

# XI<sup>th</sup> PLENUM

of the Executive Committee  
of the Communist  
International

THESES, RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS

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# NOTIFICATION re THE XI. PLENUM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

At the beginning of April, the XI. Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International met in Moscow. The Plenum heard:—

1. Comrade Manuilsky's report on the tasks of the sections of the Communist International in connection with the deepening of the economic crisis and the growth of the pre-requisites of revolutionary crisis in a number of countries, and the co-reports of Comrades Thälmann, Lensky and Chemodanov on the situation and tasks of the Communist Parties of Germany and Poland and of the Y.C.I. respectively.

2. Comrade Cachin's report on the danger of military intervention against the U.S.S.R.

The Plenum accepted into the C.I., as an independent section, the Communist Party of Indo-China which has existed already several years as a component part of the Communist Party of France and was reorganised into an independent party in February, 1930; the Communist Party of Cyprus, which has already been in existence several years, and the Communist Party of Iceland, founded in November, 1930. The decision of the Plenum regarding these new sections has to be confirmed by the VII. World Congress of the Communist International.

The Plenum elected a Presidium of thirty members and twelve candidates and confirmed the financial report of the E.C.C.I.

All the decisions were adopted unanimously by the Plenum.

The theses, resolutions and decisions of the XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. will be published.

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

**THESES**

**ON THE TASKS OF THE SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN CONNECTION WITH THE DEEPENING OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE GROWTH OF THE PRE-REQUISITES OF A REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS IN A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES.**

Adopted at the XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the Report of Comrade Manuilsky and the Co-Reports of Comrades Thälmann, Lensky and Chemodanov on the Situation and Tasks of the Communist Parties of Germany, Poland and the Young Communist International respectively.

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The greatest world economic crisis in history, which developed in the past year on the basis of the general crisis of capitalism, and which affected all capitalist countries and all the principal branches of production, and the gigantic growth of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., have revealed with unprecedented acuteness the antagonism between the system that is **building up Socialism** and the system of **decaying capitalism**. The antagonisms between the capitalist and the Socialist systems have never developed with such force, and the advantages of the Socialist system over the capitalist system have never been revealed so strikingly as they are now. The bankruptcy of the capitalist system of production based upon the exploitation, slavery and subjection to market competition, and the superiority of the planned system of Socialist economy based on the socialisation of the means of production, on the abolition of exploitation and on the systematic improvement of the material and cultural level of the toilers, have now become clearly revealed.

This growing contrast between the two systems, which is the kernel of contemporary international relations, affects the further development of the contradictions within the imperialist world which have become particularly intensified as a result of the crisis. Deprived by the October Revolution of the opportunity of exploiting and imperialistically enslaving the peoples of the U.S.S.R., and finding themselves menaced by the Socialist industrialisation of the U.S.S.R., which is creating the conditions for the economic development of the land of the Proletarian Dictatorship independently of the technique of the capitalist countries, the imperialists are with great fury hurling themselves into the struggle against each other for markets, which are becoming more and more restricted as a consequence of the crisis and the growing impoverishment of the masses. The efforts being made by the imperialists to extricate themselves from the crisis at the expense of the toilers, at the expense of their competitors, at the expense of the colonies and of the U.S.S.R., are leading to an unrestrained policy of protection and dumping, to the intensification of the imperialist

struggle for world hegemony and for the redistribution of the colonies, to increased preparation for new imperialist wars and for military intervention against the U.S.S.R.

The year that has passed since the last Enlarged Presidium of the E.C.C.I. (February, 1930) has been a year of historical change: it revealed the growing crisis and the impending doom of the capitalist system and the victorious rise of Socialist construction. **Capitalist stabilisation is coming to an end. In the U.S.S.R., the laying of the foundation of Socialist economy is being completed.**

1. **In the capitalist countries**, the development of the industrial crisis finds expression: (a) in the uninterrupted **restriction of production**; (b) in the sharp diminution in **consumption** in the home market as a consequence of the impoverishment of the masses; (c) in the enormous reduction of **foreign trade**.

**In the U.S.S.R.**, where there is not only no crisis, but rapid development, the increase in production is proceeding at a rate unparalleled in capitalist countries. The Five-Year Plan of industrial construction is not only being fulfilled but exceeded. In the basic industries the Five-Year Plan is being carried out in three years and in a number of important industries (oil industry, engineering and others), the Five-Year Plan has been fulfilled already in two-and-a-half years. Capital investments in industry, transport and electrification are increasing rapidly (60 per cent. in 1930; 80 per cent. in 1931). On the basis of Socialist competition and the application of the latest modern technique, the productivity of labour is steadily increasing, consumption is steadily increasing, the consistent policy of fixed prices pursued by the proletarian Government regulates the circulation of commodities between industry and agriculture, guarantees the systematic increase in real wages and in the incomes of the peasant farms.

2. **In the capitalist countries**, the economic crisis, interwoven with the agrarian crisis, to an enormous degree accelerates the pauperisation of millions of the peasantry who are ruined by the drop in prices of agricultural produce and who are overburdened with high taxes, forced labour, rent, and usurious debts. The process of **degradation of small and middle farms** has become strikingly marked. In order to overcome the agrarian crisis, the bourgeois Governments are taking measures to reduce the acreage under cultivation for the staple food products and agricultural raw materials. The increasing mechanisation of agriculture in a number of capitalist countries, affecting mainly the capitalist farms, serves still more to accelerate the impoverishment of the broad toiling masses of the peasantry.

**In the U.S.S.R.**, the colossal progress of agriculture (the growth in the cultivated area and the increase in yield) is due to the decisive turn of the poor and middle peasants, under the leader-

ship of the working class, towards collective farming. The Five-Year Plan for collectivisation has been carried out in two years. As a result of the Socialist transformation of the countryside (Collective farms and Soviet farms), the material and cultural level of the toiling peasants has been considerably improved; the Five-Year Plan of commodity grain production is being more than fulfilled in two years; agriculture is being placed on a machine and tractor basis, and from year to year the capital invested in agriculture by the proletarian Government is increasing. On the basis of mass collectivisation, the liquidation of the kulaks as a class is taking place, and the masses of the middle peasants, organised in collective farms, are becoming transformed into a firm bulwark of the proletarian dictatorship.

3. **In the capitalist countries**, the bourgeoisie has hurled itself with enormous fury against the working class and the masses of the toilers, and is striving by measures of economic plunder to transfer on to the shoulders of the toilers all the consequences of the crisis (mass dismissals and unemployment, wage cuts, increased taxes on the working class, on the rural toilers and urban poor, increased tariffs, artificially preventing the drop in retail prices, cutting down social insurance, etc.). This capitalist offensive dooms the proletariat to the misery of cruel mass poverty. Unemployment, unparalleled in history, affecting nearly 35,000,000 industrial workers (in addition to the millions of unemployed agricultural proletarians, particularly in the colonies and semi-colonies not included in these statistics), floods the labour market and is utilised by the capitalists for the purpose of steadily forcing down the wages of the employed workers. This capitalist offensive is not only directed against the working class, but also against other broad strata of toilers in town and country where vital interests impel them to establish a united front with the proletariat against predatory monopolist capital. Mortality, prostitution and suicide among the toilers are increasing. Particularly severe is the capitalist offensive in the colonies, where the working class being under the double yoke of the imperialist and the native bourgeoisie, is wholly at the mercy of the most barbarous exploitation. Under the conditions of the crisis, the slavish character of wage labour in capitalist enterprises becomes more strikingly revealed than ever, both industrial and agricultural, in colonial as well as in imperialist countries.

**In the U.S.S.R.**, the Socialist industrialisation of the country alongside of the Socialist transformation of agriculture has improved the material and cultural conditions of the working class and of the masses of the toilers in general. Simultaneously with the enormous and continuous increase in the number of the proletariat, **unemployment** has been abolished (in 1931, two million extra workers will be brought into industry for the first time). The

transition of Soviet industry to a seven-hour day with a simultaneous 6 per cent. increase in real wages in 1931, is in the main being completed (during the past two years wages have increased by 12.1 per cent. **The Social Insurance Fund and the Working and Office Employees' Welfare Fund have during the past two years of the Five-Year period increased by 3,199 million roubles, and in 1931 provision has been made for a further increase of 2,138 million roubles**). **The creative enthusiasm of the masses has increased and has given rise to new forms of Socialist labour** (Socialist Competition, Shock Brigades, etc.).

4. **In capitalist countries,** the development and intensification of the world economic crisis evokes a sharp intensification of the political reaction of the governing classes, both in the lands of so-called bourgeois democracy (which is a masked form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie) as well as in the lands of Fascism which represents the open, naked form of bourgeois dictatorship. In striving to secure **a capitalistic way out of the crisis,** by lowering the standard of living of the broad masses of the toilers, by increased economic and political enslavement, the bourgeoisie is organising terrorist Fascist groups, is breaking up labour and all other revolutionary organisations, is depriving the workers and the toiling peasants of the right of assembly and free press, is suppressing strikes by means of compulsory arbitration and violence, shooting down unemployed demonstrations and striking workers, and is ruthlessly suppressing the revolutionary peasant movements.

**In the U.S.S.R.,** the Government of the working class, in eradicating the last remnants of the exploiting classes, guarantees the widest development of proletarian democracy and an unparalleled improvement in the political and cultural level of the most backward strata of the workers and peasants. In the elections to the Soviets in 1931, 60 million toilers took part (12.8 millions in the towns and 48.1 millions in the rural districts). The political activity and the creative initiative of the toiling masses is growing at a tremendous rate and is being realised through the Soviets, the trade unions, the factory shock brigades, the Soviet farms and Collective farms where, under the leadership of the C.P.S.U. the fraternal alliance is maintained between the working class and the toiling peasantry in the work of Socialist industrialisation and collectivisation of the countryside.

5. **In the U.S.S.R.,** the existence of the Government of the working class implies a firm policy of peace, the establishment of fraternal relations with all nations, consistent struggle for complete disarmament, the union of the toilers of all nations inhabiting the U.S.S.R., the economic, political and cultural development of the nationalities formerly oppressed by Tsarism and the growth

of the land of the proletarian dictatorship as the principal barrier against new imperialist wars.

**In the capitalist countries,** the predatory character of the imperialist States as the dictatorship of a handful of financial magnates, finds in the circumstances of the crisis specially marked expression in the growth of imperialist aggressiveness, in the strivings of the imperialists to extend their colonial possessions and "spheres of influence," in the intensification of all forms of colonial slavery, and in the striving to impose the burdens of the crisis mainly upon the weaker and dependent countries and enslaved peoples.

The crisis intensifies with particular force the principal contradictions in the capitalist world — the struggle between Great Britain and the United States for world hegemony which finds expression both in the pressure which American capitalism is exercising upon the British Dominions, in the imperial tariff policy of Great Britain (the "Imperial Conference")—as well as in the increased struggles for "spheres of influence" in Latin America and China.

The crisis brings out more and more acutely all the contradictions inherent in the Versailles system: the antagonism between the victorious countries and the vanquished countries, primarily between the imperialist clique of France, which is striving to maintain and strengthen its military and political hegemony on the continent of Europe, and the bourgeoisie of vanquished Germany, who, in trying to carry out the Young Plan, encounter the ever-increasing resistance of the masses of the toilers; imperialist rivalry in the camp of the victorious countries is increasing—the struggle between France and Italy for the Mediterranean and for the North African colonies and the antagonisms between the vassals of the principal imperialist pirates (the Balkans, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, etc.), are increasing. Hence the questions of revising the Young Plan, of the inter-Allied debts, frontiers (Polish corridor), and Germany's fight for union with Austria (the Customs Union) and for colonial possessions and for the revival of the restriction on armaments, are becoming more and more acute. Hence the new system of military and political alliances, the furious increase of new armaments cloaked by the "disarmament" conferences of the League of Nations, the increase in military expenditure which absorbs from one-third to one-half of the State Budgets, the re-equipment of the navies (the London Conference), the growth of military aviation, the preparations for chemical warfare, the mechanisation of the armies and the building up of the capitalist armies from reliable class cadres. Hence the growth of imperialist oppression in the colonies and the oppression of a number of nations in Europe by the bourgeoisie of the dominant nations, in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia, Roumania, Greece, Italy, France (Alsace-Lorraine).

The imperialist policy of the bourgeois dictatorship, by intensifying all the contradictions of the world imperialist system, and by creating everywhere hotbeds of new military conflicts, is inevitably leading to new and monstrous imperialist wars. While not in the least removing the antagonisms between the various imperialists, the imperialist policy of the bourgeois dictatorship implies feverish preparation for military intervention against the U.S.S.R., for a downright imperialist and counter-revolutionary war for the enslavement of the peoples of the Soviet Union and for the restoration of capitalism.

6. The development of the class struggle amidst the further development of the world economic crisis confronts the broad masses of the toilers with the **decisive** alternatives; either dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or—the dictatorship of the proletariat; either economic and political slavery or—to put an end to capitalist exploitation and oppression; either colonial oppression and imperialist war or—peace and fraternity between nations; either capitalist anarchy and crises or—the Socialist system which eliminates anarchy and crises.

The growth of the antagonism between the capitalist world and the Socialist world, between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat extremely intensifies **the danger of military intervention against the U.S.S.R.** The intensification of the class struggle in the capitalist countries, the striving of the bourgeoisie to find a way out of the crisis at the expense of the U.S.S.R., their dread of victorious Socialism, the collapse of the tactics based on the expectations of the capitalistic degeneration of the U.S.S.R. and on support of the moribund counter-revolutionary classes (the kulaks, the urban N.E.P.-man bourgeoisie) impels the world bourgeoisie to adopt the tactics of striking from without by means of economic blockade and military intervention. The trials of the "Industrial Party" and the All-Union Bureau of the Menshevik Party, which reveal the existence of a wide international conspiracy against the U.S.S.R. led by French imperialism, which is squeezing the last ounce out of the nations enslaved by the Versailles system, which is supporting and organising the Fascist régime in Europe and which is playing the rôle of the gendarme of Europe, formerly played by Tsarist Russia, have shown that the imperialists, with the aid of the Second International, prepared for the spring of 1930, and are now preparing a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. and for this purpose are utilising the vassals of French and British imperialism—Poland, Roumania and Finland. For the purpose of active preparation for intervention in 1930, Hoover set up a special organisation camouflaged by the name of Federal Farm Board and headed by Colonel Legge, Director of Supplies for the Allied Armies during the imperialist war, to supply provisions to

the interventionist armies. The same purpose of preparing for intervention was pursued and is pursued by the agrarian conferences, the "disarmament" conferences, the Pan-Europe conference, by the anti-Soviet campaigns against "religious persecution," led by the Pope of Rome and representatives of other religious denominations, the campaign against Soviet "dumping" and against "forced labour" in the U.S.S.R.

## II.

### **The Intensification of the Class Struggle, the Revolutionary Upsurge and the Growth of a Revolutionary Crisis in a Number of Capitalist Countries.**

1. The further intensification of all the fundamental contradictions of capitalism as a result of the economic crisis which affects primarily the weakest links of the capitalist system, the gathering discontent of the broad masses of the people, the spread of Communism and the growing prestige of the land of the Proletarian Dictatorship, give rise, on the one hand, to the ever more open utilisation by the bourgeoisie of the apparatus of violence of its dictatorship, and, on the other hand, to the growth of the revolutionary upsurge and to the increase in a number of countries of the pre-requisites of a revolutionary crisis.

Growing organically out of so-called bourgeois democracy—which is the masked form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie—Fascism, which is the naked form of the bourgeois dictatorship, sharpens all the methods of suppressing and enslaving the toilers peculiar to the capitalist system and inseparable from the whole system of bourgeois dictatorship. The bourgeoisie pushes forward and moulds the Fascist régime, interweaving with it the remnants of bourgeois democracy along the road of the destruction of the class organisations of the proletariat, suppressing the Communist Parties, creating special military terroristic organisations—irrespective of whether it abolishes or preserves parliamentary forms.

Striving to weaken the revolutionary influence of the land of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat among the millions of the oppressed and enslaved of the whole world and to retard the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants and colonial peoples, the Fascists resort to social-demagogy in order to deceive the masses and to conceal the counter-revolutionary aims of the bourgeois dictatorship. Playing on the needs and miseries of the toiling masses, fomenting national hatred, the imperialist spirit of *Revanche* in the vanquished countries and anti-Semitism, making capital in Germany out of the Young Plan, concealing their service to capital by lying anti-capitalist phraseology, the Fascists, in the pay of finance capital (Hitler), utilise the discontent of the masses in order to strengthen the bourgeois dictatorship and to ruthlessly suppress the working class.

The recent growth of Fascism has been possible only because of the support given to it by international Social Democracy throughout the whole post-war period of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, irrespective of the form the latter has assumed. By drawing a contrast between the "democratic" forms of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and Fascism, Social Democracy lulls the vigilance of the masses in the fight against the growing political reaction and Fascism, conceals the counter-revolutionary character of bourgeois democracy as a form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and thus serves as an active factor and channel for the fascistisation of the capitalist State.

The successful struggle against Fascism demands that the Communist Parties shall mobilise the masses on the basis of a united front from below against all forms of the bourgeois dictatorship, against all the reactionary measures it adopts to pave the way to the open Fascist dictatorship. The struggle demands the speedy and determined correction of the mistakes that have been committed which, in the main, consist of drawing, after the Liberal fashion, a contrast between Fascism and bourgeois democracy and between the parliamentary form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and its open Fascist forms. These mistakes represent a reflection of the Social Democratic influences in the Communist ranks.

2. Since the February Enlarged Presidium of the E.C.C.I. there has been a further increase in the revolutionary upsurge bound up with the sharp reduction in the standard of living of the working class, the monstrous development of unemployment, the ruination of the office workers and urban petty-bourgeoisie, the mass robbery of the peasantry, the extreme impoverishment of the colonies and the growing revolutionising rôle of the U.S.S.R.

The growing revolutionary upsurge found expression in—

- (a) The further intensification of the strike struggle and the unemployed movement.
- (b) The development and strengthening of Soviets and of the Red Army over a considerable territory in China.
- (c) The growth of the revolutionary movement in the colonies.
- (d) The development of the revolutionary peasant movement.
- (e) The growth of the political and organisational influence of a number of important Communist Parties (Germany, China, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland).
- (f) The sharp intensification of oppositional ferments within Social-Democracy.
- (g) The growth of an opposition among the petty-bourgeois masses of the towns, office employees and civil servants.

Developing unevenly—in accordance with the degree and tempo of development of the crisis and the intensification of the internal

and external contradictions of capitalism in each country — the growth of the revolutionary upsurge in those capitalist countries where the economic crisis, coinciding with the special conditions of the general post-war crisis of capitalism, was rendered particularly acute—for example, in Germany, which is crushed by the burden of the Versailles system and the Young Plan and is deprived of the possibility of exploiting colonies; and in Poland, which is torn by national antagonisms and subjected to the burdens of militarism thanks to the rôle Polish imperialism is playing in the preparation for war against the U.S.S.R.—leads to the **maturing of the pre-requisites of a revolutionary crisis**. Side by side with the sharpening of the economic crisis, the pre-requisites of a revolutionary crisis are being created at a rapid pace in Spain, where this process is especially deepened owing to the existence of strong remnants of feudalism. In a number of the biggest colonies and semi-colonies (China, India) where—owing to the close interweaving of the economic crisis and the agrarian crisis, the intensification of imperialist and feudal-usury exploitation and the monstrous ruination of the masses—the masses are rising in millions for the national revolutionary struggle against the whole imperialist-colonial system, the elements of a profound revolutionary crisis are rapidly maturing.

Growing out of the general crisis of capitalism and of the present economic crisis, developing on the basis of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses, these elements of the revolutionary crisis are linked up with the intensification of the extraordinary poverty and misery of the masses, with their growing revolutionary activity, with the break-up of the whole international and internal system of capitalist domination, with rapid re-grouping of class forces, with the crisis in the upper ranks of society seeking a way out of their contradictions by the road of Fascism, new imperialist wars and military intervention in the U.S.S.R.

3. **In Germany**, the bourgeoisie, after getting rid of the Müller Government, is more and more determinedly pursuing a course, with the direct aid of Social Democracy, towards introducing the Fascist dictatorship. While simultaneously utilising Social Democracy as the principal instrument for sabotaging and disrupting the struggle of the workers, the trustified bourgeoisie and its State supports, organises and utilises the Fascist (National Socialist) movement of the petty-bourgeois masses in order to divert their discontent into channels for strengthening capitalism. The gradual growth of the pre-requisites of a revolutionary crisis finds expression in the growth of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat (50 per cent. increase in the membership of the Communist Party, the growth of the mass revolutionary organisations); in the beginning of the break-up of the mass basis of Social Democracy; in the launching of a mass struggle against the introduction of the Fascist dictatorship; the driving back of the Fascist

movement by means of a programme of social and national liberation of the toiling masses; the winning of new strata of the exploited for the proletarian revolution under the slogan of People's Revolution; in the growing lack of confidence among the governing classes, which is accompanied by political re-groupings of the bourgeoisie; in the growing discontent of the widest masses with the yoke of the Versailles system and the Young Plan. The successful struggle against Fascism in Germany calls for the timely exposure of the Brüning Government as the Government which is introducing the Fascist dictatorship. The economic crisis in Germany is leading to an extreme intensification of the class struggles and to growing political conflicts which accelerate the ripening of pre-requisites of a revolutionary crisis.

**In Poland**, where the industrial and agrarian crisis is leading to the collapse of the whole of economic life, where unemployment has seized upon half the proletariat, where the peasantry are being ruined at an accelerated rate—the pre-requisites of the revolutionary crisis find expression in the intensification of the revolutionary struggle in town and country (the militant demonstrations of the unemployed, the struggle against distraint for taxes, forced labour in road-making, etc.), the intensification of the struggle of the oppressed nationalities (Western Ukraine), the ferment in the lower ranks of the Social-Fascists and Fascist Parties, in the increasing shrinkage of the mass basis of the Pilsudskyites and their means of contact with the masses, for example, the growing discontent within the Fascist "Labour Party," N.P.S.,\* and the Social Fascist P.P.S. (Polish Socialist Party); in the growing friction within the Fascist camp, and also in the strengthening of the Communist Party of Poland.

**In Spain**, where the exploitation of the working class, the destitution of the peasant masses ruined by the crisis, the church and the semi-feudal régime, and national oppression (Catalonia, Biscay) have reached unheard of dimensions, the growth of the elements of a revolutionary crisis finds expression in the impetus given to the economic and political strikes of the proletariat, in the budding revolutionary movement of the peasantry, in the mass movement of the petty-bourgeoisie against the monarchy (students' demonstrations, etc.), in the intensification of the national revolutionary movement in Catalonia and Biscay, in the disintegration of the army and in the confusion which reigns in the ranks of the ruling classes and their parties.

**In China**, the revolutionary crisis finds expression in the organisation of Soviets and of the Red Army, in a territory with a population of scores of millions, which places China in the front

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\*Non-Party Socialists, the faction that split off from the Polish Socialist Party; alleged to be revolutionary but is even more fascist than the P.P.S.—*Translator's note.*

rank of the national revolutionary movement of the colonial world. The establishment of Soviets and the Red Army are a condition for the success of the hegemony of the proletariat in the national revolutionary movement, in the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution, a hegemony which is already strengthening itself in the beginnings of State power. The Soviets and the Red Army, which have grown out of the agrarian revolution, are rousing to the struggle by the concrete experience of the Soviet districts the workers of the industrial centres and the masses of the peasantry by liquidating the feudal property of the landlords, re-distributing land in the interests of the masses of the peasantry, and undermining more and more the hangmen's régime of the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang. The further development of the Soviet movement in China, which is revolutionising the whole of the colonial world, is linked up with the expansion and consolidation of the territorial base of the Soviets and of the Red Army.

**In India**, the revolutionary mass movement against British imperialism is becoming wider and deeper as a consequence of the growth of the labour and peasant movements and the simultaneous treacherous transactions and counter-revolutionary alliance concluded between national-reformist bourgeoisie and British imperialism. This revolutionary mass movement is absorbing new millions of workers, peasants and the urban poor; it is breaking down the framework of counter-revolutionary Gandhism, is beginning to free the masses from its influence and is passing to open forms of revolutionary struggle (armed conflicts with the police and the troops, rebellion in Peshawar, Sholapur, peasant uprisings in Burma, Berar, etc., the rebellion in Kosipur, the mass labour demonstrations against Gandhi and the National Congress). The proletarian leadership of the mass revolutionary liberation movement, which is an important condition for the victory of the Indian revolution, is now possible owing to the fact that the masses of the workers are to an increasing degree throwing off the influence of national-reformism, including its most dangerous "Left" variety, and owing to the fact that a Communist Party has now been formed. The task that now confronts the working class is to organise the revolutionary action of the oppressed classes against British imperialism and the National Congress, to develop the labour and peasant movement, to organise a strong all-Indian Communist Party and mass Red trade unions, and to prepare for a general political strike.

**In Indo-China** the revolutionary upsurge which is taking place in the midst of the most brutal terror, mass shootings and the destruction of whole villages by the French occupational troops, is characterised by the unceasing growth of the anti-imperialist movement of the working class, of the peasantry and of the urban poor, which in the main is under Communist leadership.

Assuming the forms of mass demonstrations, guerilla fighting and armed conflicts with the police and the army, this movement is accompanied in the North, where the influence of the Chinese revolution is particularly strong, by the establishment of Soviets.

The developing **revolutionary upsurge**, simultaneously with the unsuccessful attempts of the bourgeoisie to solve the fundamental contradictions of the imperialist world (particularly in the colonies), creates the conditions for the growth of the pre-requisites of the revolutionary crisis in Germany and in Poland, for the further development of a revolutionary crisis in China and in India, and for the ripening of the pre-requisites of a revolutionary crisis in other capitalist countries in proportion as, primarily, the Communist Parties are able to mobilise and lead the mass movements against the capitalist offensive and political reaction, and to prove to the proletariat and other sections of the toiling masses, on the basis of their own experience, the necessity for a revolutionary way out of the crisis of capitalism.

### III.

#### **Social Democracy as the Principal Social Support of the Bourgeoisie.**

1. The world economic crisis has revealed in all its clarity the role of international **Social Democracy** as the **Principal Social Support of the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie**. At all the fundamental stages in the development of the class struggle since the world imperialist war and the rise of the proletarian dictatorship, Social-Democracy has been on the side of capitalism against the working class. It sent millions of proletarians to the imperialist slaughter under the banner of "National Defence." It assisted the bourgeoisie in the respective countries to carry out military intervention in the U.S.S.R. in 1918-20. It saved capitalism from proletarian revolution immediately after the war (Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Finland). It actively assisted the bourgeoisie to consolidate capitalist industry. It harnessed the masses of the workers to the yoke of capitalist rationalisation. It is now, in this period of severe crisis, exerting every effort to save the capitalist system of exploitation and slavery from impending destruction.

2. The whole development of Social Democracy from the time of the war and the rise of the Soviet Government of the U.S.S.R. is an uninterrupted process of evolution towards Fascism.

Its policy in regard to the **capitalist offensive against the working class** is a policy of direct and indirect support of wage-cuts, of reducing the whole system of social insurance, of supporting the new wave of ruthless rationalisation, the organisation of the sabotage and the breaking of strikes, the perfecting of arbitration as an instrument for strike-breaking and enslaving the working class.

In regard to the **economic and financial robbery** of the masses of the people, its policy is to render every support to the policy of the banks, the trusts and the cartels, the policy of high prices for all commodities for mass consumption, of tightening the screw of taxation, and active support for Protection.

In regard to **Colonial** plunder its policy is that of the direct suppression of the revolutionary movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, a policy that means tens of thousands of prisoners and mass shootings in India, the destruction of villages from aeroplanes, direct support for the executioners' Government of Chang Kai-shek and for the open war which foreign warships are conducting on the Yangtse against the Red Army in the South of China, the mass executions in Indo-China.

In regard to **imperialist plunder**, its policy is active and direct **co-operation** in the Versailles system, in the behind-the-scenes intrigues of profoundly secret diplomacy, support under the mask of "pacifism" for the bacchanalia of armaments and preparation for war, support for imperialist military alliances.

In **Great Britain**, the "Labour Party" on coming into power promised to relieve unemployment and improve the conditions of the unemployed, to fight against the lowering of the standard of living of the workers, peace with India, a firm policy of disarmament. In fact, in carrying out the rôle of the imperialist bourgeoisie, the "Labour" Government is carrying through capitalist rationalisation, reducing wages by means of arbitration, lengthening the working day (the Coal Mines Act), is reducing expenditure on social insurance, is drowning in blood the revolutionary movement for liberation in India, Egypt and the Arabian countries, is excelling the Baldwin Government in the construction and re-equipment of the navy, and is preparing jointly with French imperialism a united front of military intervention against the U.S.S.R. (the rôle of the Labour Government in the naval agreement between France and Italy).

In **Germany**, Social Democracy, since it left the Government recently, commenced through the medium of the Müller Government the first attack on social insurance, first commenced the construction of new cruisers, shot down the workers during the 1st May demonstration in 1929, proscribed the Red Front Fighters' League, persecuted the workers' press and suppressed workers' strikes. Dismissed from the Government by the bourgeoisie after it had carried through the Young Plan and the anti-labour "Defence of the Republic" Act, after it had paved the way by a number of reactionary measures for the Government that is to introduce the Fascist dictatorship (Brüning), Social Democracy, while in the Government (Prussia) and out of it, votes for all the anti-Labour laws of the Brüning Government, is the organiser of strike-breaking, and initiator of police terror against strikers and the unemployed, actively supports the arming of German imperialism

(the construction of new cruisers) and acts as the pace-maker in anti-Soviet propaganda and preparation for military intervention.

3. The whole of the counter-revolutionary anti-labour policy of international Social Democracy is crowned by the preparation for the **blockade and military intervention against** the first proletarian State in the world. The turn towards military intervention on the part of the world bourgeoisie,—who have lost hope in the capitalist degeneration of the U.S.S.R. and in the victory of the Right Wing elements in the C.P.S.U. — the general offensive against the capitalist elements now being carried out in the U.S.S.R. and the development of the revolutionary upsurge in the capitalist countries, have caused all the Parties of the II. International (primarily German Social Democracy which is the core of the II. International), to turn more sharply than ever towards intervention and sabotage in the U.S.S.R., for they realise that the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. will finally destroy their influence among the masses of the workers in the capitalist countries.

The trial of the All-Union Bureau of the Russian Menshevik Party (Social-Democrats) which disclosed the revolting hypocritical rôle played by Social Democracy, revealed also that the II. International, having set itself the aim of restoring capitalism in the U.S.S.R. by means of military intervention, utilised its counter-revolutionary agency in the U.S.S.R. for the purpose of organising sabotage in all spheres of industry; it tried to disrupt the organisation of supplies for the workers and peasants, it deliberately tried to reduce the real wages of the workers and **transformed itself into a shock brigade of world imperialism which is preparing for war against the U.S.S.R.**

4. Under pressure of the growing discontent of the workers and their mass desertion from Social Democracy the latter, revealing its impotence in the face of the crisis and unemployment, is compelled, in order to deceive the masses, to resort to "Left" demagogic manoeuvres and **in words** hypocritically advocates a shorter working day and a five-day week, extension of social-insurance, disarmament and a fight against Fascism. **In deeds**, however, by these manoeuvres Social Democracy **helps capitalism** to carry through its attack on the standard of living of the working class, to consolidate its dictatorship, to accelerate the fascisation of the bourgeois State, to suppress the mass resistance to Fascism, to retard the spontaneous striving of the broad masses of the workers for the united front and to conceal the preparations for war against the U.S.S.R.

All these and similar facts plainly reveal the counter-revolutionary rôle of international Social Democracy as the chief social support of the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the proletariat.

Therefore, the exposure of the Social Democrats, the exposure of the II. International, the liberation of the working

masses from the influence of Social Democracy, the isolation and overcoming of Social Democracy, is the immediate task for the Communist Parties. If this task is not fulfilled it will be impossible for the proletariat to carry on a successful struggle for liberation from the chains of capitalism.

#### IV.

#### **The Situation of the Sections of the C.I. and their Immediate Tasks.**

1. The XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. notes with satisfaction a number of important political and organisational achievements of the Sections of the Communist International. Since the X. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. the Right Wing elements in the C.P.S.U., which reflect the resistance of the capitalist-restoration elements in the U.S.S.R. to the Socialist offensive, have been utterly routed and the Right and Conciliatory groups in the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, which reflected within the Communist Movement the pressure of the capitalist offensive and Social Democracy, have also been defeated. All this, by facilitating the Bolshevik consolidation of the Sections of the Communist International on the basis of a successful struggle against the Right Wing Danger, which still remains the most serious danger, as well as against "Left" opportunism, which fosters the former, has created the condition for fulfilling the important task that confronts the Communist parties,—the winning of the majority of the working class by the independent leadership of mass struggles and the liquidation of the mass basis of Social Democracy for the purpose of overthrowing capitalism and establishing the Proletarian Dictatorship. The principal achievements in the Sections of the C.I. in the past period found their expression in the following :

- (a) The establishment of Soviets and of the Red Army in China, and the leading rôle the Communist Party is playing in the peasant revolution in China and in Indo-China ;
- (b) In the growth of the political influence of a number of Communist Parties : the growth of the mass influence of the Communist Party of Germany in the revolutionary struggle against the introduction of the Fascist dictatorship, the electoral victories (4.6 million votes), the successes in the factory committee elections in Germany and Czecho-Slovakia, the considerable growth, under the leadership of the Communist Parties, of the revolutionary unemployed movement, the successes of the Communist Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Bulgaria in the municipal elections, etc.
- (c) In the growth of the leading rôle of the Communist Parties in organising the resistance of the working class to the

capitalist offensive and the working class counter-offensive ; in the growth of the **independent** leadership by the Communist Parties (primarily of the Communist Party of Germany) of the economic struggles of the proletariat ;

- (d) In the successful carrying out of the general line of the V. Congress of the R.I.L.U. in regard to the formation of an **independent revolutionary Trade Union movement in Germany.**
- (e) In the growth of the political influence of the Communist Parties among the peasantry (for example the C.P. of Poland).
- (f) In the organisational growth of a number of Communist Parties (C.P. of China, C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia, C.P. of Italy, etc.). The Communist Party of Germany has made a considerable step forward in the direction of winning the majority of the working class, and its experience acquires considerable international significance.
- (g) In the formation of a Communist Party in India, which has issued a militant revolutionary programme, and in the strengthening of the Communist Party in Indo-China.

2. Simultaneously with these successes, the XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. has to record a number of serious weaknesses and shortcomings in the work of the majority of the Sections of the Comintern which, in the main, find expression in the lagging behind of the radicalisation of the masses, in the inadequate exposure of Social Democracy, and are the signals of a particularly serious danger in the conditions of the present higher stage of the class struggle. These shortcomings were expressed in the following :

- (a) In dragging at the tail of a number of important revolutionary movements, unemployed demonstrations, strikes and peasant movements ; in the weakness of the work of the Communist Parties in the rural districts and particularly among agricultural workers.
- (b) In lagging behind in the work of mobilising the masses on the basis of the **defence of the everyday needs of the workers**, in the inadequate linking of the struggle for these demands with the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship (**weak activity**, on the part of the majority of the Sections of the C.I. in regard to carrying through **International Unemployed Day** on 25th February).
- (c) In the impermissible passivity in resisting aggressive **Fascism** which occurred in Finland at the time of the Lapua coup d'etat, which was admitted and sharply criticised by the Central Committee and the Conference "of the C.P. of Finland."
- (d) In opportunist passivity in regard to work in the army, in regard to the struggle against the danger of imperialist war

and of military intervention in the U.S.S.R. (in particular the majority of the Communist Parties failed to make adequate use of the "Industrial Party" and Menshevik trials for the purpose of intensifying the work).

- (e) In the absolutely inadequate support rendered by the Communist Parties in the imperialist countries to the revolutionary movements for liberation in the colonies and semi-colonies and in the weak participation of the Communist Parties of the dominant nations in the revolutionary movements for liberation of the oppressed nations in Europe.
- (f) In the opportunist or sectarian underestimation and neglect of the exceptionally important work in the reformist unions; in the inadequate work in the factories, particularly in the big enterprises and decisive industries; the weak political life of the factory nuclei.
- (g) In the general weakness of organisational work and the continued weak organisational consolidation of the political influence of the Communist Parties and in the impermissible passivity in overcoming fluctuation of the Party membership.
- (h) In the mechanical application of **general** directives, without **concretising** them for the particular country and for the particular concrete circumstances of the class struggle.

Wherever the Communists failed to display adequate activity in the fight against the Right danger within the Party, where they applied the tactics of "class against class" in a stereotyped way, irrespective of the level of the Communist movement, and failed to concretise the application of these tactics to the special conditions prevailing in the country, where they completely identified Social Fascism with Fascism and the Social Fascist upper stratum with the rank and file Social Democratic masses of workers, the Communists allowed their independent leadership of class struggles and the aggressive character of their fight against Social Democracy to diminish, and as a consequence, allowed the latter to play off their manoeuvres of fictitious struggle against Fascism (Austria, Poland) and to deceive the masses who follow it.

3. Approving as a whole the general line and the work of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. in correcting the above mentioned weaknesses and shortcomings in the work of the Sections of the C.I., the XI. Plenum considers it necessary to concentrate the attention of the Communist Parties upon the following fundamental immediate tasks which arise from the new situation in the revolutionary class struggle.

The **principal** task that now confronts all the Communist Parties is to win the majority of the working class as an essential condition for victory over the bourgeoisie and for preparing the working class for the decisive battles **for the dictatorship of the proletariat**. The successful fulfilment of this principal task is

closely linked up with the consolidation of the independent revolutionary trade union movement, with the transformation, in the process of mass proletarian movements, of the revolutionary trade union oppositions and of the independent revolutionary trade unions, into genuinely mass organisations capable indeed of preparing for and leading the economic battles of the proletariat, and of becoming the principal transmission belts between the Communist Parties and the broad masses of the workers.

The uneven development of the crisis and of the revolutionary upsurge demands from each Communist Party, in preparing for mass actions, the **concrete** application of such forms of the **united front** from below as will create opportunities for drawing into the struggles the broad masses of working men and working women, the unemployed, the working class youth, office employees and other semi-proletarian strata. This simultaneously with the careful evaluation of the general situation, calls for an exact estimation of the situation and the relation of forces in the various branches of industry and in each enterprise, the estimation of all the peculiar features and conditions of the various strata of the working class and the application of corresponding concrete methods of struggle: economic strikes, short protest strikes, revolutionary demonstrations, mass political strikes, etc. This calls for a determined struggle against the Right danger, against every manifestation of opportunism, of dragging at the tail, passivity and sectarianism.

The fight for the majority of the working class as a condition for ensuring the dictatorship of the proletariat must be conducted by the Communist Parties at the present stage along the following main lines:

1. **The fight against the capitalist offensive and the organisation of a broad counter-offensive of the proletariat:** against wage cuts, for wage increases, against mass dismissals, for the 7-hour day without reduction of wages, for social insurance at the expense of the employers and the State, for immediate relief for the unemployed.

2. **The fight against the bourgeois dictatorship in all its forms:** against the terror of the employers and police, for the liberty of revolutionary workers' organisations, free press, free speech, right of assembly, for the immediate dissolution of Fascist organisations, for disarming the latter and the arming of the workers for defence against Fascist attacks, against imperialist terror in the colonies, propaganda, organisational preparation and carrying through of mass political strikes as a means of struggle of the working class against the political reaction of the bourgeois dictatorship in all its forms, the organisation of mass self-defence corps on a factory basis.

3. **Fight against imperialist war and military intervention against the U.S.S.R.:** exposure of the preparations for military intervention by the imperialist governments, fight against intervention in the Soviet Districts of China, the Communist Parties to take timely organisational measures in the event of their having to go underground, intensification of anti-militarist work, intensification of work among working class youth. For the purpose of winning the masses of the peasantry and of strengthening the leading role of the proletariat in the rural districts, the Communist Parties must render every support to lead and organise the struggle of the toiling peasantry against the burden of taxation, forced labour, rent and indebtedness, and link this movement with the struggle against the landlords, for the confiscation of the land without compensation, against the rule of the bourgeoisie—for a Soviet Government.

The XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. notes the inadequate work of the Communist Parties in regard to the struggle against the imminent danger of military intervention and imposes upon all the sections of the Comintern the duty of carrying on a most active struggle of defence of the Soviet Union, against imperialist war, for peace, and untiringly to expose the despicable pacifist manoeuvres of the Social Fascist Second International — the most active instigator and organiser of counter-revolutionary wars against the U.S.S.R.

In preparing and developing all forms of revolutionary action, it is absolutely necessary to carry on a fierce, consistent and all-round **struggle against the Social Democratic and Reformist leaders**; consistent work must be simultaneously carried on for winning over the Social Democratic workers and members of the reformist unions, on the basis of the tactics of the united front from below.

In exposing the manoeuvres of Social Democracy, in contrasting its "Left" phrases with its treacherous deeds, the sections of the C.I. must, on the basis of a concrete platform of everyday demands expose in a manner intelligible to the masses every single act of treachery on the part of Social Democracy, and organise a joint struggle with the Social Democratic workers against the capitalist offensive, against imperialist war and Fascist reaction.

Only by conducting persistent systematic and everyday struggle, only by really fighting for the everyday interests of the workers and utilising even the slightest signs of protest of the masses of the workers, against exploitation and Fascist reaction, will the Communist parties be able to achieve the broad united front from below, defeat Social Democracy, create mass revolutionary trade unions, or revolutionary trade union oppositions, win the majority of the working class and lead the working class to the decisive battle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

**RESOLUTION OF THE XI. PLENUM OF THE E.C.C.I. ON  
THE REPORT OF COMRADE CACHIN ON:**

**THE INCREASED DANGER OF INTERVENTIONIST WAR  
AGAINST THE U.S.S.R. AND THE TASKS OF THE  
COMMUNISTS.**

**I. Preparations for Armed Intervention Against the U.S.S.R.**

The danger of armed intervention against the U.S.S.R. has become a **direct danger for the whole of the world proletariat**. The relations between the capitalist and Socialist systems have entered a new **historical phase**. The proletariat of the U.S.S.R., in the period of extreme acuteness of the post-war crisis of capitalism, relying on the peasants in the Collective farms and the poor peasants in alliance with the middle peasants, with the assistance of the revolutionary proletariat of the capitalist world, is already **completing the foundations of Socialism on one-sixth of the globe**. The Leninist policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Central Committee, and the enthusiasm of the working class and of the broad masses of toiling peasants in the work of building up Socialism, have finally destroyed all the hopes of the capitalist world and the "forecasts" of the Trotskyists regarding the degeneration of Soviet economy into capitalism.

In these conditions, international imperialism again puts forward the question of solving the historical conflict between capitalism and Socialism by means of war. The successes of the **Five-Year Plan** of Socialist construction in town and country, which the masses of the workers contrast with the growing crisis and disintegration of capitalism, have in themselves become a danger to capitalism. The improvement in the standard of living of the workers in the U.S.S.R., on the one hand, and the unheard-of suffering, mass unemployment, want and Fascist tyranny which has increased out of all proportion in capitalist countries, owing to the world economic crisis of capitalism, on the other hand, strikingly illustrate the difference between the two world systems—Socialism and capitalism. The effort of capitalism to solve the crisis at the expense of the proletariat and the working peasants of all countries is leading to a general capitalist offensive on all fronts against the toiling masses of the capitalist countries and **simultaneously** and inseparably linked up with it, to the acceleration of war preparations against the U.S.S.R.

The growing world economic crisis and the struggle among the imperialist powers for markets intensify all imperialist antagonisms and cause them to become exceptionally acute. The danger of armed conflicts between the imperialist powers is growing. But the growing antagonism of interests between the imperialists does not diminish, but, on the contrary, increases the danger of a war of intervention against the U.S.S.R.

In the conflict between these two world systems—capitalism and Socialism, which are diametrically opposed in principle—the Second and Amsterdam Internationals are definitely on the side of capitalism in the work of preparing for intervention.

The French bourgeoisie—the chief organisers of the anti-Soviet war—have already created a number of political and military alliances for the purpose of encircling the U.S.S.R. (Poland-Rumania-Finland—the States of the Little Entente). The same aim of encircling the U.S.S.R. is pursued in the Pan-Europe scheme and also in the plans for a coalition of the so-called agrarian countries of South-Eastern Europe, etc. (Rumania, Hungary, Yugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, etc.). The **revision** and **supplementing** of the statutes and powers of the League of Nations also has the purpose of preparing the ground for openly organising a crusade against the U.S.S.R.

The feverish increase of **armaments**, the renewal and **extension of military alliances**, and the preparation of joint plans for mobilisation by the French General Staff, is putting the countries on the Western border of the U.S.S.R. in a state of military preparedness. During the last five years a new war industry has been created in these countries under the hegemony of the French and British war industry; while countries of the "second line" (Czecho-Slovakia, Sweden) have been converted into regular arsenals for the anti-Soviet war.

Strategic railroad lines are feverishly being laid down (Poland, Rumania, Yugo-Slavia), and naval harbours, new lines of fortification, military bridges, are being constructed, all in accordance with the plan of the attack on the U.S.S.R. Simultaneously with the feverish growth in the numerical strength and equipment of the standing armies, an extensive system of military training of the general population is being developed through the medium of Fascist sport and similar organisations. The French General Staff, and its touring generals, are drawing up plans for the united anti-Soviet operations of the armies of the States bordering on the U.S.S.R., under a single command. The remnants of the counter-revolutionary white guard armies of Kolchak, Denikin and Wrangel are continually financed by French imperialism and are maintained on a war footing so that they can be utilised—as was shown by the conflict on the Chinese-Eastern Railway—as an integral part of the interventionist armies that are to fight against the U.S.S.R. Fascist coups like those in Poland, Yugo-Slavia, Rumania and Finland are directly or indirectly the result of the influence of French and British imperialism and are closely connected with direct war preparations against the U.S.S.R.

**The Moscow trial of the Industrial Party**, the wrecking and espionage agency of French imperialism, glaringly exposed in the most concrete manner possible the direct military preparations against the U.S.S.R. For the purpose of drawing up plans

and directing military operations against the U.S.S.R., the French General Staff set up an International Commission, which included representatives of the British and Polish General Staffs. The supervision of wrecking and espionage work was conducted by the agents of the French General Staff. The date for military operations had already been fixed for 1930 or at latest, 1931.

In the U.S.A. the plans for military intervention against the U.S.S.R. were actively supported by the influential imperialist groups of Hoover.

The Hoover group set up a special organisation camouflaged by the name of the "Federal Farm Board," headed by Legge, Director of Supplies for the Allied armies during the imperialist war. This Federal Farm Board purchased stocks of provisions to the value of half a billion dollars for the purpose of supplying the interventionist armies. These supplies were purchased with extraordinary haste for delivery at the date fixed by the French General Staff for the commencement of military intervention, and were held in readiness in the ports on the Atlantic seaboard.

As part of the plan of war preparations, and as the direct preliminary to armed intervention, there has already been organised an **economic war against the U.S.S.R.** One wave of slanderous campaigns regularly succeeds another—the campaign around the alleged "abduction of General Koutepov" was followed by the campaign against the alleged "religious persecution" in the U.S.S.R.; this was followed by the campaign against "dumping" and soon after by the most stupid and infamous of all the campaigns, the campaign conducted by the exploiters of wage slaves against free Socialist Labour under the pretext of combatting alleged "forced labour" in the U.S.S.R. These despicable campaigns which were followed up with concrete measures of economic war against the U.S.S.R. in Europe and America clearly and openly pursue the aim of disrupting the **Five-Year Plan** of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. War has already been declared against Soviet exports by means of special laws prohibiting imports of Soviet goods and the license system on imports in France; the decree against "dumping" in Belgium; the decree against the import of products of "convict labour" of the U.S.S.R. in U.S.A. and Canada. The leading capitalist groups of the principal imperialist countries (chiefly France and Great Britain) are openly proclaiming the slogan of the **international organisation of this economic war**, the slogan of breaking relations with the U.S.S.R.

## II. The Rôle of Social Democracy in the Preparation for Military Intervention Against the U.S.S.R.

In this criminal work for the organisation of the economic blockade and the preparation for military intervention against the U.S.S.R., the **Second International and the Social Democratic**

**Parties play a direct and leading rôle for which they bear full responsibility.** These "Socialist" and Social Democratic Parties, who participated in previous armed interventions against the U.S.S.R., have been completely transformed into the most important instruments of the imperialist bourgeoisie for the ideological and political preparation of the blockade and the counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. In order to deceive the masses of toilers in capitalist countries they spread the silliest legends and vilest slanders, sometimes invented by themselves and sometimes borrowed from the arsenal of the bourgeoisie, about the "collapse" of the Soviet régime in the U.S.S.R. In order to belittle in the eyes of the toiling masses of capitalist countries, the tremendous achievements of the workers and the toiling peasants in the U.S.S.R. in the work of construction, the victorious advance of Socialism in town and country, the Social Democrats invented the legend about "Red Imperialism." Singing the praises of the pacifism of the League of Nations they try to persuade the Social Democratic workers to believe that "war is threatening from the East." From time to time they tour the States bordering on the U.S.S.R. in order to stir up a campaign of slander against the proletarian government (Vandervelde, Boncour, Abramovitch, Dan, etc.).

The parties of Social Fascism openly take the most direct part in carrying through the policy of armaments, blockade and intervention. The strongest party of the Second International, **the Social Democratic Party of Germany**, the partner of German militarism in concluding the Brest Peace, and in the occupation and plunder of the Ukraine, the representatives of which already in 1919 took part in leading the bands of Bermont and Von der Goltz in their attacks on the Soviet Republic, is the most active of all the parties in Germany which are organising the anti-Soviet front. The Social Democrats, Breitscheidt and Severing, are the initiators and the most active advocates of the policy of a *bloc* between imperialist Germany and the organisers of the international imperialist anti-Soviet front, reactionary military France, Poincaré, Tardieu and Briand. Breitscheidt, Wels and Hilferding gave the Russian Menshevik wreckers and interventionists instructions how to prepare the ground for intervention.

**The French Social Democrats** are the defenders of the most aggressive anti-Soviet policy of French imperialism. Boncour, the author of the law for the militarisation of the whole population of France, and Renaudel, the reporter for the Air Fleet Budget Commission in the French Parliament, are the pioneers of French imperialism and militarism. The French Socialists, under the leadership of Leon Blum and Albert Thomas, systematically carried out for the French Government preliminary work for preparing its vassal States on the borders of the U.S.S.R. for an anti-Soviet war, while day after day they lauded with hymns of praise the "pacifist" instigator of war against the U.S.S.R., Mons. Briand.

The leaders of the Polish Socialist Party in 1918-19 rejected the peace offers of the Soviet Government and took an active part in Pilsudski's campaigns against Vilna and Kiev. During the war against the U.S.S.R. in 1920 they, occupying leading positions in the Polish Government, supported the murderous gangs of Petlura and Balakovitch.

The Polish Socialist Party is now, as in the past, a strong support for the militarism of Pilsudski, which is directed against the U.S.S.R. This Party votes for the military budgets, recruits workers for the semi-military Fascist organisations, approves of all the anti-Soviet acts of provocation of Polish Fascism and takes an active part in all the anti-Soviet campaigns.

**The British Labour Government**, which was compelled under the pressure of the masses of the workers to stop sabotaging the resumption of diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R., is now persistently pursuing the policy of British imperialism, and is establishing the closest contacts with the French Government in order to organise the encirclement of the U.S.S.R.

In Australia the Labour Government of New South Wales, represented by its "radical" Premier, Lang, takes part in its agitation for an economic war against the U.S.S.R.

The leaders of the American Federation of Labour excel the bourgeoisie in their anti-Soviet campaign, and jointly with Fish and Co. are openly calling for an economic blockade of the U.S.S.R. The Socialist Party of America openly supports the anti-Soviet propaganda of the American Federation of Labour and of Fish and Co.

**The Czecho-Slovakian Social Democrats**, with greater zeal than that displayed by all other parties of Czecho-Slovakia, support the military alliance with French imperialism. This Party is the most active advocate of the policy which is converting Czecho-Slovakia into the arsenal and munition dump for Poland and Rumania against the U.S.S.R.

**The Belgian Social Democrats**, the advocates of the policy of alliance with bourgeois France, openly demand in Parliament war against Soviet imports.

**Austrian Social Democracy** makes hypocritical declarations against military intervention but in fact takes an active part in all the slanderous anti-Soviet campaigns conducted by the bourgeoisie and the Second International, the purpose of which is to prepare the ground for the military intervention of international imperialism against the land of the proletarian dictatorship.

**The Latvian and Finnish Social Democrats** openly demand that their members shall be accepted into the Fascist organisations which are the reserves of the regular anti-Soviet armies.

**The Rumanian Social Democrats** are the most zealous allies of the National Tsaranist government which is preparing an anti-Soviet war under French commanders.

**The Hungarian Social Democrats** are demanding a change in Hungarian foreign policy in the direction of an alliance with French imperialism, and the **Bulgarian Social Democrats** are doing the same in their country.

**The Danish Social Democratic Government** has made the shipping channels—the Belts and the Sound—accessible to the French Navy for penetration into the Baltic Sea.

**The Swedish Social Democrats** are representatives of Swedish military contractors for spreading inventions about the “aggressive designs of the U.S.S.R. against the Scandinavian countries,” for the purpose of concealing the supply of arms to the countries bordering on the U.S.S.R.

**The trial of the Russian Mensheviks**, who were working, as Vanderveelde declared, in “close contact” with the Second International, and whose work the Second International was “closely watching,” revealed that the Second International, jointly with the French General Staff and the Russian white guard emigrant organisation in Paris (Torgprom), organised the Russian Mensheviks as an agency for wrecking work, with the aim of preparing for military intervention. The emigrant organisation of the Russian Mensheviks, the so-called Foreign Delegation of the Mensheviks, is directly supported by the Second International as a wrecking agency for creating an economic crisis in, and preparing for armed intervention against the U.S.S.R. The Menshevik organisation in the U.S.S.R. was closely connected with the bourgeois organisation of wreckers and spies, the so-called “Industrial Party,” and through the latter with the French General Staff. The Trial demonstrated with great clearness that the verbal declarations made by the Second International against intervention are nothing more or less than a mask to deceive the workers and to conceal the real interventionist policy of the Second International. For, as the Mensheviks, Gromann and Sukhanov, declared: “it is impossible to prepare war against the U.S.S.R. without hiding these preparations from the proletarian masses.”

### **III. The Tasks of the Communists in the Fight Against the Preparations for Military Intervention.**

The fact that, in spite of the feverish preparations made by international imperialism and the Social Democratic parties of the Second International, war has not broken out, is due to the antagonism in the camp of the imperialists, and particularly to the readiness of the proletarian masses in the capitalist countries and

colonial countries to support the proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R., and to the consistent policy of peace pursued by the Worker and Peasant Government of the U.S.S.R.

In spite of the slanderous campaigns of the bourgeoisie and the Social Democratic parties regarding the policy of the C.P.S.U., the enormous achievements of the worker and peasant masses in the U.S.S.R., more and more win the sympathy of the toiling masses of the imperialist and colonial countries towards the U.S.S.R. The number of workers and peasants who are prepared to defend the U.S.S.R. actively and revolutionarily as their only Fatherland, is undoubtedly growing and far exceeds the political sphere of influence of the Communist Parties. It is beyond doubt also that the work of the Communist International in defence of the U.S.S.R. has become a most important factor for the preservation of peace, a factor which caused the postponement of the imperialist slaughter.

Nevertheless it must be stated that the intensity **of the struggle** against the danger of war and against the danger of intervention against the U.S.S.R. does not at all correspond to the intensity with which the imperialists are preparing for war against the U.S.S.R. The agitation against the war danger is not carried on systematically, and in many cases only from campaign to campaign. The fundamental weakness of the work of the Communists is that the concrete measures being taken in preparation for war in parliamentary commissions, in the imperialist armies and in the war industry, are not sufficiently exposed to the masses. The Communist Parties have not yet learned how to explain to the masses sufficiently clearly the connection that exists between the war preparations of the imperialists and the growth of the exploitation of the oppressed masses. They have not yet learned how to expose by concrete illustrations the fact that social democracy is the support of imperialism in the preparation for counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.

The XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. most emphatically emphasises that the activity of the Communist Parties in capitalist countries in the struggle against the war danger, **the activity of every single Communist**, will determine whether the sympathy which the broad masses of workers, the toiling peasants and the nations oppressed by the capitalist countries feel towards the U.S.S.R., will be converted into an active revolutionary struggle against preparations for war and the danger of a war of intervention against the U.S.S.R. The duty of every Communist Party, **of every Communist, is to expose the Social Democrats as the agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the preparations for military intervention against the working class of the U.S.S.R.; to expose their false pacifism as an organic and integral part of these war preparations, and to win the masses away from them.**

It is the duty of every Communist to expose the fact that the slogans of the bourgeoisie and social pacifists about "**Disarmament**," "**Reconciliation of Nations**," **reconciling ex-enemy nations** are not slogans for reconciling nations and securing peace, but a screen to conceal the front being organised against the U.S.S.R.

The XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls the attention of all Sections of the C.I. to the insufficient **popularisation of the teachings of Lenin on war**, and particularly to the **decisions of the VI. Congress of the C.I. on the methods of struggle against the war danger** and the danger of military intervention against the U.S.S.R. The slogan of converting imperialist war into civil war against the bourgeoisie at home must be popularised by means of oral and written propaganda among the broad masses of the people. The slogan of converting the war against the toilers of the U.S.S.R. into a war against the bourgeoisie at home, must become the most popular slogan among the vast masses of the workers in the capitalist countries.

The XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. emphasises the imperative necessity for a determined change in the direction of intensifying the anti-militarist work of the Communist Parties, and especially of the Communist League, as an integral part of the struggle against the danger of war and the menace of intervention.

The XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. reminds all Communists of the instructions of the II. Congress laid down by Lenin:

"The duty of spreading Communist ideas includes the special necessity of persistent systematic propaganda among the troops. Wherever this agitation is prohibited by exceptional laws, it must be carried on illegally. Refusal to carry out such work is tantamount to the betrayal of revolutionary duty and is **incompatible** with membership of the III. International." (Thesis on the conditions of admittance into the C.I., adopted at the II. Congress of the C.I.)

The XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls upon all Communists, upon all the workers and toilers of all countries to fight against the danger of war and to fight against the menace of military intervention, to defend the land of the first dictatorship of the proletariat, the Fatherland of the proletariat of all countries.

### **DECISION OF THE XI. PLENUM OF THE E.C.C.I. ON THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF INDO-CHINA, ICELAND AND CYPRUS INTO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.**

The XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. resolved:

The Communist Party of Indo-China, which has hitherto been a Section of the C.P. of France, is recognised as an independent section of the C.I.

The Communist Party of Iceland, which decided at its First Congress in November-December, 1930, to join the C.I., is accepted into the C.I.

The Communist Party of Cyprus, according to the decision of the C.C. C.P. of Cyprus to join the C.I., is accepted into the C.I.

This decision to be presented to the VII. Congress of the C.I. for confirmation.

### DECISION OF THE XI. PLENUM OF THE E.C.C.I. Re THE FINANCIAL REPORT OF THE E.C.C.I. FOR 1929 and 1930.

Having examined the financial report for 1929 and 1930, presented by the Polit-Secretariat of the E.C.C.I., the XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. resolves:—

- (a) To confirm the report as a whole;
- (b) To publish the Treasury Reports for 1929 and 1930.

#### TREASURY REPORT FOR 1929.

##### Revenue:

|   |            |              |
|---|------------|--------------|
| Carried over from 1928 .....  | 21,070.89  | Amer. dolls. |
| Membership dues—payments of 46 sections of the C.I. for 1,963,872 members of these sections (the Y.C.I. and three sections of colonial countries are exempt from paying membership dues. The other sections have not sent financial reports for 1929) ..... | 675,901.97 | ” ”          |
| Collections and donations .....   | 57,469.10  | ” ”          |
| Payments from publishing institutions, telegraph agencies, bulletins for press information .....  | 83,650.35  | ” ”          |
|   | <hr/>      |              |
|   | 838,092.31 | ” ”          |

##### Expenditure:

|   |            |              |
|---|------------|--------------|
| Administration expenses (staff, office expenses, etc.) .....                                  | 322,529.23 | Amer. dolls. |
| Expenses incurred for postage and telegrams .....   | 20,265.74  | ” ”          |
| Travelling Allowances .....   | 44,666.67  | ” ”          |
| Subsidies for Party newspapers, publishing depts. and for cultural and educational work ..... | 435,897.43 | ” ”          |
| Brought forward to 1930 .....   | 14,733.24  | ” ”          |
|   | <hr/>      |              |
|   | 838,092.31 | ” ”          |

## TREASURY REPORT FOR 1930.

### Revenue :

|   |                     |              |
|---|---------------------|--------------|
| Carried over from 1929 .....  | 14,733.24           | Amer. dolls. |
| Membership dues — payments of 49 sections of 2,518,637 members (the Y.C.I. and four sections of colonial countries are exempt from paying membership dues. The other sections have not sent financial reports for 1930) ..... | 956,009.32          | ,, ,,        |
| Collections and donations .....   | 65,481.74           | ,, ,,        |
| Payments from publishing institutions, telegraph agencies, bulletins for press information .....  | 60,006.80           | ,, ,,        |
|   | <u>1,096,231.10</u> | ,, ,,        |

### Expenditure :

|   |                     |              |
|---|---------------------|--------------|
| Administration expenses (staff, office expenses, etc.) .....  | 321,469.05          | Amer. dolls. |
| Expenses incurred for postage and telegrams .....   | 24,417.37           | ,, ,,        |
| Travelling Allowances .....   | 48,024.62           | ,, ,,        |
| Subsidies for Party newspapers, publishing departments, and for cultural and educational work ..... | 641,230.76          | ,, ,,        |
| Brought forward for 1931 .....  | 61,089.30           | ,, ,,        |
|   | <u>1,096,231.10</u> | ,, ,,        |

## COMPOSITION OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE E.C.C.I.

### MEMBERS.

1. Arnot
2. Barbé
3. Cachin
4. Chuan-Pin
5. Ercoli
6. Foster
7. Garlandi
8. Gottwald
9. Guttmann
10. Katayama
11. Kolarov
12. Kun, Bela
13. Kuusinen
14. Lensky
15. Losovsky
16. Manuilsky
17. Piatnitsky
18. Pieck
19. Pollitt
20. Prukhnjak
21. Randolph
22. Remmele
23. Sillen
24. Smeral
25. Stalin
26. Su
27. Thälmann
28. Thorez
29. Chemodanov
30. Zetkin

### CANDIDATES.

1. Boshkovitch
2. Bratkovsky
3. Browder
4. Celor
5. Florin
6. Furini
7. Furuboten
8. Gussev
9. Knorin
10. Koplenig
11. Müller
12. Neumann

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. has elected the **Political Secretariat** as follows, at its meeting of April 15th, 1931:—

### MEMBERS.

1. Chuan-Pin
2. Ercoli
3. Guttmann
4. Knorin
5. Kuusinen
6. Lensky
7. Manuilsky
8. Piatnitsky
9. Pieck
10. Pollitt
11. Randolf
12. Thälmann
13. Thorez

### CANDIDATES.

1. Arnot
2. Bratkovsky
3. Celor
4. Furini
5. Losovsky
6. Chemodanov

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