis of calculation of piece work should be explained to the workers, that the workers should control the fixing of piece rates, and that



wages should be paid according to collective agreement. After the rejection of these demands by the manager, the cell got several hundred workers to stop work, and attracted the other departments to the movement, which compelled the management to make concessions. As a result the influence of the cell greatly increased, and the next issue of the factory newspaper had to be reprinted." (Report of the Org. Instructor on Great Britain.)

"In the Troedyrhiw colliery (S. Wales) immediate demands were put forward affecting wages, timber and better ropes. One good letter from the pit, published in the "Daily Worker," was sufficient to occasion a strike which ended successfully. The cell then issued a leaflet with new demands (re timber, for the blowing of the whistle at the end of the working day without delay), and the management immediately gave in."

"The tailoring shop of Lockwood and Bradley (England) employs 300 workers. Two Party members working there took up the organization of a struggle for the small demands of the workers (misbehaviour of the foreman, etc.). In this way they succeeded in acquiring an influence in one section of the factory where the workers were not even in unions. Several weeks later every department elected a representative to the shop committee, led by these two Party members, and its influence has grown from day to day on the basis of the struggle for every-day demands of the workers." (From Comrade Piatnitsky's speech.)

The lack of concrete leadership, in many cases bad leadership, and frequently absence of leadership on the part of the higher Party and trade-union organs; absence of instruction and control over the work of the lower Party and trade-union organizations, are responsible for these shortcomings.

In many organizations genuine Bolshevik democracy is inadequately developed. Very little, or nothing at all is done to draw Party and cell members into the political life of the Party, into the daily work and struggle, into collective work for the preparation and leadership of mass struggles, into joint comradesly work based on strict inner Party discipline.

The inadequate development of inner-Party democracy and, first and foremost, of collective work on the part of the leadership, are the main reasons for the unsatisfactory state of affairs in the C.P. of France.

All these shortcomings of inner-Party work are responsible for the continuous fluctuation of the membership of the C.I. sections.

In 1931, the C.P. of Czechoslovakia recruited 36,050 members, but of this number only 9,000 paying members remained. Between May 1, 1931, and January 1, 1932, 26,425 new members joined the Red Trade Unions, but about 50 per cent. of these new members rapidly left. In the C.P. of Germany 94,365 new members joined the Party in the first quarter of 1932, and 53,789 left it.

The *fifth* obstacle is the *abstract and stereotyped character* of the agitation, the press and the slogans, especially.

This is what one worker writes:

"Such headlines as 'Infamous Role of Anti-Working-class Labour Leaders,' 'Maxton the Imperialist' . . . are far too hysterical and abusive. In regard to the first two, if an I.L.P.er or a Labour Party-ite get hold of the paper, they will think you're mad."

"Because we do not explain why Maxton is actually pursuing an imperialist policy, why the Labour Party is betraying the interests of the workers, but limit ourselves to screaming headings, the result of our invective is the very opposite of what we wanted to achieve. Instead of a businesslike agitation and propaganda based upon verified facts to hand, we merely pronounce loud and empty phrases." (From Comrade Piatnitsky's speech.)

Correct slogans are frequently distorted in the press. The C.P. of Germany put forward the slogan of "People's Revolution" as its main strategical slogan, and as a synonym for proletarian socialist revolution. But in the press and the work among the masses, our comrades very soon began to forget that "People's Revolution" is only a synonym for proletarian revolution. Similar mistakes slipped into the press of the C.P. of Germany also with regard to the formula "Strengthen the struggle against social-democracy;" "Social-democracy and fascism are not antipodes—but twins," was interpreted: "The C.P. of Germany carries on the struggle against fascism, in the framework of the main attack against social-

democracy." ("Rote Fahne" and other newspapers.)

The *sixth* obstacle is *inadequate work among the unemployed*. There are no well-functioning unemployed committees and councils, and no sub-committees; which means that there is no cultural work among the unemployed; no soup kitchens, even for children; no information bureaus where the unemployed could be told whether they have been legally struck off benefit, etc. There are no centres for work among women and youth, no constant struggle against evictions, and no work whatever in the bread-lines and Exchange queues.

"In America . . . France there are queues, and in Germany you have queues near the labour exchanges. They stand silently, no work is being conducted in the queues. I have been told by comrades who have seen with their own eyes workers in the queues of Berlin wearing R.T.U.O. and Anti-Fascist League badges, who stood silently and did nothing, carried on absolutely no work in the unemployment queues. Where is there a better field for work than in the queues?" (From Comrade Piatnitsky's speech.)

The decision regarding non-Party mass organizations of unemployed has not been carried out. The workers leave their quarters in masses and migrate to dumps, sleep in hostels, under bridges, on stairs and even on pavements. They leave their homes voluntarily. There is no genuine struggle against the eviction of unemployed workers, etc.

There is not the necessary leadership in the Y.C.L.s on the part of the Parties.

This explains the lagging behind of the Y.C.L.s. The growth of the Y.C.I. does not keep pace with the possibilities. At the time of the XIth E.C.C.I. Plenum there were 75,000 members in the legal leagues, and 110,000 by the time of the XIIth E.C.C.I. Plenum. The illegal leagues had 39,000 members, and now have 46,000.

It is incumbent upon all C.I. sections to eliminate these shortcomings, using Comrade Stalin's directive



in the Polish E.C.C.I. Commission in 1924 regarding the tasks of Party leadership as a guide:

"It is not a question of adopting the Communist programme and proclaiming revolutionary slogans. It is a question of building the daily work of the Party and its practice in such a direction that every step of the Party and every one of its actions should naturally lead to the revolutionary education of the masses, to the preparation of revolution."

The XIIth E.C.C.I. Plenum laid special emphasis on the end of capitalist stabilization and the approaching new cycle of wars and revolutions, and directed that the C.I. sections concentrate their attention on the following tasks:

*The main task* confronting all the Communist Parties in the present phase when the maturing of the revolutionary crisis is not far off, consists in *preparing the masses for the decisive struggle for proletarian dictatorship*. When developing and leading the mass activities of the working class and exploited masses of town and country, one must direct these actions to higher forms of struggle, and, in the midst of struggle, prepare and bring the working class and the exploited masses to the highest phase of the struggle, to struggle for power, to revolution. This means first of all, an increase of bolshevik work among the masses, extending and strengthening constant contact between every Communist Party and the majority of the workers, wherever they congregate in large masses. On the fulfilment of this task depends the fate of the main strategical task—*conquest of the majority of the working class*.

The preparation of the working class for decisive struggles for power must, in the present phase, take the form of concrete struggle for the following immediate tasks:

1. *Against the capitalist offensive* by organizing mass revolutionary activities of the proletariat against wage cuts, dismissals and abolition of unem-

ployment benefit, against reduction of staff and emergency laws, for those concrete demands which agitate great masses of employed and unemployed workers.

2. *Against fascism and reaction*, by bringing workers over to our side who have fallen under fascist influence, by agitating against the social and chauvinist demagoguery of the fascists, by organizing revolutionary activities of wide masses of workers against fascist terror.

3. *Against the impending imperialist war and intervention against the Soviet Union.*

4. *Undermining and smashing the influence of social-democracy on the masses*, for it is the chief social prop and pillar of the bourgeoisie. This demands well-organized constant bolshevik work among non-Communist workers in the factories, in reformist, and other trade unions, and among the unemployed, systematic isolation of Social-Democratic and reformist leaders, by exposing their manoeuvres with the help of concrete facts, in the course of revolutionary struggle.

5. A component part of the revolutionary strategy of the C.I. sections in its concrete application is now the *mass political strike*, as one of the most important immediate links in the chain of the proletariat's revolutionary struggle. When C.I. sections organize partial strikes they must not drop into economism\* and lose sight of the nearest revolutionary perspectives, but must do their utmost to broaden the front of the every-day struggle, and give it a revolutionary character, popularizing the slogan of "mass political strikes" and, provided the necessary conditions exist, prepare and carry through the mass political strike. The popularization of the slogan "mass political strike" must be linked up with the perspective of immediate struggle for power.

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\* See "What is to be done." N. Lenin.

*Conquest of power* is an issue which must constitute the *centre of our agitation and propaganda*. By means of partial struggles our Parties must approach the solution of this task, taking into account the degree of the development of the labour movement in every separate country. The general line still is: not an automatic leap into decisive battles for power, but accelerated advance towards them, in the course of a variety of every-day struggles.

6. The tactic of the *united front from below* is still the bolshevik method of mobilizing the masses. Only a broad united front which has its origin in the ardent desire of the masses for united struggle against the capitalist and fascist offensive, can be the lever which will bring millions of proletarians into motion. Only the united-front tactic, freed from illusions regarding social-fascism, from Right-capitulation and belittling of our independent leading role, as well as from "Left" hectoring at the masses, will give us an opportunity to conquer the masses who still follow social-democracy, and break up its mass base among the proletariat.

7. The struggle for partial demands is of special significance for the establishment of a genuine united front from below, for struggle for the revolutionary way out of the crisis. This struggle has always been a means of the mobilization of the masses, but in the present overheated atmosphere, when a tiny spark is frequently enough to cause the explosion of antagonisms accumulated for years, the struggle for partial demands, for the simplest, most elementary demands accessible to the great masses, can evoke gigantic mass movements.

"One of the main conditions which must be always considered in our work, consists in the fact that the proletariat is revolutionized not merely by propaganda and agitation, but above all, by its own experience, acquired in the partial struggles of the present period." (From Comrade Kuusinen's report.)

This is shown by the experience of all countries.



8. In the present situation, fraught with sudden explosions and sharp turns of events, every Communist Party must:

"(a) Transfer the centre of gravity of the Party and trade union work to the factories. (b) Resolutely strengthen the work within the reformist, catholic, yellow and fascist trade unions, to free the working masses who still follow the reformists from their influence and thereby improve the work of the R.T.U.O. (c) Strengthen the work of the Red trade unions and the R.T.U.O. (d) Take up the work among the unemployed in real earnest. (e) Improve the methods of mass work of the Communist Parties, Red Trade unions, and trade union opposition." (From Comrade Piatnitsky's speech.)

Every Party must strengthen its own ranks and positions in the factories on the basis of inner Party democracy, bolshevik self-criticism, discussion of important political issues in the basic Party organizations, and concrete leadership of their work. All these characteristic features of bolshevik democracy, far from contradicting iron bolshevik discipline, are a necessary condition for its establishment and consolidation. In fact, its establishment goes hand in hand with the education of the newly recruited Party members and new cadres, with ruthless struggle against all distortions of Marxism-Leninism, against Right and "Left" opportunities, and for the purity of Party theory in the spirit of the directions given in Comrade Stalin's letter.\*

In conclusion, the Plenum indicated the tasks for each important section (cf. Theses on Point 1.)

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