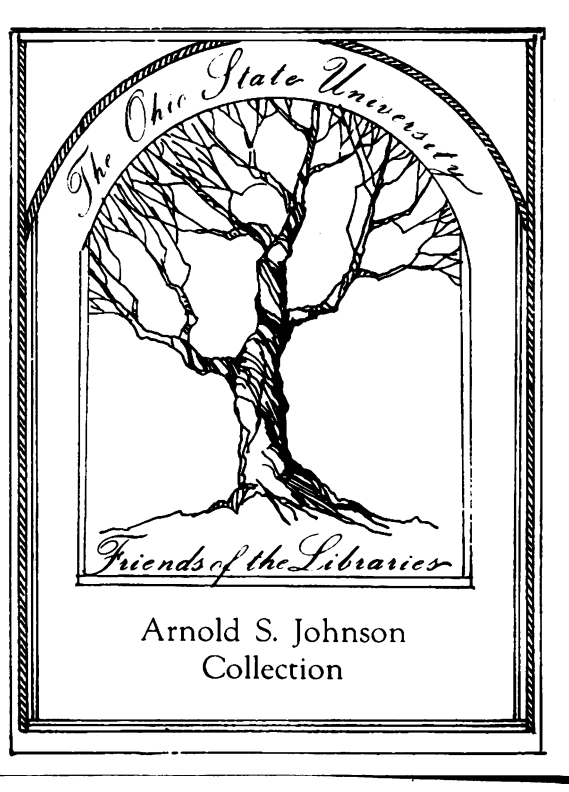
TWELFTH PLENUM OF THE E.C.C.I.

CAPITALIST STABILIZATION HAS ENDED

THESIS AND RESOLUTIONS



The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. was held in Moscow, September, 1932.

CAPITALIST STABILIZATION HAS ENDED

Thesis and Resolutions of the Twelfth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

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Contents

Statement of the Twelfth Plenum of the E. C. C. I.

The Twelfth 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 Twelfth Plenum:

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

2. Report of Comrade *Thalman* (C.P. of Germany) on the lessons of economic strikes and the struggle of the unemployed; also joint reports by Comrade Lenski (C.P. of Poland) and Comrade Gottwald (C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia) on the strike movement and the struggle of the unemployed in Poland and Czecho-Slovakia.

3. Report of Comrade *Okano* (C.P. of 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 to carry on in connection with this anniversary a mass campaign 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 Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. are being published simultaneously with the press statement.

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

Capitalist Stabilization Has Ended

(Thesis of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the Report of Comrade Kuusinen)

I. THE END OF CAPITALIST STABILIZATION AND THE GROWTH OF THE U.S.S.R.

THE sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism is proceeding with enormous strides which are carrying this crisis to a new stage. The fundamental changes which are taking place in the world situation are characterized by a number of recent important facts.

1. A tremendous change has taken place in the relations of forces between the Socialist and the capitalist worlds, due primarily to the increase in 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. That country has completely established itself in the positions of Socialism; the second Five-Year Plan provides for the final abolition of classes and for the conversion of the whole of the toiling population of the country into active and conscious builders of a classless Socialist society. The successes achieved in Socialist construction are securing to an increasing degree the economic independence of the Soviet Union in relation to the capitalist world, and its international might, its revolutionizing influence on the toilers and the exploited of all countries and its significance as the basis of the world Socialist revolution have increased.

2. Meanwhile, in the capitalist world there has been a continuation of:

a) *the sharpening of the economic crisis*—industry has contracted to such a degree that more than half of the working class is partially or totally unemployed; the expropriation and impoverishment of the peasants has reached unprecedented dimensions;

b) *the growing revolutionary upsurge* both in imperialist and colonial countries (stubborn and turbulent strikes, revolutionary demonstrations, fierce clashes between the workers and the police and fascists, militant activity by the peasant masses, etc.); the sharpening of the struggle of the colonial peoples against the imperialists;

c) *a further sharpening of the antagonisms between the imperialist powers* (trade war, acceleration of the imperialist race for armaments, rifts in the Versailles system, the Japanese war against China, an acute sharpening of the relations between Japan and U.S.A., between Great Britain and U.S.A., between Italy and France, between Germany and France, etc.);

d) *intensified preparation for a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.*

3. The domination of monopoly capital which, at the present day, has brought under its sway almost the whole economy of capitalist society, makes it extremely difficult, in the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, to overcome the economic crisis in the way that was usual for capitalism in the period of free competition. The more the financial oligarchy succeed in grabbing for themselves, at the expense of others, the larger share of the declining aggregate profits of the upper stratum, the more they rob the toilers, and the higher the tariff walls are raised, to this extent home and foreign markets are still further restricted and the crisis is further deepened. This, however, does not imply that capitalism will break down automatically; it implies the inevitable further growth of the revolutionary upsurge and a further sharpening of the fundamental antagonisms which drive the bourgeoisie to seek a violent solution of these antagonisms, both within their own countries and on the international arena.

4. All these facts taken together completely confirm the estimate of the tendencies of development given in the decisions of the X and XI Plenums of the E.C.C.I., and also reveal, in the course of the development of the general crisis of capitalism, a definite *change*,

a peculiar swaying of the antagonistic forces, very rapid in some places and slow in others. In certain extremely important key points, the antagonistic forces are already becoming unleashed for the conflict. 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.

This transition, which in international relations is especially accelerated by the military aggression of Japan and France, is taking place in the form of an uneven process in the various countries. 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.

II. THE DANGER OF A NEW WORLD WAR, THE WAR OF JAPAN AGAINST CHINA, THE NEW PHASE IN THE PREPARATIONS FOR INTERVENTION AGAINST THE U.S.S.R.

1. The fierce struggle the imperialists are waging for markets and colonies, the tariff wars and the race for armaments, have already

led to the immediate danger of a new imperialist world war. 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, U.S.A. and Italy. Germany demands the equal status of an imperialist power (the annulment of reparations, equality of armaments, the revision of Eastern frontiers, etc.), while Poland is preparing to seize Danzig and East Prussia. Thus Germany is one of the main centres of the sharpest and most intense world imperialist conflicts.

2. The seizure of Manchuria by Japan and the attack on Shanghai have upset the compact that has hitherto existed between the U.S.A., Japan and Great Britain regarding the establishment of spheres of influence in China. Japanese imperialism, in alliance with France and with the actual support of England, is converting Manchuria into its colony and has thus put the armed struggle for the partition of China and intervention against the U.S.S.R. on the order of the day. The League of Nations, acting at the behest of France and England, supports Japan. The United States, in pursuing its imperialist aims in the Far East, openly threatens another race for armaments. The agglomeration of antagonisms in the Pacific form the chief hotbed for breeding a new imperialist world war.

3. For the purpose of *preparing a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.,* under the cloak of the peace declarations of the League of Nations and the Second International there is proceeding the concentration of the Japanese army in Manchuria, the formation and arming of white guard units in the Far East, and also the organization of an expeditionary army in France, feverish preparations of the army in Poland, Rumania, Latvia, Esthonia and Finland, and the strengthening and activization of specially selected fascist formations, unceasing provocation, etc. It is only the firm peace policy pursued by the U.S.S.R., and the fears the bourgeoisie entertain of the prospects of imperialist war being converted into civil war and of colonial uprisings, that restrain them from slipping into war and intervention.

4. Under these circumstances of rapidly approaching criminal war,

especially hastened by fascism, the Communist Parties must, as an offset to the abstract and hypocritical pacifist statements of the social democrats, commence a real struggle against the preparations of war. The E.C.C.I. imposes the duty upon all Communist Parties to apply with the greatest persistence and energy the decisions of the Comintern on the question of struggle against imperialist war and intervention.

III. BOURGEOIS DICTATORSHIP, NATIONALISM, FASCISM AND SOCIAL FASCISM

1. The bourgeois dictatorship continues to undergo transformation in the direction of the further strengthening of political reaction and the fascization of the State and in this is revealing a contraction of the basis of bourgeois rule and manifestations of fissures and disintegration. The bickerings in the camp of the bourgeoisie frequently result in splits into hostile camps (Germany, Finland, Yugo-Slavia), in some cases—the assassination of prominent bourgeois politicians (Japan). As a rule, the bourgeoisie are finding it more and more difficult to smooth over the conflicts which arise among them.

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. But while doing this, the bourgeoisie do not cease to utilise parliament and the services of the Social Democratic Party to deceive the masses.

In Germany, in an atmosphere of sharpening antagonisms abroad and extreme tension in class relations at home, the von-Papen-Schleicher government, with the help of the Reichswehr, the "Steel Helmet," and the National Socialists has established a form of fascist dictatorship, for which the social democrats and the Centre prepared the way. The further development or breakdown of this dictatorship depends on the revolutionary struggle of the working class against fascism in all its forms.

In those countries where a fascist dictatorship existed before the

world economic crisis, a *process* of disintegration of fascism is observed as a consequence of the growing revolutionary mass upsurge (Poland, Yugo-Slavia, Italy).

2. The destruction caused by the present world economic crisis, the breakdown of the economic contacts of world capitalism and the sharpening of the struggle for markets favor the spread of *nationalism and chauvinism* among the ruling nations. In Germany a wave of chauvinist sentiments and passions has arisen out of the hatred which has accumulated against the humiliating and predatory conditions of the Versailles peace treaty, and out of the impotent desire for "revenge" combined with fear of the prospects of the further decline and collapse of German capitalism. In France, chauvinism is cloaked by the slogan of "safety of the frontiers," in Great Britain, by the theory of "unity of the Empire," in Japan, by the Pan-Asiatic idea, in Italy, by the theory of over-population, etc. A stubborn struggle must be carried on everywhere for internationalism and against the dangerous ideology of chauvinism, and account must be taken of the peculiar character and the special forms of chauvinism in each separate country.

3. *Both fascism and social fascism* (social democracy) stand for the maintenance and the strengthening of capitalism and bourgeois dictatorship, but from this position they each adopt different tactical views. In view of the fact that the position of the ruling bourgeoisie of every country is one of inherent contradictions at the present time, which compels them now and again to manœuvre between a course for determined struggle against their enemies at home and abroad, and the more prudent course, this inherent contradiction in the position of the bourgeoisie is also reflected in the difference in the positions taken up by fascism and social fascism. The social fascists prefer a moderate and "lawful" application of bourgeois class coercion, because they do not want to contract the basis of the bourgeois dictatorship; they guard its "democratic" drapings, and strive chiefly to preserve its parliamentary forms, for without these, the social fascists would be hampered in carrying out their special function of deceiving the *working masses.* At the same time, the social fascists restrain the workers from revolutionary action against

the capitalist offensive and growing fascism, play the part of a screen behind which the fascists are able to organize their forces, and build the road for the fascist dictatorship.

4. To the extent that the economic policy of monopolist capital is adapted to the special conditions and difficulties of the economic crisis, *social democracy adapts its ideology* to the requirements of the crisis policy of the financial oligarchy. The social-democratic leaders are again unearthing their threadbare slogans of the *nationalization* of certain branches of industry. In reality, in capitalist countries, the nationalization of private enterprises is not increasing. On the contrary, state and municipal undertakings are being handed over to private capital. In those places where so-called state interference does exist, state subsidies and other government measures are employed, not for the purpose of establishing state control over private monopolies, but for the purpose of establishing the direct control of the private monopolists over the state. The leaders of the Second International not only disguise, but even give direct support to this policy of finance oligarchy (in the name of "Socialism"!) and invent new theories for its justification. They even draw up for the bourgeoisie ultra-reactionary schemes of forced labor and present these quack schemes as plans to establish Socialism under capitalism.

5 The mass influence of the social fascists has declined. For that very reason their manœuvres have become more energetic and varied (leading the strikes with the aim of throttling them, in some cases even demonstrative declaration of general strike, sham fight against fascism, for peace, in defense of the U.S.S.R., etc.). In these manœuvres particular zeal is displayed by the "left" social-democratic groups, who simultaneously carry on a frenzied campaign of slander against the Communist Party and the U.S.S.R. Only by taking fully into account the variety of the forms of the policy and manœuvres of the social fascists in all their concreteness will the Communists be able really to expose and isolate the social fascists. Only by directing the main blows against social democracy, this social mainstay of the bourgeoisie—will it be possible to strike at and defeat the chief class enemy of the proletariat—the bourgeoisie. And only by *strict differentiation between social-democratic leaders and workers*

will the Communists be able, by means of the united front from below, to break down the wall which often separates them from the social-democratic workers.

IV. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE AND THE PREPARATION FOR THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

1. The growth of the revolutionary upsurge has become particularly evident since the Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in the following countries:

China: a mass upsurge of the anti-imperialist struggle, the development of the Soviet movement and great successes of the heroic Chinese Red Army. *Spain*: a rapid growth of the mass movement with the tendency to develop into a popular armed uprising. *Poland*: a wave of mass strikes, numerous militant actions by the peasants, and the rise of a new wave of the national revolutionary movement in the outlying regions of the country. *Germany*: an increase in the mass influence of the Communist Party; social-democratic workers, in spite of their leaders, have begun to resist the terror of fascist gangs. *Great Britain*: strike in the Navy; turbulent workers' demonstrations in Autumn 1931 and the strike movement in Lancashire. *Czecho-Slovakia*: general miners' strike in North Bohemia and a revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants in Carpatho-Ukraine. *France*: big strikes in the North; disruption of the military air manœuvres. *U.S.A.*: big strikes and unemployed demonstrations, the march of the war veterans to Washington and the militant actions of the farmers. *Belgium*: the General Miners' strike, which is of foremost international importance. In most capitalist countries, the strike struggles were accompanied by fierce clashes with the police and strike-breakers. *Japan*: the militancy of the workers, peasants, soldiers and students has broken through the military and police terror. *India*: an increase of revolutionary unrest in the towns and villages and stubborn mass strikes. In many countries the struggles of the proletariat are interwoven with the mass revolutionary fights of the peasants.

2. During this period the Communist Parties have increased their

strength. In Germany, the Party achieved great successes in the last Reichstag elections, and the anti-fascist struggle is developing under the leadership of the Party on the basis of the united front from below. A growth of the mass influence of the Communist Parties is observed in China, Poland and Bulgaria. In France, in spite of the fact that the Communist Party lost considerably in the parliamentary elections and that the membership of the Unitary Confederation of Labor has declined, there is a considerable upsurge of the revolutionary anti-war movement. In a number of countries (Czecho-Slovakia, Spain, Finland) development is uneven as between district and district. Despite the weakness of the mass influence of Communist Parties in a number of countries, the 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.

3. 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 is it necessary, without losing a moment, to *intensify and accelerate our Bolshevik mass work* to win over the majority of the working class, to increase the revolutionary activity of the working class. The opponents of the revolutionary movement have not yet lost the support of an enormous section of organized and unorganized workers, and this circumstance, which enables them to impede the revolutionization of the proletariat, constitutes the fundamental danger from the point of view of preparing for the victory of the proletariat. Hence the necessity for really carrying out the task of winning over the majority of the working class,—which was put in the forefront at the X and XI Plenums of the E.C.C.I.

4. The successful accomplishment of this task requires that every Communist Party shall establish, extend and strengthen *permanent*

and intimate contacts with the *majority* of the workers, wherever workers may be found. For this it is first of all necessary: a) to organize on a sound basis constant Bolshevik work among non-Communist workers in the factories, in the reformist and other trade unions, and among the unemployed, and systematically to expose the treachery of the social-democratic and reformist leaders, and to win over the workers who have come under the influence of the fascists; b) to defend the everyday interests of the workers, to be able to respond to every attack of the class enemy, always putting forward *concrete slogans* as will effectively mobilize the masses for struggle; systematically to pursue the policy of the *united front from below,* to establish an alliance between the proletariat and the small farmers, to draw into the struggle the office workers and exploited sections of the urban petty-bourgeoisie under the leadership of the proletariat; c) *to strengthen the Communist Party itself,* by training cadres, who are closely connected with the masses and trusted by them.

5. In the practical work of our Parties it is necessary to put an end to a number of repeated weaknesses and mistakes which hinder the development of their mass work. The chief of these shortcomings and mistakes are as follows: most of our Party workers are isolated from the reformist and other non-Communist workers; work in the reformist unions meets with actual resistance; agitation is abstract and stereotyped, and this applies also to the press, and especially to slogans; there is a lack of ability to defend in a practical manner the vital interests of the workers and to take advantage of practical causes which specially excite the workers, for the purpose of organizing the activity of really broad masses, using various forms of the struggle according to the situation: there is a lack of bold application of the forms and methods of proletarian democracy for the purpose of building up the united front from below; and on the other hand, there is an opportunist slurring over of differences of principle when applying the tactics of the united front; there is a lack of ability to combine the struggle against the employers, the government and the fascists, with the struggle for winning the workers away from the influence of the social-fascist agents of the bourgeoisie; there are shortcomings and mistakes in the tactics and strategy of strikes; there

is a lack of ability to develop the movement of the broad masses from comparatively elementary movements to higher and higher forms of struggle, big economic and political strikes and other revolutionary actions.

6. The XII Plenum emphasized the importance and the urgent necessity of overcoming these shortcomings and mistakes in the practice of the Communist Parties. There must be determined dissociation from Right opportunist "tailism" which frequently manifests itself in capitulatory moods, in disbelief in the possibility of revolutionizing the reformist working masses, and from "left" opportunist subjectivism which wishes to substitute for the necessary, difficult work of the Bolshevik education and mobilization of the masses and of really developing these struggles by the organization and the winning of the leadership of the everyday struggle of the workers and peasants by empty phrases about developing revolutionary struggles. The correct Bolshevik mass policy can be carried out only in an irreconcilable struggle against the right opportunism as the chief danger and against "left" deviations from the line of the Comintern.

The present situation is pregnant with unexpected outbreaks and sharp turns of events. This makes it necessary for every Communist Party to be prepared to change the forms and methods of struggle in the event of a rapid revolutionization of the situation, and if sufficient contacts with the masses are lacking, to secure in the process of the struggle itself, the establishment and strengthening of contact with the majority of workers.

V. THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE SECTIONS OF THE C. I.

1. The general task of the Comintern and its sections in all capitalist countries at the present time is to wage a concrete struggle: a) *against the capitalist offensive;* b) *against fascism and reaction;* c) *against the impending imperialist war and intervention in the Soviet Union.*

The proper conduct of this struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie is closely linked up with the *winning over of the majority of the working class,* the undermining and smashing of the mass

influence of *social democracy.* The main link which the Communist Parties must seize upon in solving this problem is the struggle for the everyday economic and political interests of the broad masses against the increasing poverty, against oppression, violence and terror. This is particularly important in the conditions of the end of capitalist stabilization, of the sharp contraction of the material basis of reformism and the cynical betrayal of the interests of the workers by social democracy, and when the struggle for the elementary needs of the masses brings the masses into conflict with the very foundations of the existence of capitalism. Only by relying on the struggle for the everyday interests of the masses can the Communist Parties defend and strengthen the position of the working class, and lead it up to ever higher forms of struggle and to the decisive battles for the dictatorship of the proletariat. When the proper conditions for it exist, the preparation and calling of a mass political strike is one of the most essential and immediate links in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. It is necessary to conduct systematic propaganda about the proletarian dictatorship and to popularize the *Soviet Union,* where the proletariat is successfully building a classless Socialist society.

2. The specific tasks of the major Communist Parties are as follows:

C. P. of Germany: To mobilize the vast masses of toilers in defense of their vital interests, against the bandit policy of monopolist capital, against fascism, against the emergency decrees, against nationalism and chauvinism, and by developing economic and political strikes, by struggle for proletarian internationalism, by means of demonstrations, to lead the masses to the point of the general political strike: to win over the bulk of the social-democratic masses, and definitely overcome the weaknesses of trade union work. The chief slogan which the C.P.G. must put forward to offset the slogan of the fascist dictatorship (the "Third Empire") and the slogan of the Social Democratic Party (the "Second Republic") is the slogan of *the workers and peasants republic, i.e.,* Socialist Soviet Germany, which will guarantee the possibility of the voluntary affiliation of the people of Austria and other German territories.

C. P. of France: To turn its work in the direction of defending the interests of the workers and peasant masses (fight against wage cuts, for social insurance, for immediate relief for the unemployed, against the burden of taxes, etc.) and to link up this defense with the struggle against the Versailles system, against the subjection of Alsace-Lorraine and the colonies, and against the war policy of French imperialism. To re-orientate the Party, the Unitary trade unions and the Young Communist League in this direction; to overcome the sectarianism of its young cadres by persistent mass work, and re-educate them on the basis of a broad policy of elections and of winning the confidence of the rank and file masses, and patiently and tirelessly fight for the liberation of the syndicalist and socialist workers from their reformist, parliamentary and pacifist illusions.

C. P. of Poland: To widen the front of economic and political strikes; destroy the mass influence of the P.P.S., to lead the peasant activities throughout Poland; to overcome the weakness of the Party in the big factories, on the railroads and in the army. If suitable conditions arise, the Party must take the initiative in calling a general strike. It must mobilize the broad masses of town and country against the criminal policy of anti-Soviet war and conduct a persistent ideological struggle against the nationalist prejudices of the Polish workers, peasants and the petty-bourgeoisie.

C. P. of Czecho-Slovakia: To further develop economic and political struggles on the basis of the united front from below, linking up this struggle with the exposure of the role of the Czecho-Slovakian government as the tool of French imperialism. Intensify the struggle against social democracy, systematically overcome all tendencies towards passivity and "tailism," win the leadership of the struggles and organizationally consolidate the mass influence the Communist Party and the red trade unions have won in the course of the struggles.

C. P. of Italy: The Party must come out from underground by developing the mass struggle against the fascist dictatorship on the basis of the defense of the everyday interests of the toilers, taking advantage of fascist meetings, organizing impromptu meetings in the factories, penetrating into the fascist trade unions, cultural and co-

operative organizations, preparing and carrying on strikes and demonstrations. Mass illegal work must be increased to the maximum extent.

C. P. of Spain: Steering a course for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants in the form of Soviets, the Party must create basic organizational strongholds for the mass movement of the toilers in the form of factory committees, unemployed committees, peasant committees, elected committees of soldiers; it must overcome sectarian aloofness and anarchist habits of work.

C. P. of Great Britain: A sharp turn must be made towards work in the reformist trade unions and in the factories, and to rouse the working masses, on the basis of the united front from below, for a struggle: 1. against the new capitalist offensive on the wages of the workers and unemployment insurance benefits; 2. against the government policy of supporting and encouraging the anti-Soviet aggression of Japanese and French imperialism; 3. for the independence of the British colonies and Ireland.

C. P. of U.S.A.: The American Party must mobilize the masses and concentrate chiefly on the struggle: 1. for social insurance, against wage cuts, for immediate assistance for the unemployed; 2. for assistance for the ruined farmers; 3. for equal rights for the Negroes and the right of self-determination for the Black Belt; 4. for the defense of the Chinese people and the Soviet Union. It is necessary to carry out the decision on the turn in the work of the Party and the Trade Union Unity League.

C. P. of Japan: The Japanese Party has the task of transforming its struggle against war and the seizure of the territory of China into a real mass movement of the workers and peasants, linking it up closely with the struggle for the immediate needs of the masses. Workers' and Peasants' Self-Defense Committees and the combined action of villages must be organized against the forcible collection of rents and taxes from the peasants and the seizure of land from tenants; the Party must explain to the masses the necessity for a revolutionary struggle for the confiscation of the land of the landlords without compensation for the benefit of the peasants.

C. P. of China: 1. To mobilize the masses under the slogan of

the national revolutionary struggle against the Japanese and other imperialists and for the independence and integrity of China; 2. to develop and unite the Soviet territories, to strengthen the Red Army; 3. to fight for the overthrow of the Kuomintang regime; 4. to pursue a resolute policy of converting the red trade unions into mass organizations, to win over the workers belonging to the Kuomintang unions; 5. to develop the guerilla movement, putting forward in Manchuria slogans calling for the formation of peasant committees, for boycotting taxes and government decrees, for confiscating the property of the agents of the imperialists, for the establishment of an elected people's government; 6. the popularization of the achievements of the Soviet districts and the slogan of the fraternal alliance of the workers and peasants of China with the U.S.S.R.

C. P. of India: To strengthen the Communist Party, politically and organizationally; to train Bolshevik cadres, to wage a stubborn struggle in the reformist trade unions, develop a wide anti-imperialist front, to liberate the masses from the influence of the National Congress, to make agitational and organizational preparations for a general strike, to give the greatest possible support to the peasant movement for the non-payment of taxes, rent and debts, to popularize the basic slogans and tasks of the agrarian revolution.

3. In regard to *organization,* the chief tasks of the Sections of the C.I. are: a) carefully to conceal the Communist nuclei in the factories, combining this with fearless mass work; b) to immediately proceed to form strictly secret nuclei in military units and the militarized organizations of the bourgeoisie in munition factories, on the railroads and in the ports; c) to wage a determined struggle against provocation in all forms; d) to take measures to insure that the Party can promptly pass to an illegal basis in case of necessity; e) to transform the Party press into real mass organs which must deal with all questions that concern the workers in simple language intelligible to the workers; f) there must be a thorough elimination from the leadership of all branches of Party work of *super-centralism,* of the mere issuing of orders. The maintenance of a big central apparatus while the local organizations are bereft of forces must not be permitted.

The E.C.C.I. insists on the Y.C.L. being converted into a real

mass organization, and imposes on all the Communist Parties the duty of securing an improvement in the political mass work among the youth and the strengthening of the Party leadership of the work of the Y.C.L. Equally, the Comintern insists on the conversion of the sports leagues, and the I.L.D. (I.R.A.) into real mass organizations. Once and for all an end must be put to the underestimation of work among proletarian women, which is specially important at the present time. Working women must be mobilized on the basis of delegate meetings, this work to be regarded as general Party work. A chain of Party schools must be organized for the purpose of educating the newly recruited Party members and the new *cadres* who must also be drawn into the everyday revolutionary work among the broad masses.

Inner Party democracy, Bolshevik self-criticism, the discussion of the most important political problems in the lower Party organizations, concrete leadership of their work, all this must be the basis of all Party activity. This also is a necessary condition for strengthening iron Bolshevik discipline in the ranks of the Party.

A relentless struggle must be waged against all distortions of Marxism-Leninism, for the purity of Party theory in the spirit outlined in Comrade Stalin's letter. Propaganda must be carried on for the principles of Communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet state.

* * * *

The crisis has shaken the capitalist system to its very foundations. In the Soviet Union, Socialism is achieving victories of world historic importance. The forces of social revolution are growing and rising the world over. But at the same time the attack of world counter-revolution is becoming fiercer. The imperialist governments are ready to plunge the nations into the most criminal of all criminal, predatory wars.

The Sections of the C.I. must answer this challenge of the world bourgeoisie by intensifying to the utmost their Bolshevik work, by

hastening the revolutionization of the broad masses, developing and leading the class struggles of the toilers on the basis of the united front from below, by leading the working class to mass political strikes, winning over the majority of the working class and directing the whole movement of the exploited classes and the oppressed peoples along the channel of the World Socialist Revolution.

The Lessons of Economic Strikes and the Struggles of the Unemployed

(Resolution Adopted by the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.)

I. THE GROWTH OF THE REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE AND THE CHARACTER OF STRIKE STRUGGLES AND THE STRUGGLES OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

The growth of the revolutionary upsurge in the sphere of the economic struggle of the proletariat is expressed in the development of the *mass* strike movement (Spain, China, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Japan, France, Belgium, Bulgaria, England, India, U.S.A., etc.,), in the inclusion of *new sections* of the proletariat in the economic struggle in countries where the crisis developed late (the miners' strike in Borinage, Belgium, the textile strike in Tvent in Holland, the paper makers' strike in Odalen in Sweden, the fitters' strike in Zurich, Switzerland), in the *rapid* conversion of small economic movements into mass economic and political strikes (Brucks, Borinage, etc.,), in the increase in the *role* of the Communist Parties and revolutionary trade union movement in strike struggles and in the struggle of the unemployed, in the rise of a *new, non-party group of worker activists* who fight heroically against the attacks of capital in spite of and against the reformist trade union bureaucrats.

The Communist vanguard and the revolutionary trade union movement, however, has not since the Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. succeeded in rousing the majority of the working class to the struggle against the unceasing attacks of capital. The chief cause of the insufficient development of economic struggles is the still unsatisfactory application of the line of independent leadership of economic struggles, on the basis of the tactics of the united front from below, in

the underestimation of partial struggles, in the weak contacts with the masses in the factories and among the unemployed, in the weakening of revolutionary positions inside the reformist trade unions, in the inability to expose the manoeuvres of the reformist trade union bureaucrats, in capitulation to reformist trade union bureaucrats, openly or concealed by "left" phrases.

On the basis of the experience of all the big strike movements, since the Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and in view of certain new objective difficulties that have arisen, and also the new and growing possibilities, the Communist Parties, which, while being among the masses must always march *at the head* of the masses, must organize the struggle of the proletariat for the smallest every-day demands of the workers, must be ready quickly to take the leadership of all forms of the spontaneous movement against the capitalist offensive, and to raise the political level of the movement, extending the partial fights of the proletariat to the greatest possible extent and directing them along the channel of the mass political strike.

The economic struggle of the proletariat is assuming more and more a *revolutionary* character, and combining, in an increasing number of cases with various elements and forms of political activity, is, at the present stage, in the overwhelming majority of capitalist countries, the *fundamental line* for leading the masses to the forthcoming big revolutionary battles. *The greatest possible development and strengthening* of the struggle of the proletariat against wage cuts and the worsening of the conditions of labor, the exertion of all the efforts of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union organizations to ensure the independent leadership of strike struggles and the unemployed movement, the raising of the fighting capacity of the masses, leading them on the basis of their own experience from the struggle for every-day partial demands to the struggle for the general class tasks of the proletariat represent *the chief tasks* for all sections of the Communist International, especially under the conditions of the end of capitalist stabilization.

II. THE FIGHT AGAINST THE CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE AND THE TACTICS OF THE UNITED FRONT.

The experience of a number of strike movements since the Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. (Brucks, Borinage, the tramway strike in Warsaw, the telephone strike in Shanghai, the underground railway strike in Tokyo, the textile strike in Tvente, etc.,), shows that the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union organizations have achieved successes in the leadership of the economic struggle of the proletariat in those cases when they have *consistently* applied the tactics of the united front from below at all stages of the struggle, when they have *promptly* put forward demands and slogans of the strike intelligible to *the masses,* when they have organized them on the basis of broad *proletarian democracy,* drawn all sections of the fighting workers into the leadership of the strike, and when they have *decisively exposed* the manoeuvres of the reformist trade union bureaucrats and the "confiding" concilatory attitude towards them.

In addition to this the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. declares that in the *overwhelming majority of the sections of the Comintern serious shortcomings and a number of serious opportunist mistakes have been discovered in carrying out the tactics of the united front from below,* which have been utilized by the social democrats and reformist trade union bureaucrats in their tricky manouevres. These shortcomings have arisen both from an underestimation and an insufficient application of the tactic of the united front (especially with regard to social democratic workers), and also from opportunist capitulation to the reformist trade union bureaucrats (unity at any price), and in fact they have been the chief causes of the insufficient advances of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union movement in the development of the independent leadership of the economic struggle of the proletariat.

The Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union organizations, basing themselves on the growing, spontaneous strivings of the workers toward unity in the struggle against the capitalist offensive and organizing this striving, must carefully prepare every

economic struggle of the proletariat among the broadest masses of the workers, establish the closest contacts with the new worker activists coming from below and thus insure the revolutionary leadership of the struggle and the splitting of the social democratic workers from their treacherous leaders.

III. METHODS OF LEADING UNEMPLOYED STRUGGLES.

The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. directs the special attention of all sections of the Comintern to the tremendous and ever growing political significance of the *unemployed movement* which is being directed more and more *directly against the capitalist state* (the struggle for food, for relief, for social insurance, against forced labor, etc.,). The struggle of the unemployed has up to the present time been prepared by the Communist vanguard and organized by it to a much less degree than the strike struggle of the proletariat. The Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union organizations *have not succeeded* in organizing serious mass activity by the *employed workers* in defence of the interests of the unemployed, although it has been found possible more and more frequently, to get the unemployed to actively support workers on strike.

The most serious shortcoming in the mass work of the Communist Parties among the unemployed has been that insufficient attention has been paid to the organization of the struggle for the partial demands of the unemployed. At the same time, the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. points out the extremely poor popularization of the programs of demands for the unemployed which have been prepared by a number of Communist Parties, an active struggle for which is a sign of the establishment of the united front of the unemployed themselves as well as between the unemployed and the employed workers. The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. declares that the decisions of the Eleventh Plenum and of the Prague Conference on the methods of work among the unemployed and the forms of organization of the unemployed have not been carried out, and the unemployed movement has been left without proper revolutionary leadership, which to a certain degree has been taken advantage of

by the social democrats and fascists. In cases when Communists and adherents of the revolutionary trade union movement have properly estimated the political importance of work among the unemployed and have widely popularized the program of demands of the unemployed, capably combining them with the concrete defence of the every-day interests of the unemployed, in most cases, they have been able to obtain material successes and to extend their political influence.

The Communist Parties, while systematically explaining to the working masses that unemployment is an inevitable accompaniment of the capitalist system and can only be abolished by the dictatorship of the proletariat, must devote special attention to the wide mobilization and organization of the broad masses of the unemployed for a struggle for their every-day demands and social insurance, but must not allow the red trade unions and the red trade union opposition to serve as substitutes for the broad organization of the unemployed.

The Communist Parties must combine the defence of the interests of the unemployed with the struggles of the part-time workers and advance in the interests of the latter, in addition to the demands for full wages, also the demand for special relief, reduction of rent, reduction of charges for lighting, heating, water, etc. In leading struggles against dismissals, against overtime and capitalist rationalization, the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions should learn from the experience of the Communist Parties in the Pabianitz, Hortensia and Ozorkowo textile mills in Poland, in Kleisterley and Reichenberg factories in Czecho-Slovakia, in the Reno works in France etc., and resort to the most varied forms of struggle, including the occupation of the factory by the workers. If in spite of a determined struggle against dismissal, dismissals do take place, they must demand that the employers pay compensation to the dismissed workers. Finally, the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions must wage a determined struggle against the mass dismissals of young workers and married women workers and devote serious attention to strengthening the work among unemployed women and unemployed youth.

IV. WORK IN THE REFORMIST TRADE UNIONS.

One of the chief causes of the insufficient mobilization of the masses by the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union organizations in the struggle against the capitalist offensive is the impermissable weak revolutionary work carried on *inside the reformist trade unions.*

The consistent every-day struggle of Communists and supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement for the establishment of the united front of the workers urgently raises before all the sections of the Comintern and of the R.I.L.U. the question of work *inside* the reformist trade unions and the *methods* of this work. The influence of the reformist trade union bureaucracy, especially in countries with long established and strong reformist trade unions, is one of the chief hindrances to the development of the class struggle, and cannot be broken down by shouts about wrecking the trade unions, for which Communists are not striving nor by deserting the trade unions, but by persistent work inside the reformist trade unions, by fighting hard to win every member of the reformist trade unions, for *every elected post* in the trade unions, for securing the dismissal of the reformist trade union bureaucracy and winning over the local organizations of individual trade unions and the local trade union councils of the reformist unions.

The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls upon all sections of the Communist International to continue the struggle with all Bolshevik consistency and determination against capitulation to the reformist trade union bureaucrats, as against the *chief* danger, and against those opportunist elements in the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union movement which still in practice oppose the existence of red trade unions and the red trade union opposition and the organization and the carrying on of independent economic strikes by them, and who, as substitute for them support the slogan: "Make the leaders fight". The E.C.C.I. instructs all sections of the Communist International to explain to the Party members and the revolutionary non-Party workers that the trade union bureaucrats can only be successfully exposed and the mass of members in the mass

reformist, Catholic, Nationalist, Kuomintang, yellow and similar trade unions can only be liberated from their influence if, in addition to detailed every-day work, and explaining and putting forward their own proposals, the supporters of the R.I.L.U. speak at all meetings, conferences and congresses on all questions concerning the organization and the tactics of the economic struggle and criticize and expose the leaders of these trade unions because they are carrying on negotiations with the employers behind the scenes, because they are in favor of voluntarily worsening the conditions of labor, because they sabotage the struggle of the masses, strangle the initiative of the masses of members and individual members, and when they cannot prevent the struggle any further, they commence after considerable delay and then capitulate to the employers behind the backs of the workers.

The sections of the C.I. must wage a ruthless struggle against those "leftist" sectarian elements in the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union movement who take advantage of the struggle of the Comintern against the opportunist slogan of "Make the leaders fight" in order to give up revolutionary work in the reformist trade unions. The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls on all sections of the Comintern to wage a determined struggle against "leftist" sectarian refusals to fight for elected positions in the reformist trade unions, which is the duty of every Communist according to the decisions of the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

In countries where there are *mass fascist trade unions* or similar mass reactionary organizations (Italy, China) and especially in places where the fascist trade unions have the monopoly, Communists must actively work inside them in an organized manner, utilizing all legal and semi-legal opportunities to draw the masses of members of these organizations into the class struggle, to discredit these organizations in the eyes of the masses, to strengthen the positions of the revolutionary trade union movement among the masses.

V. ACHIEVEMENTS AND DEFECTS IN THE WORK OF THE RED TRADE UNIONS.

The growth of the revolutionary upsurge, the maturing of the

crisis in the reformist trade unions and the impending big revolutionary battles, create all the prerequisites for a serious improvement in the mass work of the red trade unions for the consolidation of their role as organizers and leaders of the economic struggles of the proletariat.

The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. declares that in spite of a number of serious successes (Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Spain, Japan), the majority of the red trade unions have not succeeded in taking advantage of the growth of the discontent among the masses against the capitalist offensive, and of the sharpening of the class struggle, in order to take the lead of the strike struggles and of the unemployed movement.

In *France,* precisely in this period of crisis, the C.G.T.U. has not only failed to influence the strike struggles and organize a broad movement of the unemployed, but in certain localities it has even lost ground. In *Czecho-Slovakia,* the red trade unions achieved important successes in organizing and leading strike struggles and the unemployed movement. Nevertheless they have not yet achieved a decisive improvement in a number of important branches of industry (metal, munitions) and are still weak in the factories. In *Spain,* where in the process of development of the revolution independent red trade unions arose which affiliated with the C.G.T.U., the *tempo* of their transformation into mass organizations as well as the struggle to overcome reformist and anarcho-syndicalist illusions are still inadequate. In *Germany,* the red trade unions (metal workers, miners) have failed to organize the struggle against the capitalist offensive and have now stagnated. In *U.S.A.* the red trade unions, which determinedly took part in a number of important strikes (Pennsylvania, Kentucky and others), failed to lead these to the end and failed to extend their political and organizational positions. In *China,* nothwithstanding the enormous sweep of the revolutionary movement, the role of the red trade unions as organizers and leaders of the economic struggles of the proletariat has declined, although it has recently begun to rise again. In *Japan,* the red trade unions and the red trade union opposition have pursued a correct, revolutionary policy in the struggle against the imperialist war and recently have grown.

Nevertheless, they have not yet managed to penetrate deeply among the masses of the workers, especially in the big industries, munition industries and transport.

The chief shortcomings and weaknesses of the leadership of the economic struggles of the proletariat by the red trade unions, which arise in the main from the absence of a firm and practical line for the independent leadership of economic struggles, from the extremely insufficient contacts with the masses, from the existence of considerable relics of social democratic (in some countries, anarcho-syndicalist) methods of work, have found expression in the inability to seize on the concrete economic demands and the political slogans which excite the masses, the inability in most cases to decide on the concrete moment for commencing a struggle, the narrowness of the organizational basis in the red trade unions, the absence, even now, of a serious organizational basis in the factories, the extremely poor development of democracy in the trade unions, and the smallness and political weakness of the cadres which is due to this.

VI. ACHIEVEMENTS AND DEFECTS IN THE WORK OF THE RED TRADE UNION OPPOSITION.

The *revolutionary trade union opposition,* as organizations embracing the organized and unorganized workers, has achieved a number of successes in a number of countries since the Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. Nevertheless, politically and organizationally, it still lags behind the growing revolutionary upsurge of the masses of the workers. The main task of all the revolutionary trade union oppositions is to unite the organized and unorganized workers on the basis of the class struggle, to independently lead economic battles, to work in the reformist, Catholic, and similar trade unions, to isolate the treacherous trade union bureaucracy from the mass of the trade union membership and to build up a mass organization which will link the Communist Parties with the masses.

The main weakness of the red trade union opposition lies in the fact that, with few exceptions, it has not formed groups in the factories, has worked badly in the trade unions, has not set up its or-

Carpenters will not liquidate!

ganizations in all the links of the reformist, Catholic, etc., trade unions, and, in the majority of cases, has not led the struggle of the organized and unorganized workers against the capitalist offensive.

R.R. Building Painters

In those countries where the Communist Parties are small, where there are mass reformist trade unions and where there are no mass revolutionary trade unions, it is necessary to consolidate and expand the work of the red trade union opposition by recruiting the unorganized for the trade unions and also by the members of the red trade union opposition joining their respective trade unions.

(1)

Needle metal textile

In those countries where there are red trade unions parallel with the reformist trade unions (France, Czecho-Slovakia, Japan, U.S.A., etc.), as a rule, the red trade union opposition should consist of organized workers, for the unorganized workers should be recruited for the red trade unions.

(2)

On the wave of the growing revolutionary upsurge and of the mass movement against the reformist trade union bureaucracy, the red trade union opposition must become the lever and the organizational base for the creation of independent, red trade unions.

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VII. THE GROWTH OF THE REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE AND THE FIGHT AGAINST DEVIATIONS.

Our union

The development of the economic struggle of the proletariat under conditions of the end of capitalist stabilization urgently requires that the Communist vanguard pursues a clear and dinstinct struggle against opportunism, which becomes more dangerous in proportion as the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat rises higher.

Painters to A.F.of L.

Adaptation to the ideology and policy of social democracy, capitulation to the reformist trade union bureaucrats in the independent leadership of the economic struggle of the proletariat, a confiding attitude to the "left" maneouvres of the reformist trade union bureaucrats (in particular to the slogan of the "demonstrative" general strike), refusal to link up partial economic demands with general class slogans, the tactics of a "bloc" with reformist trade union bureaucrats instead of the policy of a united front from below, refusal to form the red trade union opposition on the pretext of defending the

unity of the trade union movement and finally, repudiation of the leading role of the Communist Parties in the revolutionary trade union organizations and hiding of the face of the Communist Party in economic struggles—these form the *chief* danger at the present stage of the development of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

A necessary condition for a successful struggle against this chief danger of right opportunism is a determined struggle against "left" opportunist deviations which are expressed in a leftist "theory" that the workers organized in the reformist trade unions represent a "reactionary mass," in the leftist sectarian underestimation of the tactic of the united front, in the statement that the reformist trade unions are "schools of capitalism", in a sectarian attitude to work inside the reformist trade unions, in reducing all the work in the reformist unions to the task of wrecking the apparatus and in the bureaucratic ignoring of the methods of proletarian democracy.

VIII. THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLES OF THE PROLETARIAT.

The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. is of the opinion that an immediate and radical change, *not in words but in deeds* is necessary in the whole of the revolutionary work of the Communists for the mobilization of the masses for economic struggles, for the organization and leadership of strike struggles and the unemployed movement, and particularly in all trade union work, both in the revolutionary trade unions and the red trade union oppositions and also in the reformist trade unions. The *chief* condition for the development of the economic struggle and independent leadership of this struggle at the present stage, is the correct Bolshevik application of the tactics of the united front from below, which requires a *radical change in the mass work of the Communist Parties.*

For this purpose it is necessary:

a) To insure that all Party and revolutionary trade union organizations establish contacts with the majority of the *employed and unemployed, promptly* formulate the slogans of struggle and to de-

termine its methods and forms on the basis of a *really* concrete knowledge of the economic situation, of the requirements and the sentiments of the employed and the unemployed workers.

b) Insure the wide adoption of the *tactic of the united front from below,* and in particular a proper approach to the reformist workers, patiently overcoming their reformist illusions and prejudices, raising their class consciousness step by step, drawing them into the revolutionary organizations and leading them more and more to the decisive revolutionary battles.

c) To insure *proletarian democracy* in all stages of the economic struggles (election of strike committees and other organs of struggle) attracting the broad masses of the fighting employed and unemployed workers to the discussion and decision of all questions of the struggle. While fighting the efforts of trade union bureaucrats to sabotage strikes by means of a *referendum,* Communists must actively participate in a referendum, when one is taken, and formulate their own slogans, *simultaneously they must prepare* and independently *organize* the strike struggle.

d) To exert every effort to make the strikes of employed workers and the actions of the unemployed result in some *material gain.* In this way the confidence of the masses in their revolutionary vanguard will be strengthened and the revolutionizing of the masses will be facilitated.

e) To lead the struggle against the attacks of the employers and the government on wage agreements, energetically resisting both the right opportunists who capitulate to the reformist trade union bureaucrats on the pretext of defending collective agreements, and against the "leftist" sectarian underestimation of the importance of collective agreements.

f) To fight not in words but in deeds, for the *united front of the unemployed and the employed workers* on the basis of a joint struggle for social insurance, against forced labor, against the worsening of social insurance conditions, and mass dismissals, and the attraction of the unemployed into the strike struggle of the proletariat. While creating and strengthening extensive organizations of the unemployed, while carrying on a decisive struggle against the replacement of mass unem-

ployed organizations by bureaucratic trade union organs formed by the reformist trade union bureaucracy with the aim of splitting the unemployed movement (Germany, England), Communists must at the same time *actively participate* in all the organizations of the unemployed which are formed by the social democrats, fascists, and other counter-revolutionary organizations.

g) To convert the R.T.U.O. and the red trade unions into *mass fighting organizations* of the working class enjoying the confidence of the masses, and capable of leading the economic struggles of the working class. The red trade union oppositions and the red trade unions must be reorganized on the basis of the factories; their work must be organized on the basis of consistent trade union democracy; an extensive recruiting campaign should be conducted during economic struggles and the latter should be utilized for the purpose of enlarging the ranks of the local active members.

h) To insure the *immediate restoration and extension of revolutionary positions in the reformist trade unions.* To insure the preparation of every strike, of every action of the employed and unemployed also inside the reformist trade unions.

i) To insure the all round leadership of *all factory organizations and the mass organizations of the unemployed* (factory committees, unemployed committees, etc.) by the red trade unions and the red trade union oppositions, *without overshadowing or domineering* them; to convert them into constantly acting organs of the united front of the organized and unorganized workers and in particular to strengthen the confidence of the masses in the factories towards the red factory committees by concretely showing to the workers in what way red factory committees differ from reformist committees.

j) To insure that the activities and forces of the Party organizations *are concentrated* on the development of the strike struggle and the unemployed movement, especially in those important branches of industry (metal industry, transport and munitions) where there has been the greatest lagging behind up to the present. To insure the rapid formation, consolidation and regular working of *Communist fractions* in all trade union organizations, including the red trade union opposition, unemployed committees and factory committees,

without which it is impossible to establish a correct political line, to control its application, to give correct instructions (without overshadowing or domineering), or in general to strengthen the role of the Party and the revolutionary trade union organizations as the directing and leading force in the strike struggle, the unemployed movement and the general class struggle of the proletariat.

* * *

The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. reminds all sections of the Comintern that the Communist Parties, which represent the interests of the working class as a whole, are responsible for the organization of the economic struggle of the proletariat against the capitalist offensive, and makes it obligatory for the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union organizations to bring about a rapid change for the better in the organization of the economic struggle of the proletariat, transfering the centre of all Party and trade union work to the factories, in the work inside the reformist trade unions and in the strengthening of the red trade union opposition and red trade unions. It is only by bringing about the most rapid change in the organization of resistance to the attacks of capital on the standards of life of the workers and the unemployed, it is only by raising the mass work of the Communist Parties to the level of the revolutionary political and organizational tasks put before the working class by the development of the crisis and the revolutionary upsurge at the end of capitalist stabilization, that the C.P.s will be able to develop mass strikes and the unemployed movement and convert them into one of the main levers for winning over the majority of the working class, directly leading the masses to decisive battles for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The War in the Far East and the Tasks of the Communists in the Struggle Against Imperialist War and Military Intervention Against the U.S.S.R.

(*Resolution Adopted by the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the Report of Comrade Okano*)

1. The period of relative stability in international relations has ended. The attack of Japanese imperialism on China, which is taking place with the full and open support of France and with the secret support of England, marks the beginning of a new imperialist war. The struggle for the re-division of the world, sharpened as the result of the world economic crisis, is expressed by the intensification of all the contradictions within the imperialist system. The intensification of the main contradictions in the camp of imperialism—the contradiction between the U.S.A. and Great Britain, the sharpening of the conflict between the U.S.A. and Japan, the extreme intensification of the struggle around the Versailles system between France and Germany and between Poland and Germany around the question of Danzig, the Polish Corridor, and the question of East Prussia, the sharpening of the struggle between French and Italian imperialism, and in connection with all these facts the re-grouping of imperialist powers which is taking place—all these are leading to the outbreak of new military conflicts. The attitude of the League of Nations towards the Japanese attack on China once again plainly shows that the League of Nations serves as an instrument of war and intervention in the hands of French and British imperialism. In

opposing the occupation of Manchuria, the U.S.A. is pursuing its own imperialist aims of securing a "fair redistribution" of spheres of influence in the Far East. The conferences at Geneva, Lausanne and Ottawa will not help to remove the antagonisms among the imperialists.

2. The intensification of the imperialist antagonisms *is* the tendency in the camp of imperialism to settle these antagonisms at the expense of the U.S.S.R. The imperialist powers, and first of all the imperialists of France and Japan, are exerting every effort to extend and strengthen the anti-Soviet *bloc* in order to deliver a decisive military blow at the basis of the world proletarian revolution—the U.S.S.R.—which is strengthening itself on the Socialist path. British imperialism supports all the plans for intervention against the U.S.S.R. The U.S.A. is striving to provoke war between Japan and the Soviet Union in order that, by weakening both Japan and the U.S.S.R., it may strengthen its own position in the Pacific. In Poland, Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia, the Baltic countries and the Balkan countries, preparations for war are being carried on with the greatest possible intensity under the guidance of the French General Staff. By the efforts of Japanese imperialism, supported by France and Great Britain, Manchuria has been converted into a *place d'armes* for an attack on the U.S.S.R. At the same time direct preparations for intervention against the U.S.S.R. are being carried on under the guidance of France in Poland, Rumania, and the Baltic countries, etc. The threat of direct military intervention hangs over the U.S.S.R.

3. A new imperialist war, a new intervention against the U.S.S.R. will bring to the workers and toilers of the whole world such suffering, deprivation and bloody sacrifice, as were not experienced even during the first world imperialist slaughter. The sharpening of all forms of bourgeois dictatorship, the strengthening of reaction, the growth of fascism, the persecution of the revolutionary movement, shootings and hangings, are already the preparation of the rear of an imperialist war and military intervention against the U.S.S.R.

The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. is of the opinion that the main task of all Communist Parties is to organize and lead the strug-

gle of the workers, peasants and all the toilers for the defense of China and the Chinese revolution, for the defense of the fatherland of the workers of all countries, the U.S.S.R., against the closely approaching intervention and for the defense of the toilers of capitalist countries against a new imperialist war.

4. During the Far Eastern War, the leaders of the Second International and its parties adapted their tactics to suit the requirements of the bourgeoisie of their respective countries. At the beginning of the war against China, they called on the workers to support the League of Nations, representing the League and the Kellogg Pact to be organs of peace. They supported the policy of their own imperialist governments, only criticizing the imperialist governments of other countries. They declared Japan's attack upon China to be a remote colonial war which did not affect the interests of the working class in Europe or America. As a means of combating war, they proposed to the workers to appeal to the League of Nations and to their own government. They either silently ignored the danger of intervention against the U.S.S.R., or directly deceived the masses by alleging that the U.S.S.R. is not in danger of intervention. At the same time the parties of the Second International increased their slanderous anti-Soviet campaign and strove to weaken the influence of the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. on the toiling masses, and supported the ill-concealed aggressive policy of the imperialist governments in opposition to the Soviet proposal for complete disarmament. The reformist trade unions sabotaged the struggle against the manufacture of munitions and the transport of munitions to Japan, and argued that a war would put an end to unemployment. The Japanese social democrats, who are in contact with the Second and Amsterdam internationals, fully and completely supported the predatory war of the Japanese bourgeoisie, on the plea that this war is the path of Socialism. This position taken by Japanese social democracy is an indication of the position which will be taken up by world social democracy as a whole when a new imperialist war breaks out.

Later, under the pressure of the masses, the Executive Committee of the Second International in Zurich adopted a resolution which

formally appealed against imperialist war and advocated defence of the U.S.S.R., thus passing from the position of intervention and the support of counter-revolutionary efforts against the Soviet state to a position of formal neutrality and verbal defense of the U.S.S.R. In reality, however, the parties of the Second International are continuing their slanderous anti-Soviet campaign, supporting the Russian Menshevik-interventionists, sabotaging all the concrete actions of the workers against the production and transport of munitions for Japan and continuing to sow pacifist illusions with the aim of diverting the masses from the real struggle against imperialist war and military intervention, boycotted the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress, are participating in the preparations and the organization of imperialist war and military intervention, and in every country are supporting their own bourgeois government.

5. The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. greets the heroic struggle the C.P. of Japan is waging against the imperialist war commenced by the Japanese bourgeoisie and landlords, and the revolutionary struggle of the C.P. of China against Japanese imperialism and against all imperialists.

The C. P. of China must continue to exert every effort to guarantee the hegemony of the proletariat in the mass anti-imperialist movement in Kuomintang China. For this purpose the C. P. of China must set itself the task of further developing and deepening the Soviet movement, strengthening the Red Army of the Chinese Soviets, linking up the Soviet movement with the mass anti-imperialist struggle in Kuomintang China, widely and consistently using the tactics of the united front from below in the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses, organizing the masses under the slogan of a revolutionary national liberation war for the independence, unity and territorial integrity of China, against all imperialists, for the overthrow of the agent of imperialism—the Kuomintang.

The C. P. of *Japan* must increase its work in the army and navy, especially in Manchuria, must carry on popular agitation among the workers, peasants and the exploited urban petty-bourgeois masses, in language that can be understood by the broad masses, in order to expose the indissoluble connection that exists between imperialist war

and the direct preparations for military intervention against the U.S.S.R., on the one hand, and the strengthening of the military-police reaction and the increased plundering of the toiling masses in Japan itself, on the other hand. The C. P. of Japan must develop the economic struggle of the workers against the capitalist offensive, and link this up with the struggle against imperialist war and the preparations for intervention. It must organize the peasant movement and link up this movement with the struggle of the working class and raise it to the level of the agrarian revolution. It must expose the demagogy of the fascists and the social democrats as a means of mobilizing the masses for imperialist war and military intervention.

The Communists of *Korea* and *Formosa,* in close collaboration with the C.P. of Japan and the C.P. of China, must mobilize the workers and peasants of Korea and Formosa for the struggle against Japanese imperialism, for the independence of Korea and Formosa, and must establish a revolutionary fighting alliance of all the oppressed and exploited, for the national liberation struggle.

6. While recognizing the undoubtedly favorable results in the work of the C.P.'s in imperialist and colonial countries in the matter of mobilizing the masses against imperialist war and against preparations for military intervention, the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. declares that the Communist Parties of the imperialist countries have not been able, by their revolutionary actions, to prevent the transport of troops to China and military supplies to Japan, that they have not been able to rouse the broad working masses, employed in munitions factories and in transport, for the struggle, that the mass anti-war campaign has developed slowly, partly because of an opportunist underestimation of the war in the Far East and also because of a leftist-fatalistic, frivolous attitude to the war.

The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls particular attention to the impermissible weakness of the contacts of the C.P.'s with the principal munition factories, with the chief ports and with the key-points on the railroads, and also to the fact that the anti-war work of the Communist Parties and the Y.C.L. in the army, the navy and the special fascist semi-military organizations is in an intolerably ne-

glected condition. The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. particularly emphasizes the weakness and the backwardness of the Y.C.L. in the struggle against imperialist war and military intervention. In addition the Twelfth Plenum states that the Communist Parties have not succeeded in fulfilling the urgent task of creating legal, semi-legal or illegal control committees and illegal committees of action, based on the masses; in the factories, railroads, ports and ships, have not succeeded in mobilizing the masses of workers in the reformist trade unions and the other mass workers' organizations on the basis of the tactic of the united front from below for the purpose of preventing the transport of troops to China and munitions of war to Japan, and in developing the agitation against imperialist war and military intervention among the masses of peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie. Inadequate Bolshevik resistance was shown to the opportunist underestimation of the war in China and to the underestimation of the danger of imperialist war and military intervention, to the opportunist failure to understand all the peculiarities of the present drift towards a new world war, to individual pacifist deviations from the Leninist teachings on war, to opportunist passivity with regard to war and to fatalistic opportunist moods as expressed by the theory that revolution will automatically arise out of war.

7. The general tasks of all Communist Parties is the struggle against imperialist war and military intervention and in the struggle against fascism, social democracy and bourgeois pacifism which facilitate the various methods of preparing and carrying on imperialist war and military intervention against the U.S.S.R., are as follows:

a) To develop a systematic ideological struggle against chauvinism and nationalism, to carry on propaganda for real proletarian internationalism, to expose to the masses all the machinations of the foreign policy of their own bourgeoisie, to expose all the measures of the home policy of the bourgeoisie in preparation for war, to expose the production and transport of munitions for imperialist countries, to remind the masses of all the calamities of the first imperialist war, to fight tirelessly against the militarization of the schools.

b) To react actively to all manifestations of the anti-Soviet campaigns, to seriously improve the propaganda of the success of Socialist

construction in the U.S.S.R. among the broadest masses, to mobilize the toilers against the whiteguards, to popularize the peace policy of the U.S.S.R., to mobilize the masses for the active defense of the U.S.S.R., China and the Chinese-Soviet revolution.

c) To expose on the basis of actual and well known facts all the sophisms and manoeuvres of the bourgeois pacifists and especially the social democratic parties.

d) To expose widely to the masses the peculiar, secret birth and conduct of a new imperialist war (mobilization in parts, formation of a covering army, preparations to cleanse the rear from revolutionary elements) and in deciding the anti-war tactics of the Communist Party, to take into account the variety of the new methods employed by the bourgeoisie in preparing and carrying on war.

e) By employing the tactic of the united front, to set up legal, semi-legal and illegal control committees and committees of action in the munition factories, in ports, in factories, on railroads, and on ships, for the purpose of developing mass activity and carefully prepared protest strikes and economic strikes to prevent the transport of munitions and troops, and to rouse the initiative of the broad masses of workers in this matter.

f) To develop extensive mass work among the unemployed, among the youth, among working women and among emigrant workers, against imperialist war and military intervention. To draw the peasant masses into the struggle against imperialist war. To support the national liberation movement of the colonial and subjected nations.

g) To carry on extensive anti-imperialist work among the soldiers, among conscripts, reservists and in the special military organizations of the bourgeoisie. To strengthen the Party organizations and all the revolutionary youth organizations, bearing in mind that the whole Party, the whole of the Y.C.L. must participate in this work.

To organize the struggle of the soldiers for their every day demands and to support this struggle by the solidarity of the workers and the toiling peasants. To popularize revolutionary traditions and examples of the struggle against war.

All the C.P.'s must carry on an irreconciliable Bolshevik struggle

in their own ranks against an opportunist underestimation of the war danger, against opportunist passivity in the struggle against imperialist war and military intervention and against a pseudo-left fatalistic attitude towards war.

The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. imposes the duty upon the E.C. Y.C.I. and the C.C.'s of the Communist Parties to carefully verify the anti-war work of the Y.C.L. and to take all measures to bring about a decisive improvement.

The entire international situation imposes on the C.P.S.U. an important historic task—to continue undeviatingly to pursue the policy of peace 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.

The Communist Party must understand the bare and empty propaganda of peace, unaccompanied by calls for and the organization of the revolutionary actions of the masses, is only capable of sowing illusions, or corrupting the proletariat by imbuing it with confidence in the policy of the bourgeoisie and their agents in the working class and of making the working class a plaything in the hands of the bourgeois governments.

The Communist Parties, in carrying on a real struggle against the preparations for imperialist war and military intervention against the U.S.S.R., must go to the workers with Lenin's teachings that imperialist war is caused by capitalism, and that the only guarantee against new imperialist wars and intervention is the conversion of imperialist war into civil war and the overthrow of capitalism.

Appeal of the Twelfth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. to the C. P. S. U. and to the Toilers of the U. S. S. R.

(Adopted on the Report of Comrade Manuilsky by the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.)

Having heard the report of Comrade Manuilsky on the results of the first Five-Year Plan and the prospects for the second Five- Year Plan, the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. welcomes with the warmest enthusiasm the magnificent results of the victorious fulfilment of the first Five-Year Plan in four years. Under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and thanks to the creative will and the mass initiative of tens of millions of toilers in the Soviet Union, in the course of a heroic struggle against the class enemy at home and abroad, despite all difficulties and obstacles, a basis has been created for the completion of the Socialist reconstruction of the whole of national economy. On the basis of the policy for the Socialist industrialization of the country carried out by the Party, the mass of the poor and middle peasants have irrevocably turned towards Socialism. By the development of state farms and collective farms, the U.S.S.R. has been converted from a country of small and minute-scale agriculture into a country of large scale Socialist agriculture. The Socialist forms of economy have the predominant position in agriculture.

As a result of these successes, the national income has increased at a rate that capitalist countries could never achieve. Unemployment has been abolished and the well-being and cultural level of the workers and the toiling peasants is rising year by year.

On the basis of the policy carried out by the Party to liquidate the kulaks as a class, and of the enormous growth of Socialist indus-

try owing to the completion of the foundations of Socialism, the historical question: "Who will be the victor?" has been irrevocably decided in the Soviet Union in favor of Socialism.

All attempts from within or from without to hinder the victorious march of Socialism have been frustrated by the might of the proletariat liberated by the revolution and supported by the broad masses of the toilers. In stubborn struggle against all deviations from the Bolshevik general line, against right and "left" opportunism and conciliation with them, and against the right danger as the chief danger at the present stage, the Leninist Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by the best disciple and fellow fighter of Lenin, Comrade Stalin, is successfully achieving the great cause of building up Socialism.

The second Five-Year Plan raises new and still more enormous tasks before the Bolshevik Party and the working class of the U.S.S.R.: *i.e.,* to complete the Socialist reconstruction of the whole of national economy, to build up a classless, Socialist society, to completely eradicate the causes which give rise to the exploitation of man by man, and raise the material well-being of the toilers to a higher level. The victorious realization of the first Five-Year Plan imbues the international proletariat with the unshakable conviction that the new and enormous tasks of the second Five-Year Plan will likewise be successfully fulfilled.

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 who are doomed to still greater impoverishment by the growing capitalist offensive and who are oppressed by bloody fascist terror, are beginning to realize that the only path which can lead to 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 and the establishment of a Soviet state.

Victorious Socialist construction in the Soviet Union is more and more becoming a mighty force assisting the revolutionary up-

surge and accelerating the maturing of a revolutionary crisis in capitalist and colonial countries. The imperialist bandits are seeking a way out of the crisis by war and above all by military intervention against the U.S.S.R., the fatherland of the toilers of the whole world. International social democracy, which pours forth streams of lies and slander about Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., fully supports the interventionist policy of the imperialist plunderers, sometimes masking this by lying phrases about defending the U.S.S.R.

The enormous victories of the workers and collective farmers of the Soviet Union are the best support for the fighting masses in capitalist and colonial countries. The duty of defending the Soviet Union to the last drop of blood against all bandit attacks is dictated to the Communist Parties, to the whole of the international proletariat and to the broad masses of toiling peasants not only by the interests of achieving the victory of Socialism throughout the world, but by the most urgent everyday interests of the toilers.

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, 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.

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EXPEND

Administ

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Postage and telegraph 38,387.75

Subsidies to Party newspapers, publishing houses and cultural-educational work. 756,900.00

Travelling expense 52,732.00

Carried forward to 1932 ..... 74,948.75

TOTAL $1,295,315.80

DECISION OF THE XII PLENUM OF THE E.C.C.I.

Having examined the financial report for 1931, presented by the Polit-Secretariat of the E.C.C.I., the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. resolves

a) To confirm the entire report;

b) To publish a summary of the financial report for 1931.

FINANCIAL SUMMARY FOR 1931.

INCOME

Carried forward from 1930	$ 61,089.30
Membership dues (payments from 41 Parties on 3,760,788 members)	1,128,286.40
(Y.C.I. and 17 Parties were exempt from payment, and the financial report for 1931 for the other Parties has not been received).	
Collections and donations	46,371.80
Receipts from publications, telegraph agencies and bulletins, newspaper information	59,618.30
TOTAL	$1,295,315.80

EXPENDITURE

Administrative expenses (personnel, business expenses, etc.)	$ 372,347.30
Postage and telegraph	38,387.75
Subsidies to Party newspapers, publishing houses and cultural-educational work.	756,900.00
Travelling expense	52,732.00
Carried forward to 1932	74,948.75
TOTAL	$1,295,315.80