

Eve
of
Revolutions
and
Wars

Resolution

of the
13th Plenum

of the

Communist
International

BASEMENT BOOK CO.
NEW and 2nd HAND BOOKS
725 FIVE OCEAN ST., SYDNEY

2^d

MODERN PUBLISHERS



REVOLUTIONARY WAY IS ONLY WAY OUT OF CRISIS FOR WORKING CLASS

Communist Party Issues Appeal To Toilers

Go Forward Confidently To Struggle For Soviet Power

Dear Comrades,—

The Central Committee, having heard and adopted a report on the 13th Plenum of the Communist International, issues this appeal to the working class, to every Party member. The decisions of the 13th Plenum, published in the "Workers' Weekly" of February 23, 1934, show a situation in the world that should inspire every one of us to go forward more confidently and resolutely in the struggle for Socialism.

In all countries the authority of the Communist International has grown enormously. The revolutionary mass activity of the Communist Parties extends on all fronts.

More and more are the sections of our World Party—the Communist International—achieving the honor to be called Bolshevik Parties, altogether giving greater guarantees for the victory of Communism all over the world.

WHO WAS RIGHT?

The Communists alone have given a true analysis of the development of the crisis that shakes the capitalist world. At a time when the bourgeoisie and the Second International were indulging in orgies of extravagant words about capitalist prosperity, when the American president was declaring that poverty was banished from the United States forever, the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, on the basis of Marxist analysis of the forces opera-

ting within the capitalist world economy, gave to the working class the perspective of the coming of the world economic crisis; this was ridiculed by the bourgeoisie, their economists and politicians, together with the Labor leaders in chorus. Yet, within a short period, within a few months, the coming of the crisis as foreseen by the Communists was signalled by the collapse on the American Stock Exchange in 1929.

Remember the analyses made by all the recent Plenums of the Communist International!

At the 10th Plenum the C.I. declared that we stood at the beginning of a new world economic crisis, at the very moment when Social Democracy was drunk with "organised capitalism," prosperity, and Fordism nonsense.

At the 11th Plenum the new revolutionary upsurge was noted and the deepening of the economic crisis—when Social Democracy was declaring that the crisis was being solved by capitalism.

When the 12th Plenum of the C.I. met a year ago, it declared that the capitalist system had reached a stage where one could no longer speak of relative stability in capitalism, that this period had come to an end, and a transition to a new round of wars and revolutions had opened.

The 13th Plenum declares that today the growth of the general crisis has shaken the capitalist world to a far-reaching degree, so that the capitalist world is passing from the end of capitalist stabilisation to a revolutionary crisis which coincides with the close approach to a new round of revolutions and wars.

At any moment a turn may take place in the situation which will mark the change of the economic crisis of capitalism into a revolutionary crisis.

The deepening of the general crisis of capitalism despite the frenzied efforts of the capitalists and the reformists; the Japanese war on China; the Fascist dictatorship in Germany; the murderous onslaught on the workers of Austria; the events in France; the revolutionary struggles in Spain and China; the continuous drive against the wages and conditions of the workers in all capitalist countries; the ever-growing strike movement; all this shows that the Communist analysis alone has been correct.

The various bourgeois parties of Australia, the U.A.P., together with

the different factions of the Labor Party, have each claimed that they have a way out of the crisis for the working class. Each of these parties has been put to the practical test, each has formed governments on the basis of extravagant promises of overcoming the crisis, and each has plainly failed. The U.A.P. governments have followed the line which the 13th Plenum indicates as the line followed by the world bourgeoisie, "robbing the workers and peasants, subsidies to the capitalists and landlords," which has been achieved by the Australian bourgeoisie through tax remissions, etc., amounting to many millions, whilst at the same time conducting the ruthless offensive against the wages and conditions of the workers, and increasing the impoverishment of the poor farmers, which can only lead 'still further to disintegrate the mechanism of capitalist economy (disorganisation of the money system, of the budgets, State bankruptcies, a further deepening of the agrarian crisis) and sharply to intensify the contradictions of capitalism." (The 13th Plenum.)

The "demand" created by the preparations for new wars, together with inflation and dumping, "leads to the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism." (The 13th Plenum.)

The way of the capitalists is the way of increasing impoverishment of the masses, of imperialist war and intervention against the Soviet Union and Soviet China, the way of brutal Fascist dictatorship.

"However, the Fascist dictatorship is not an inevitable stage of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in all countries. The possibility of averting it depends upon the forces of the fighting proletariat, which are paralysed by the corrupting influences of Social Democracy more than anything else." (The 13th Plenum.)

The governments of the Labor Party, despite their election promises, under the leadership of Scullin in-

274662
1934
1934-35

produced and carried through the Premiers' Plan, placing the burden of the crisis on the backs of the working class. Lang, under cover of demagogic phraseology, signed the Premiers' Plan and proceeded to carry it out in N.S.W.

These Social-Fascists now come forward with a new "plan," the "Socialisation of Credit, no more and no less," to "be carried out during the life of one parliament." This, together with a capitalist policy of higher tariffs, is the Labor Party way out of the crisis. The socialisation of credit proposals are futile from the working-class standpoint, actually when stripped of the demagogic phraseology against the banking lords, they are but proposals for strengthening the financial structure of capitalism, of attempting to avert "further disorganisation of the money system, of the budget, of State bankruptcy."

The Labor Party in office carries out the policy of the bourgeoisie at the expense of the toilers. The whole experience of Labor governments in Australia proves this up to the hilt.

Against the quack recipes of the Fascists and Social-Fascists for saving decaying capitalism, the Communists declare that:

There is no way out of the general crisis of capitalism other than the one shown by the October Revolution, viz., the overthrow of the exploiting classes by the proletariat, the confiscation of the banks, of the factories, the mines, transport, houses, the stacks of goods of the capitalists, the lands of the landlords, the Church and the Crown.

The workers of the Soviet Union having taken the revolutionary way out in 1917, to-day experience no such crisis as devastates the capitalist world; they have no fear for the morrow, but on the contrary, have abolished unemployment and can report an actual shortage of labor, having established a working day of seven hours, whilst wages continu-

ously rise; all this has been achieved through the liberation of the productive forces from the narrow bonds of private ownership and production for profit.

All the means for a better life, for building Socialism, exist in Australia. There is an abundance of wheat, of meat, of wool, of fruits and vegetables, yet the masses have insufficient food and clothing. Materials for building are likewise in abundance, yet thousands wander the road or dwell in pitiful shelters constructed from discarded bags and kerosene tins.

All this is part of the price we pay for the continued existence of the capitalist order of society, for the continuance of the rule of a small group of exploiters and plunderers.

The proletarian revolution, the Soviet power, will free the productive forces from their fetters, will give access to the sources of wealth and to the means of production to all toilers; on the basis of Socialist planned economy, will abolish unemployment, shorten the working day and revolutionise the working conditions, allowing the living standards of the masses to be raised in a manner impossible to capitalism.

The Soviet power, which is based on the mass organisations of the workers and semi-proletarians, offers the possibility of wide and real enjoyment of democracy for all the toiling masses.

The Soviet power is the State form of the proletarian dictatorship. It is democracy for the toilers but a stern dictatorship against the exploiters.

The revolutionary way is the only means of escape from the crisis for the toilers from the chaos of poverty, war and Fascist dictatorship, the products of dying capitalism, the convulsions of a doomed exploiting society.

"The question as to how soon the rule of bankrupt capitalism will be

overthrown by the proletariat, will be determined by the fighting preparedness of the majority of the working class, by the successful work of the Communist Parties in undermining the mass influence of the Social Democracy." (13th Plenum.)

On the basis of the decisions of the 13th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist In-

ternational the Communist Party of Australia calls to the working class: Forward to the revolutionary struggle under the scarlet banners of the mighty Communist International, of Marx and Lenin, for bread, work and freedom, for Soviet Australia.

—Political Bureau, C.C. of the Communist Party of Australia, March 12, 1934.



Thesis on the World Situation

THE Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International has just taken place in Moscow. The agenda of the Plenum was as follows:—

- (1) Report and theses on the international situation.
- (2) Report of the Communist Party of Germany.
- (3) Report on the work of the Communist Party of Great Britain in regard to the united front and the I.L.P.
- (4) Preparations for the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International.

Practically every section of the Communist International was represented at this important Plenum, which had the task of analysing the whole international situation, the changes that have taken place since the Twelfth Plenum in August, 1932, and to give a clear lead on the present position and the tasks of the Communist Parties.

Every aspect of the political and economic situation was thoroughly gone into, and at the end of the discussion the theses were adopted unanimously.

FULL TEXT OF THE THESIS.

The following is the full text of the Thesis adopted by the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the Report of Comrade Kuusinen.

NOTE.—The sideheads and other heads except those underlined in the article have been inserted by us.—

THE development of the general crisis of capitalism after the end of the relative stabilisation that

was noted by the last (Twelfth) Plenum of the E.C.C.I., has already shaken the capitalist system to a far-reaching degree all over the world.

While the U.S.S.R.—the bulwark of the international proletariat and of the oppressed nations—is developing its Socialist construction and raising its power to a higher and higher level, the economy of the capitalist world is falling to pieces. The noose of poverty, ruin and hunger is tightening.

The bourgeoisie is furiously intensifying its economic means of exploitation by methods of Fascist violence, by robbing the toiling classes and by predatory wars against other nations. But at the same time the revolutionary indignation of the toiling masses and their readiness to over-

throw the intolerable yoke of the exploiting classes, is growing more and more.

The tremendous strain of the internal class antagonisms in the capitalist countries, as well as of the international antagonisms, testify to the fact that the objective prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis have matured to such an extent that at the present time the world is closely approaching a new round of revolutions and wars.

THE GROWTH OF FASCISM.

Its Meaning in Germany and Other Countries.

1.—FASCISM AND THE MATURING REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS.

(1) Fascism is the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary most Chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital. Fascism tries to secure a mass basis for monopolist capital among the petty bourgeoisie, appealing to the peasantry, artisans, office employees and Civil Servants who have been thrown out of their normal course of life, and particularly to the declassed elements in the big cities, and also tries to penetrate into the working class.

The growth of Fascism and its coming to power in Germany and in a number of other capitalist countries means:—

(a) That the revolutionary crisis and the indignation of the broad masses against the rule of capital is growing;

(b) That the capitalists are no longer able to maintain their dictatorship by the old methods of Parliamentarism and of bourgeois democracy in general;

(c) That, moreover, the methods of Parliamentarism and bourgeois

democracy in general are becoming a hindrance to the capitalists both in their internal politics (the struggle against the proletariat) as well as in their foreign politics (war for the imperialist redistribution of the world);

(d) That, in view of this, capital is compelled to pass to open terrorist dictatorship within the country and to unrestrained chauvinism in foreign politics which represents direct preparation for imperialist wars.

Born in the womb of bourgeois democracy, Fascism in the eyes of the capitalists is a means of saving capitalism from collapse.

It is only for the purpose of deceiving and disarming the workers that Social-Democracy denies the fascistisation of bourgeois democracy and makes contrasts between democratic countries and the countries of the Fascist dictatorship in principle.

On the other hand, the Fascist dictatorship is not an inevitable stage of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in all countries.

The possibility of averting it depends upon the forces of the fighting proletariat, which are paralysed by the corrupting influences of Social-Democracy more than by anything else.

(2) While the general line of all bourgeois parties, including Social Democracy, is towards the fascistisation of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the realisation of this line inevitably gives rise to disagreements among them as to forms and methods of fascistisation.

Violence Against The Working Class.

Certain bourgeois groups, particularly the Social-Fascists, who in practice stick at nothing in their acts of police violence against the proletariat, urge the maintenance of parliamentary forms when carrying through the fascistisation of the bourgeois dictatorship.

The Fascists, however, insist on the full or partial abolition of these old, shaken forms of bourgeois democracy, on carrying through fascism by means of the establishment of an open Fascist dictatorship and by a wide application of both police violence and the terrorism of Fascist gangs.

Having come to power, Fascism pushes aside, splits and disintegrates the other bourgeois parties (for instance, Poland) or dissolves them (Germany and Italy). This striving of Fascism for political monopoly intensifies the discord and conflicts in the ranks of the ruling classes which follow from the internal contradictions in the position of the bourgeoisie who are becoming fascised.

(3) The establishment of the Fascist dictatorship in Germany has unmasked German Social-Democracy before the whole world.

Social-Democracy's Treachery.

From the bloody crushing of the proletarian revolution in 1918, through an uninterrupted chain of treachery and strike-breaking, through all the coalition governments, the savage police massacres of revolutionary workers, voting for Hindenburg as the "lesser evil," to servile endeavors to co-operate openly with the Fascist gangs—such is the record of German Social-Democracy, the leading party in the Second International.

German Social-Democracy was, and still remains, the banner-bearer of all the parties of the Second International which follow the steps of German Social-Democracy.

Social-Democracy continues to play the role of the main social prop of the bourgeoisie also in the countries of open Fascist dictatorship.

In fighting against the revolutionary unity of the proletariat and against the U.S.S.R., it helps the bourgeoisie to prolong the existence of capitalism

by splitting the working-class. In the majority of countries, however, it is already in the process of disintegration.

The radicalisation of the Social-Democratic workers intensifies the squabbles among the leading circles of the Social-Fascists. Avowed neo-Fascist groups are arising, "Left" fragments break away and try to patch together a new two and one-half International.

Trotsky, the lackey of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, is unsuccessfully trying to prevent the Social Democratic workers coming over to the side of Communism by his despicable attempts to form a Fourth International and by spreading anti-Soviet slanders.

CRISIS OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL.

Capitalists Developing Their War Industries.

On the basis of the sharp antagonisms between the imperialist countries, the international organisation of Social-Democracy is disintegrating. The crisis of the Second International is a fact.

(4) The economic policy of the financial oligarchy for overcoming the crisis (the robbery of the workers and peasants, subsidies to the capitalists and landlords) is unable to restore the stabilisation of capitalism; on the contrary it is helping to still further to disintegrate the mechanism of capitalist economy (disorganisation of the money system, of the budget, State bankruptcies, a further deepening of the agrarian crisis), and sharply to intensify the fundamental contradictions of capitalism.

In this situation all the capitalist countries are developing their war industries to unprecedented dimensions, and are adapting all the principal branches of industry, as well as agriculture, to the needs of war.

The "demand" thus created for means of extermination and destruction, combined with open inflation (U.S.A., Great Britain and Japan), super-dumping (Japan), and hidden inflation (Germany) has in the past year caused an increase in output in some branches of industry in a number of countries (particularly iron, steel, non-ferrous metals, the chemical and textile industries).

Furious Struggle for Foreign Markets.

But this whipping up of production for non-productive purposes, or the speculative leaps in production on the basis of inflation, is accompanied by stagnation or a fall in production in a number of other branches (machine construction, building, the production of articles of consumption), and in the near future cannot but lead to the still greater disturbance of State finances and to a still further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism.

The furious struggle for foreign and colonial markets has already assumed the form of actual international economic war.

(5) Therefore the Social-Democratic estimation of the present world situation as one in which capitalism has succeeded in consolidating its position, in which it is already on the path towards overcoming its general crisis, is completely wrong.

As distinguished from the first wave of the fascisation of capitalist States which took place at the time of the transition from a revolutionary crisis to partial stabilisation, the capitalist world is now passing from the end of capitalist stabilisation to a revolutionary crisis, which determines other perspectives of development of Fascism and the world revolutionary movement of the toilers.

Even the most savage terror which the bourgeoisie employs in order to suppress the revolutionary movement

cannot, in the conditions when capitalism is shaken, for long frighten the advanced strata of the toilers and restrain it from taking action; the indignation which this terror has aroused even among the majority of the workers who followed the Social-Democrats, makes them more susceptible to Communist agitation and propaganda.

When the bourgeoisie reorganises its tottering dictatorship on a Fascist basis in order to create a firm, solid government, this, in the present conditions, leads to the strengthening, not only of its class terrorism, but also of the elements which disrupt its power, to the destruction of the authority of bourgeois law in the eyes of the broad masses, to the growth of internal friction among the bourgeoisie and to the acceleration of the collapse of its main social support—Social-Democracy.

Aggressive War Policy and Danger for Capitalism.

Finally, when the bourgeoisie tries, by an aggressive war policy, to strengthen its foreign position, it extremely intensifies international antagonisms and the danger for capitalism which arises from them.

(6) It would, therefore, be a Right opportunist error to fail to see now the objective tendencies of the accelerated maturing of a revolutionary crisis in the capitalist world. But the presence and operation of these tendencies, both economic and political, do not imply that revolutionary development is proceeding upwards by itself, or unhindered, without resistance from counteracting forces. Revolutionary development is simultaneously hindered and accelerated by the Fascist fury of the bourgeoisie.

The question as to how soon the rule of bankrupt capitalism will be overthrown by the proletariat will be determined by the fighting preparedness of the majority of the working-class, by the successful work of the Commu-

nist Parties in undermining the mass influence of Social-Democracy.

In the present situation, in conditions when antagonistic class forces are strained to the utmost, the growth of the revolutionary mass movement in individual capitalist countries can have a constant or level character even less than before.

Wave of Mass Strikes in America.

In China there is war, intervention and revolution. In Japan there is the growth of the forces of revolution and the mobilisation of the military Fascist forces on the eve of great class conflicts. In Spain there is the clash between revolution and counter-revolution.

In the U.S.A., there is a wave of mass strikes of the workers and indignation among the farmers against the bourgeois programme for overcoming the crisis.

In Germany, the revolutionary hatred of the proletariat is growing at the present moment in less open forms. There, enormous revolutionary energy is being accumulated among the masses and a new revolutionary upsurge is already beginning.

The strained situation in Germany sharpens to the extreme the class relations in the neighboring countries—in Czechoslovakia, Austria, the Baltic countries, as well as in the Scandinavian countries, in Holland, Belgium and in Switzerland.

In Poland, the mass strikes of the workers are accompanied by big revolutionary actions in the Polish rural districts. In Bulgaria, in spite of the terror, the majority of the working class solidly follow the Communist Party. In Rumania there is a big strike of railwaymen, with barricade fighting.

At the same time the main stronghold of the world proletariat, the powerful Land of the Soviets, the land of the victorious working-class which

is making the present year into the last year of economic difficulties, raising the well-being of the toiling masses to a new and higher level, by its great Socialist victories, serves as an inspiration to the toilers of all countries in their revolutionary struggle.

The mainstays of capitalism are already being destroyed by virtue of its profound, insoluble contradictions. The world economic crisis is the most closely interwoven with the general crisis of capitalism and sharpens all the cardinal contradictions of the capitalist world to such an extent that a turn may take place at any moment, a turn which will signify the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis.

The great task of the international proletariat is to turn this crisis of the capitalist world into the victory of the proletarian revolution.

II.—THE IMPERIALIST PREPARATIONS FOR A NEW WORLD WAR.

The growing uncertainty of the bourgeoisie as to the possibility of finding a way out of the crisis only by the intensified exploitation of the toilers of their own countries, has led the imperialists to put their main stake on war. The international situation bears all the features of the eve of a new world war.

(1) The flames of a new world war are flaring up in the Pacific. The Japanese militarists, spurred on by the profound internal crisis which the bourgeois-landlord monarchy is undergoing, are continuing the predatory war against China, and with the aid of the Kuomintang are subjugating Northern China and are preparing a blow against the Mongolian People's Republic.

British imperialism is stretching out its hand to the South-Eastern provinces of China, Tibet, Szechwan,

while French imperialism is stretching out its hand towards Yunnan. The Fascist military clique of Japan is acting as the battering ram against the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution in China.

The American, Japanese and British imperialisms are behind the Kuomintang in its sixth campaign against the only people's government in China, against the Chinese Soviets.

A Big Factor of the World Revolution.

The victories of the Soviet revolution in China, the partisan war in Manchuria, the growth of the revolutionary forces in Japan and of the liberation movement of the colonial peoples, create a new front in the rear of the imperialists.

The Soviet revolution in China has become a big factor of the world revolution.

(2) The Japanese militarists are calling to the German Fascists and the British imperialists to unleash a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. from the East and from the West. Pursuing a policy of continuous provocation against the U.S.S.R. and contemplating the seizure of Soviet territory, the Fascist militarists of Japan are acting as an outpost in a counter-revolutionary war against the Land of the Soviets.

At the same time, German Fascism is inviting the international bourgeoisie to purchase its national socialist mercenaries to fight against the U.S.S.R., intriguing with British, Italian and Polish imperialisms (the German-Polish negotiations).

The British imperialists at the present time have taken the place of the French as the chief organisers of an anti-Soviet war.

The Soviet Union has achieved considerable successes in the unswerving and firm policy of peace it has pursued in the interests of all the toilers (a number of pacts of non-aggression, a number of new recognitions, the

definition of the aggressor, the forced raising of the embargo by Great Britain).

The Land of the Soviets is the only bulwark of peace and of the independence of the weak States against the attacks of the predatory imperialists. By its proletarian policy it is winning more and more the confidence of the toilers of the whole world and of the oppressed nations.

"Europe Has Become a Powder Magazine."

Retarding the outbreak of a new war by the gigantic growth of its power, the U.S.S.R. invokes upon itself a new wave of hatred on the part of the most reactionary and aggressive groups of the imperialists.

(3) The Fascist Government of Germany, which is the chief instigator of war in Europe, is provoking trouble in Danzig, in Austria, in the Saar, in the Baltic countries and in Scandinavia, and, on the pretext of fighting against Versailles, is trying to form a bloc for the purpose of bringing about a new, bloody carving up of Europe for the benefit of German imperialism.

Imperialist blocs, headed either by France or Italy, or by Britain, which intrigues behind their backs, are being feverishly reorganised around the key-points of imperialist contradictions. Europe has become a powder-magazine which may explode at any moment.

British and American imperialisms, availing themselves of the war alarm in Europe and the events in the Far East, are increasing their preparations for a decisive imperialist struggle for world hegemony in the Atlantic and in the Pacific.

(4) In this situation **Social-Democracy** sticks at nothing in the support of the imperialist interests of its own bourgeoisie and combines this support with service to the international capital against the U.S.S.R.

Japanese Social-Democracy and the trade union leaders, following Gene-

ral Araki, proclaim the civilising mission of Japanese imperialism in Asia and justify the predatory conquests of their bourgeoisie in China on the grounds of the "interest of Socialism."

In England the National-Laborites, in conjunction with the Conservatives, are pursuing the predatory policy of British imperialism; the Labor Party deceiving the workers by its pseudo-opposition to the government is striving after Ministerial posts in order to continue what, in fact, is the same imperialist policy.

The French Socialists (as well as the Social-Democrats of Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc.), carrying out the "sacred unity of the nation" under the slogans of "defence of democracy," and "defence against German Fascism," actively participate in the preparations for war against Germany.

German Social-Democracy openly voted in the Reichstag for the national front of German Fascism, which is preparing for a military adventure.

At the same time the Second and Amsterdam Internationals are adapting their policy to the situation of the eve of war, try to safeguard the interests of their own bourgeoisie and to ensure that the main blow will be directed at the U.S.S.R.; they hypocritically mask this by expressing readiness to reply to war by a general strike and a boycott, but they declare in advance that they will do so only against the government that will be declared the aggressor by the League of Nations.

Historical Task of International Communism.

They pretend to be leading a boycott against goods from Fascist Germany, but they persecute the workers who really carry out this boycott. Under the slogans of pacifism and of a fight against war and Fascism, they act as pioneers in working up public opinion in the capitalist countries in favor of a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.

The bourgeoisie wants to postpone the doom of capitalism by a criminal imperialist war and a counter-revolutionary campaign against the land of victorious Socialism.

The great historical task of international Communism is to mobilise the broad masses against war even before war has begun, and thereby hasten the doom of capitalism.

Only a Bolshevik struggle before the outbreak of war for the triumph of revolution can assure the victory of a revolution that breaks out in connection with war.

The Tasks of the C.P.'s.

In the conditions of the maturing of the world revolutionary crisis, when the bourgeoisie is trying to divert the ferment, the discontent and the indignation of the masses into the channel of fascistisation and war in order to strengthen its dictatorship, the main task of the Communists is to direct this mass movement towards the fight for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the exploiting classes.

(a) The Fight Against Fascist Ideology.

The Communists must:—

Daily and concretely expose Chauvinism to the masses in every country and oppose it by proletarian internationalism.

In the imperialist countries come out determinedly for the independence of the colonies, for the liberation of the dependent nations from all national oppression.

In the key-points of national antagonisms Communists must struggle against imperialist occupation and violence, for the right of self-determination (Upper Silesia, the Saar, Northern Bohemia, etc.) coming out in all these regions, and also in Austria and Danzig against the chauvinism of their national bourgeoisie and against incorporation in the hang-

men's "third realm" of German Fascism.

"Brush Aside the Fatalist Defeatist Line."

Widely popularise the solution of the national question in the U.S.S.R. and the tremendous economic, social and cultural successes achieved by the peoples which were liberated by the October Revolution.

(b) **The fight against the fascistisation of the bourgeois governments and against war.**

In the fight against the Fascistisation of the so-called "democratic" countries, the Communist Parties must first of all brush aside the fatalist, defeatist line of the inevitability of a Fascist dictatorship and imperialist war, and also the opportunist underestimation of the tempo of fascistisation and the threat of imperialist war, which condemn the Communist Parties to passivity.

In carefully explaining the economic and political slavery which the Fascist dictatorship is bringing to the toilers, showing the masses that the Fascists are not Socialists and are not bringing in a new order, but are lackeys, lickspittles of capital, the Communists must rouse the masses in time for the defence of the trade unions, of the Labor Press, of the workers' clubs, of the freedom to strike and of workers' meetings, organising protests, demonstrations, strikes and setting up fighting self-defence detachments to resist the terrorist gangs.

In the fight against the Fascist dictatorship the Communists must:—

(a) Taking as a starting point the defence of the everyday economic and political interests of the toilers, rouse the masses against the Fascist dictatorship, which deceived the workers, the peasants and the urban toilers; and expose the demagogy and all the provocations of Fascism (the burning of the Reichstag, the faking

of the Reichstag elections, etc.) stirring up strikes and leading the proletariat up to mass political strikes;

(b) Penetrate all Fascist mass organisations and also carry on revolutionary work in the forced labor camps; while fighting against the revolutionary workers leaving the Fascist trade unions individually, but not calling upon the workers to join the Fascist trade unions, the Communists must utilise all mass movements as well as all manifestations of discontent shown by the masses in the Fascist trade unions in order to form and consolidate independent class trade unions, while at the same time continuing their revolutionary work inside the Fascist organisations.

(c) Expose in the eyes of the peasants the policy which Fascism pursues in the interests of the landlords and the kulaks, illustrating this by concrete examples from their own farm life; join the mass Fascist organisations in the rural districts in order to split off the toiling peasants; organise the agricultural proletariat in independent trade unions, which are to serve as the main lever for the whole work in the rural districts.

The Fight Against War.

In fighting against war, the Communists must prepare even now for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, and concentrate their forces in each country, at the vital parts of the war machine of imperialism.

In addition to increased agitation, the Communist Parties must by all means in their power ensure the practical organisation of mass action (increasing the work among the railway men, seamen, and harbor workers), preventing the shipping of arms and troops, hindering the execution of orders for belligerent countries, organising demonstrations against military manoeuvres, etc.), and must intensify political educational work in the army and in the navy.

Defend U.S.S.R. and Chinese Revolution.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls upon all the sections of the Communist International, upon all the workers and the toilers of the world self-sacrificingly to defend the U.S.S.R. against the counter-revolutionary conspiracy of the imperialists and to defend the Chinese revolution and its Soviet Power from imperialist intervention.

(d) Against Social-Democracy and for a United Front from Below.

In their fight against Social-Democracy, the Communists must prove to the workers that the new bankruptcy of Social-Democracy and the Second International was historically inevitable. While carefully exposing to the masses and refuting the hypocritical and treacherous sophistries of Social-Democracy, the Communists must win over the Social-Democratic workers for active revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Communist Parties.

United Front Appeal Fully Approved.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. fully approves the appeal for a united front issued by the Presidium of the Political Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. and the position of the Political Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. in the correspondence with the British Independent Labor Party.

Social-Democracy which split the working class by its treachery at the time of the imperialist war and the October Revolution, has in all countries, in accordance with the directives of the Second International, refused the offers made by the Communist Parties for united working-class action, and sabotaged the united anti-Fascist and anti-war movements created in Amsterdam and Paris, and in the face of Fascism and war, strove to deepen the split in the ranks of the proletariat.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls upon all sections of the Communist International persistently to fight for the realisation of a united militant front with the Social-Democratic workers—in spite of and against the will of the treacherous leaders of Social-Democracy.

The Plenum fully approves the resolution of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. of April 1, 1933, on the situation in Germany and the political line pursued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, headed by Comrade Thaelmann, before and at the time of the Fascist coup. The Plenum notes the Bolshevik heroic struggle waged by the Communist Party of Germany against the Fascist dictatorship.

(e) The tasks of Mass work and the strengthening of the Communist Parties.

The fulfilment of these fundamental tasks demands the genuine reorganisation of the whole of the mass work of the Communist Parties, especially the work in the factories and trade unions, which still represents their weakest sector.

In the situation when the toilers are in a state of great ferment, the Communists, while taking into account the moods of the masses, must formulate slogans and demands in such a way as to make them arise from the present level of the movement; at the same time they must show the workers the revolutionary way out. This means:—

(a) That the content and language of agitation and the Press must henceforth be addressed to the broadest strata of the proletariat and the toilers, showing the face of the Communist Parties both in agitation and in mass actions (demonstrations, strikes and other mass actions).

(b) Securing within the shortest time possible a decisive turn to the work in the factories, concentrating the forces of the Party organisation in the decisive enterprises

and raising the political level of the leadership given by the factory nuclei to the daily class struggles.

(c) Putting an end to the opportunistic, defeatist neglect of trade union work, and in particular work inside the reformist unions and the mass Fascist and Christian trade unions, in accordance with the directives given by the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on work inside the trade unions;

(d) Really developing mass work among the unemployed, carrying on an untiring fight for social insurance for all kinds of municipal relief;

(e) Intensifying revolutionary work in the rural districts, opposing the landlord-kulak slogan of a "united countryside" by the class slogans of the toilers and by the agrarian programme of the Soviet revolution; at the same time, developing the fight for all the partial demands of the peasantry, at the same time opposing the kulak demands which conflict with the interests of the proletariat and the village poor; obtaining a foothold (trade unions of agricultural workers, peasant committees) among the farm laborers, poor peasants and the semi-proletarian elements of the villages; to win over the basic masses of the small and middle peasants;

(f) Increasing the mass work among women, at the same time promoting and training, even now, a body of active Party women who, during the war, could in a number of cases replace mobilised comrades;

(g) Putting an end to the narrowness of the Young Communist League and really turning it towards the masses of the working youth, struggling against the compulsory government system of fascistation and militarisation; the Communist Parties must give every possible help to the Y.C.L. in developing the work inside the mass bour-

geois and reformist youth organisations (culture, sporting, etc.) and in the formation of Y.C.L. cells in the factories.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. sets before all Communist Parties as most important tasks the carrying on of regular and constant check-up on the fulfilment of decisions, especially on mass work, the organisational strengthening of their ranks, of preparing to go underground, of tightening up discipline and fighting fitness of every Party organisation and of every member of the Party.

Prepare in Good Time For Underground Work.

The whole situation demands that the Communist Parties prepare in good time cadres for underground work, that they seriously tackle the question of combating provocateurs, that they combine the methods of strict secrecy with securing the best contacts with the masses, avoiding the schematic structure and work of the underground organisation.

Only the concentration of all the efforts of the Party organisations on forming underground factory nuclei and intensifying the work of the Communist fractions in all the mass organisations can ensure contacts with the masses and also the maximum of secrecy and efficiency.

In carrying out these tasks the Communists must utilise all legal possibilities to develop mass work and to link up legal and underground work.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls on all sections of the Comintern ruthlessly to root out opportunism in all its forms, and above all, Right opportunism (Gutman, Remmele, Neumann, the defeatists in other countries in their estimate of the prospects of the German revolution), without which the Communists will not be able to lead the working

masses up to the victorious struggles for the Soviet Power.

(f) For a revolutionary way out of the crisis—for a Soviet Government.

(1) The Communist Parties must with all resoluteness raise before the masses the task of the revolutionary way out of the crisis of capitalism.

Against the quack recipes of the Fascists and Social-Fascists for saving decaying capitalism, the Communists must prove to the masses that the ills of capitalism are incurable. Therefore, the Communists, while defending in every way the demands of the toilers, must untiringly disclose to the masses who are suffering from starvation and exploitation the whole truth, viz., that their catastrophic conditions will grow worse and worse under the blows of the continuous offensive of capitalism, until the toilers succeed in uniting their forces for a counter blow and the crushing of the bourgeois rule.

The Way Out of the Crisis.

There is no way out of the general crisis of capitalism other than the one shown by the October Revolution, viz., the overthrow of the exploiting classes by the proletariat, the confiscation of the banks, of the factories, the mines, transport, houses, the stocks of goods of the capitalists, the lands of the landlords, the Church and the Crown.

(2) It is necessary increasingly to popularise the living example of the land of the Soviets and to explain to the toilers and the exploited masses in all capitalist countries how Soviet economy, freed from the anarchy and the crisis of capitalism, is in the position to develop unhindered the productive forces on the basis of a Socialist plan; how the Soviet workers and all the toilers are vitally interested in this development and in its rapid tempo; how the Soviet proletarian State, which is at the same time the organisation of the power of

the proletariat, as well as the dominating productive organisation of society, constantly increases the social wealth and thereby the welfare of all the toilers, whereas every bourgeois State, by becoming more and more a social economic parasite, devours and exhausts the economic forces of the people.

Show What Soviet Power Will Give Toilers.

It is necessary to unfold before the toilers of each country a programme which, basing itself on the experience of the great triumphs of the Soviet workers and collective farmers on all fronts of the class struggle and Socialist construction, should, while making allowance for the peculiar conditions of the different countries, show what the Soviet Power will give them in their own country.

At the same time it is necessary to emphasise in particular the abolition of unemployment and the elimination of uncertainty for the morrow under the Soviet Power; the constant improvement in the conditions of labor and social insurance, along with the reduction of the working day; the liberation of the toilers of the countryside from all the remnants of feudalism and from all bondage; the provision of land for the landless peasants and those having little land; the support given to the poor peasants and the assistance rendered to the peasant Co-operative Societies and collective farms; the throwing open of all the doors of cultural development to the working-class youth and to all the toilers, etc.

The Chief Slogan of Communist International.

The Soviet Power, which is based on the mass organisation of the workers the semi-proletarians, offers the possibility of the wide and real en-

The "demand" thus created for means of extermination and destruction, combined with open inflation (U.S.A., Great Britain and Japan), super-dumping (Japan), and hidden inflation (Germany) has in the past year caused an increase in output in some branches of industry in a number of countries (particularly iron, steel, non-ferrous metals, the chemical and textile industries).

Furious Struggle for Foreign Markets.

But this whipping up of production for non-productive purposes, or the speculative leaps in production on the basis of inflation, is accompanied by stagnation or a fall in production in a number of other branches (machine construction, building, the production of articles of consumption), and in the near future cannot but lead to the still greater disturbance of State finances and to a still further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism.

The furious struggle for foreign and colonial markets has already assumed the form of actual international economic war.

(5) Therefore the Social-Democratic estimation of the present world situation as one in which capitalism has succeeded in consolidating its position, in which it is already on the path towards overcoming its general crisis, is completely wrong.

As distinguished from the first wave of the fascisation of capitalist States which took place at the time of the transition from a revolutionary crisis to partial stabilisation, the capitalist world is now passing from the end of capitalist stabilisation to a revolutionary crisis, which determines other perspectives of development of Fascism and the world revolutionary movement of the toilers.

Even the most savage terror which the bourgeoisie employs in order to suppress the revolutionary movement

cannot, in the conditions when capitalism is shaken, for long frighten the advanced strata of the toilers and restrain it from taking action; the indignation which this terror has aroused even among the majority of the workers who followed the Social-Democrats, makes them more susceptible to Communist agitation and propaganda.

When the bourgeoisie reorganises its tottering dictatorship on a Fascist basis in order to create a firm, solid government, this, in the present conditions, leads to the strengthening, not only of its class terrorism, but also of the elements which disrupt its power, to the destruction of the authority of bourgeois law in the eyes of the broad masses, to the growth of internal friction among the bourgeoisie and to the acceleration of the collapse of its main social support—Social-Democracy.

Aggressive War Policy and Danger for Capitalism.

Finally, when the bourgeoisie tries, by an aggressive war policy, to strengthen its foreign position, it extremely intensifies international antagonisms and the danger for capitalism which arises from them.

(6) It would, therefore, be a Right opportunist error to fail to see now the objective tendencies of the accelerated maturing of a revolutionary crisis in the capitalist world. But the presence and operation of these tendencies, both economic and political, do not imply that revolutionary development is proceeding upwards by itself, or unhindered, without resistance from counteracting forces. Revolutionary development is simultaneously hindered and accelerated by the Fascist fury of the bourgeoisie.

The question as to how soon the rule of bankrupt capitalism will be overthrown by the proletariat will be determined by the fighting preparedness of the majority of the working-class, by the successful work of the Commu-

nist Parties in undermining the mass influence of Social-Democracy.

In the present situation, in conditions when antagonistic class forces are strained to the utmost, the growth of the revolutionary mass movement in individual capitalist countries can have a constant or level character even less than before.

Wave of Mass Strikes in America.

In China there is war, intervention and revolution. In Japan there is the growth of the forces of revolution and the mobilisation of the military Fascist forces on the eve of great class conflicts. In Spain there is the clash between revolution and counter-revolution.

In the U.S.A., there is a wave of mass strikes of the workers and indignation among the farmers against the bourgeois programme for overcoming the crisis.

In Germany, the revolutionary hatred of the proletariat is growing at the present moment in less open forms. There, enormous revolutionary energy is being accumulated among the masses and a new revolutionary upsurge is already beginning.

The strained situation in Germany sharpens to the extreme the class relations in the neighboring countries—in Czechoslovakia, Austria, the Baltic countries, as well as in the Scandinavian countries, in Holland, Belgium and in Switzerland.

In Poland, the mass strikes of the workers are accompanied by big revolutionary actions in the Polish rural districts. In Bulgaria, in spite of the terror, the majority of the working class solidly follow the Communist Party. In Rumania there is a big strike of railwaymen, with barricade fighting.

At the same time the main stronghold of the world proletariat, the powerful Land of the Soviets, the land of the victorious working-class which

is making the present year into the last year of economic difficulties, raising the well-being of the toiling masses to a new and higher level, by its great Socialist victories, serves as an inspiration to the toilers of all countries in their revolutionary struggle.

The mainstays of capitalism are already being destroyed by virtue of its profound, insoluble contradictions. The world economic crisis is the most closely interwoven with the general crisis of capitalism, and sharpens all the cardinal contradictions of the capitalist world to such an extent that a turn may take place at any moment, a turn which will signify the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis.

The great task of the international proletariat is to turn this crisis of the capitalist world into the victory of the proletarian revolution.

II.—THE IMPERIALIST PREPARATIONS FOR A NEW WORLD WAR.

The growing uncertainty of the bourgeoisie as to the possibility of finding a way out of the crisis only by the intensified exploitation of the toilers of their own countries, has led the imperialists to put their main stake on war. The international situation bears all the features of the eve of a new world war.

(1) The flames of a new world war are flaring up in the Pacific. The Japanese militarists, spurred on by the profound internal crisis which the bourgeois-landlord monarchy is undergoing, are continuing the predatory war against China, and with the aid of the Kuomintang are subjugating Northern China and are preparing a blow against the Mongolian People's Republic.

British imperialism is stretching out its hand to the South-Eastern provinces of China, Tibet, Szechwan,

while French imperialism is stretching out its hand towards Yunnan. The Fascist military clique of Japan is acting as the battering ram against the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution in China.

The American, Japanese and British imperialisms are behind the Kuomintang in its sixth campaign against the only people's government in China, against the Chinese Soviets.

A Big Factor of the World Revolution.

The victories of the Soviet revolution in China, the partisan war in Manchuria, the growth of the revolutionary forces in Japan and of the liberation movement of the colonial peoples, create a new front in the rear of the imperialists.

The Soviet revolution in China has become a big factor of the world revolution.

(2) The Japanese militarists are calling to the German Fascists and the British imperialists to unleash a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. from the East and from the West. Pursuing a policy of continuous provocation against the U.S.S.R. and contemplating the seizure of Soviet territory, the Fascist militarists of Japan are acting as an outpost in a counter-revolutionary war against the Land of the Soviets.

At the same time, German Fascism is inviting the international bourgeoisie to purchase its national socialist mercenaries to fight against the U.S.S.R., intriguing with British, Italian and Polish imperialisms (the German-Polish negotiations).

The British imperialists at the present time have taken the place of the French as the chief organisers of an anti-Soviet war.

The Soviet Union has achieved considerable successes in the unswerving and firm policy of peace it has pursued in the interests of all the toilers (a number of pacts of non-aggression, a number of new recognitions, the

definition of the aggressor, the forced raising of the embargo by Great Britain).

The Land of the Soviets is the only bulwark of peace and of the independence of the weak States against the attacks of the predatory imperialists. By its proletarian policy it is winning more and more the confidence of the toilers of the whole world and of the oppressed nations.

"Europe Has Become a Powder Magazine."

Retarding the outbreak of a new war by the gigantic growth of its power, the U.S.S.R. invokes upon itself a new wave of hatred on the part of the most reactionary and aggressive groups of the imperialists.

(3) The Fascist Government of Germany, which is the chief instigator of war in Europe, is provoking trouble in Danzig, in Austria, in the Saar, in the Baltic countries and in Scandinavia, and, on the pretext of fighting against Versailles, is trying to form a bloc for the purpose of bringing about a new, bloody carving up of Europe for the benefit of German imperialism.

Imperialist blocs, headed either by France or Italy, or by Britain, which intrigues behind their backs, are being feverishly reorganised around the key-points of imperialist contradictions. Europe has become a powder-magazine which may explode at any moment.

British and American imperialisms, availing themselves of the war alarm in Europe and the events in the Far East, are increasing their preparations for a decisive imperialist struggle for world hegemony in the Atlantic and in the Pacific.

(4) In this situation Social-Democracy sticks at nothing in the support of the imperialist interests of its own bourgeoisie and combines this support with service to the international capital against the U.S.S.R.

Japanese Social-Democracy and the trade union leaders, following Gene-

ral Araki, proclaim the civilising mission of Japanese imperialism in Asia and justify the predatory conquests of their bourgeoisie in China on the grounds of the "interest of Socialism."

In England the National-Laborites, in conjunction with the Conservatives, are pursuing the predatory policy of British imperialism; the Labor Party deceiving the workers by its pseudo-opposition to the government is striving after Ministerial posts in order to continue what, in fact, is the same imperialist policy.

The French Socialists (as well as the Social-Democrats of Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc.), carrying out the "sacred unity of the nation" under the slogans of "defence of democracy," and "defence against German Fascism," actively participate in the preparations for war against Germany.

German Social-Democracy openly voted in the Reichstag for the national front of German Fascism, which is preparing for a military adventure.

At the same time the Second and Amsterdam Internationals are adapting their policy to the situation of the eve of war, try to safeguard the interests of their own bourgeoisie and to ensure that the main blow will be directed at the U.S.S.R.; they hypocritically mask this by expressing readiness to reply to war by a general strike and a boycott, but they declare in advance that they will do so only against the government that will be declared the aggressor by the League of Nations.

Historical Task of International Communism.

They pretend to be leading a boycott against goods from Fascist Germany, but they persecute the workers who really carry out this boycott. Under the slogans of pacifism and of a fight against war and Fascism, they act as pioneers in working up public opinion in the capitalist countries in favor of a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.

The bourgeoisie wants to postpone the doom of capitalism by a criminal imperialist war and a counter-revolutionary campaign against the land of victorious Socialism.

The great historical task of international Communism is to mobilise the broad masses against war even before war has begun, and thereby hasten the doom of capitalism.

Only a Bolshevik struggle before the outbreak of war for the triumph of revolution can assure the victory of a revolution that breaks out in connection with war.

The Tasks of the C.P.'s.

In the conditions of the maturing of the world revolutionary crisis, when the bourgeoisie is trying to divert the ferment, the discontent and the indignation of the masses into the channel of fascistisation and war in order to strengthen its dictatorship, the main task of the Communists is to direct this mass movement towards the fight for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the exploiting classes.

(a) The Fight Against Fascist Ideology.

The Communists must:—

Daily and concretely expose Chauvinism to the masses in every country and oppose it by proletarian internationalism.

In the imperialist countries come out determinedly for the independence of the colonies, for the liberation of the dependent nations from all national oppression.

In the key-points of national antagonisms Communists must struggle against imperialist occupation and violence, for the right of self-determination (Upper Silesia, the Saar, Northern Bohemia, etc.) coming out in all these regions, and also in Austria and Danzig against the chauvinism of their national bourgeoisie and against incorporation in the hang-

men's "third realm" of German Fascism.

"Brush Aside the Fatalist Defeatist Line."

Widely popularise the solution of the national question in the U.S.S.R. and the tremendous economic, social and cultural successes achieved by the peoples which were liberated by the October Revolution.

(b) The fight against the fascisation of the bourgeois governments and against war.

In the fight against the Fascisation of the so-called "democratic" countries, the Communist Parties must first of all brush aside the fatalist, defeatist line of the inevitability of a Fascist dictatorship and imperialist war, and also the opportunist underestimation of the tempo of fascisation and the threat of imperialist war, which condemn the Communist Parties to passivity.

In carefully explaining the economic and political slavery which the Fascist dictatorship is bringing to the toilers, showing the masses that the Fascists are not Socialists and are not bringing in a new order, but are lackeys, lickspittles of capital, the Communists must rouse the masses in time for the defence of the trade unions, of the Labor Press, of the workers' clubs, of the freedom of strike and of workers' meetings, organising protests, demonstrations, strikes and setting up fighting self-defence detachments to resist the terrorist gangs.

In the fight against the Fascist dictatorship the Communists must:—

(a) Taking as a starting point the defence of the everyday economic and political interests of the toilers, rouse the masses against the Fascist dictatorship, which deceived the workers, the peasants and the urban toilers; and expose the demagogy and all the provocations of Fascism (the burning of the Reichstag, the faking

of the Reichstag elections, etc.) stirring up strikes and leading the proletariat up to mass political strikes;

(b) Penetrate all Fascist mass organisations and also carry on revolutionary work in the forced labor camps; while fighting against the revolutionary workers leaving the Fascist trade unions individually, but not calling upon the workers to join the Fascist trade unions, the Communists must utilise all mass movements as well as all manifestations of discontent shown by the masses in the Fascist trade unions in order to form and consolidate independent class trade unions, while at the same time continuing their revolutionary work inside the Fascist organisations.

(c) Expose in the eyes of the peasants the policy which Fascism pursues in the interests of the landlords and the kulaks, illustrating this by concrete examples from their own farm life; join the mass Fascist organisations in the rural districts in order to split off the toiling peasants; organise the agricultural proletariat in independent trade unions, which are to serve as the main lever for the whole work in the rural districts.

The Fight Against War.

In fighting against war, the Communists must prepare even now for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, and concentrate their forces in each country, at the vital parts of the war machine of imperialism.

In addition to increased agitation, the Communist Parties must by all means in their power ensure the practical organisation of mass action (increasing the work among the railway men, seamen, and harbor workers), preventing the shipping of arms and troops, hindering the execution of orders for belligerent countries, organising demonstrations against military manoeuvres, etc.), and must intensify political educational work in the army and in the navy.

Defend U.S.S.R. and Chinese Revolution.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls upon all the sections of the Communist International, upon all the workers and the toilers of the world self-sacrificingly to defend the U.S.S.R. against the counter-revolutionary conspiracy of the imperialists and to defend the Chinese revolution and its Soviet Power from imperialist intervention.

(d) Against Social-Democracy and for a United Front from Below.

In their fight against Social-Democracy, the Communists must prove to the workers that the new bankruptcy of Social-Democracy and the Second International was historically inevitable. While carefully exposing to the masses and refuting the hypocritical and treacherous sophistries of Social-Democracy, the Communists must win over the Social-Democratic workers for active revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Communist Parties.

United Front Appeal Fully Approved.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. fully approves the appeal for a united front issued by the Presidium of the Political Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. and the position of the Political Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. in the correspondence with the British Independent Labor Party.

Social-Democracy which split the working class by its treachery at the time of the imperialist war and the October Revolution, has in all countries, in accordance with the directives of the Second International, refused the offers made by the Communist Parties for united working-class action, and sabotaged the united anti-Fascist and anti-war movements created in Amsterdam and Paris, and in the face of Fascism and war, strove to deepen the split in the ranks of the proletariat.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls upon all sections of the Communist International persistently to fight for the realisation of a united militant front with the Social-Democratic workers—in spite of and against the will of the treacherous leaders of Social-Democracy.

The Plenum fully approves the resolution of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. of April 1, 1933, on the situation in Germany and the political line pursued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, headed by Comrade Thaelmann, before and at the time of the Fascist coup. The Plenum notes the Bolshevik heroic struggle waged by the Communist Party of Germany against the Fascist dictatorship.

(e) The tasks of Mass work and the strengthening of the Communist Parties.

The fulfilment of these fundamental tasks demands the genuine reorganisation of the whole of the mass work of the Communist Parties, especially the work in the factories and trade unions, which still represents their weakest sector.

In the situation when the toilers are in a state of great ferment, the Communists, while taking into account the moods of the masses, must formulate slogans and demands in such a way as to make them arise from the present level of the movement; at the same time they must show the workers the revolutionary way out. This means:—

(a) That the content and language of agitation and the Press must henceforth be addressed to the broadest strata of the proletariat and the toilers, showing the face of the Communist Parties both in agitation and in mass actions (demonstrations, strikes and other mass actions).

(b) Securing within the shortest time possible a decisive turn to the work in the factories, concentrating the forces of the Party organisation in the decisive enterprises

and raising the political level of the leadership given by the factory nuclei to the daily class struggles.

(c) Putting an end to the opportunist, defeatist neglect of trade union work, and in particular work inside the reformist unions and the mass Fascist and Christian trade unions, in accordance with the directives given by the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on work inside the trade unions;

(d) Really developing mass work among the unemployed, carrying on an untiring fight for social insurance for all kinds of municipal relief;

(e) Intensifying revolutionary work in the rural districts, opposing the landlord-kulak slogan of a "united countryside" by the class slogans of the toilers and by the agrarian programme of the Soviet revolution; at the same time, developing the fight for all the partial demands of the peasantry, at the same time opposing the kulak demands which conflict with the interests of the proletariat and the village poor; obtaining a foothold (trade unions of agricultural workers, peasant committees) among the farm laborers, poor peasants and the semi-proletarian elements of the villages; to win over the basic masses of the small and middle peasants;

(f) Increasing the mass work among women, at the same time promoting and training, even now, a body of active Party women who, during the war, could in a number of cases replace mobilised comrades;

(g) Putting an end to the narrowness of the Young Communist League and really turning it towards the masses of the working youth, struggling against the compulsory government system of fascisation and militarisation; the Communist Parties must give every possible help to the Y.C.L. in developing the work inside the mass bour-

geois and reformist youth organisations (culture, sporting, etc.) and in the formation of Y.C.L. cells in the factories.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. sets before all Communist Parties as most important tasks the carrying on of regular and constant check-up on the fulfilment of decisions, especially on mass work, the organisational strengthening of their ranks, of preparing to go underground, of tightening up discipline and fighting fitness of every Party organisation and of every member of the Party.

Prepare in Good Time For Underground Work.

The whole situation demands that the Communist Parties prepare in good time cadres for underground work, that they seriously tackle the question of combating provocateurs, that they combine the methods of strict secrecy with securing the best contacts with the masses, avoiding the schematic structure and work of the underground organisation.

Only the concentration of all the efforts of the Party organisations on forming underground factory nuclei and intensifying the work of the Communist fractions in all the mass organisations can ensure contacts with the masses and also the maximum of secrecy and efficiency.

In carrying out these tasks the Communists must utilise all legal possibilities to develop mass work and to link up legal and underground work.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls on all sections of the Comintern ruthlessly to root out opportunism in all its forms, and above all, Right opportunism (Gutman, Remmele, Neumann, the defeatists in other countries in their estimate of the prospects of the German revolution), without which the Communists will not be able to lead the working

masses up to the victorious struggles for the Soviet Power.

(f) For a revolutionary way out of the crisis—for a Soviet Government.

(1) The Communist Parties must with all resoluteness raise before the masses the task of the revolutionary way out of the crisis of capitalism.

Against the quack recipes of the Fascists and Social-Fascists for saving decaying capitalism, the Communists must prove to the masses that the ills of capitalism are incurable. Therefore, the Communists, while defending in every way the demands of the toilers, must untiringly disclose to the masses who are suffering from starvation and exploitation the whole truth, viz., that their catastrophic conditions will grow worse and worse under the blows of the continuous offensive of capitalism, until the toilers succeed in uniting their forces for a counter blow and the crushing of the bourgeois rule.

The Way Out of the Crisis.

There is no way out of the general crisis of capitalism other than the one shown by the October Revolution, viz., the overthrow of the exploiting classes by the proletariat, the confiscation of the banks, of the factories, the mines, transport, houses, the stocks of goods of the capitalists, the lands of the landlords, the Church and the Crown.

(2) It is necessary increasingly to popularise the living example of the land of the Soviets and to explain to the toilers and the exploited masses in all capitalist countries how Soviet economy, freed from the anarchy and the crisis of capitalism, is in the position to develop unhindered the productive forces on the basis of a Socialist plan; how the Soviet workers and all the toilers are vitally interested in this development and in its rapid tempo; how the Soviet proletarian State, which is at the same time the organisation of the power of

the proletariat, as well as the dominating productive organisation of society, constantly increases the social wealth and thereby the welfare of all the toilers, whereas every bourgeois State, by becoming more and more a social economic parasite, devours and exhausts the economic forces of the people.

Show What Soviet Power Will Give Toilers.

It is necessary to unfold before the toilers of each country a programme which, basing itself on the experience of the great triumphs of the Soviet workers and collective farmers on all fronts of the class struggle and Socialist construction, should, while making allowance for the peculiar conditions of the different countries, show what the Soviet Power will give them in their own country.

At the same time it is necessary to emphasise in particular the abolition of unemployment and the elimination of uncertainty for the morrow under the Soviet Power; the constant improvement in the conditions of labor and social insurance, along with the reduction of the working day; the liberation of the toilers of the countryside from all the remnants of feudalism and from all bondage; the provision of land for the landless peasants and those having little land; the support given to the poor peasants and the assistance rendered to the peasant Co-operative Societies and collective farms; the throwing open of all the doors of cultural development to the working-class youth and to all the toilers, etc.

The Chief Slogan of Communist International.

The Soviet Power, which is based on the mass organisation of the workers the semi-proletarians, offers the possibility of the wide and real en-

joyment of democracy by all the toiling masses who were formerly oppressed by capitalism.

The Soviet Power is the State form of the proletarian dictatorship.

The Soviet Power is the State form of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants, which ensures the growing over of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a Socialist Revolution (China, etc.).

It is democracy for the toilers, but a stern dictatorship against the exploiters.

(3) It is necessary with all insistence to raise the question of power in the mass work of the Communist Parties. The Chief Slogan of the Communist International is: Soviet Power.

The example of the U.S.S.R. is the example of Bolshevism. Only this example shows the way out, and the

way to save the exploited and oppressed in all the imperialist and colonial countries.

The example of Bolshevism is the example of proletarian internationalism. The victory of the Socialist Revolution is possible only by strengthening the international ties of the revolutionary proletariat.

The way of Bolshevism is the way of uniting the proletarian forces of all nationalities and races; it is the way of their joint struggle hand in hand with the proletariat against the oppressors and exploiters.

The Plenum of the E.C.C.I. obliges all sections of the Communist International to be on guard at every turn of events, and to exert every effort without losing a moment for the revolutionary preparation of the proletariat for the impending decisive battles for power.

Labad
Collection

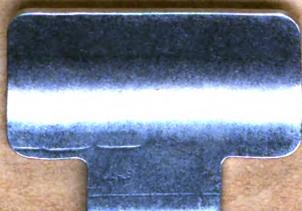
HX

11

IS

A57

1934



Publisher's Announcement

Modern Publishers announce that the following important publications will be available for distribution at an early date:

- (1) **"CHINA,"** by Wan-Min. War, Intervention, and Revolution. This will be the first authoritative publication dealing with this subject published in Australia.
 - (2) **"GERMANY,"** by W. Pieck, is an inspiring account of the heroic fight of the German workers against the Fascist dictatorship.
 - (3) **STALIN'S REPORT TO THE 17th PARTY CONGRESS OF THE C.P.S.U.**
-

JUST OFF THE PRESS

(1) **"WHAT IS THE COMMUNIST PARTY?"** by Emile Burns—a brilliant and simply couched answer to the question asked by many people. Price 2d., or 1/6 per dozen for bulk orders.

(3) **"OCTOBER,"** a refutation of the Trotsky theories from the pens of Lenin and Stalin. Price 3d., or 2/3 per doz.

Very limited stocks of **"THE STATE,"** by N. Lenin, are still on hand. Orders for the remaining supplies should be forwarded immediately. Price 2d. per copy, or 1/6 per doz.

Orders and remittances should be forwarded to Box 196, Haymarket P.O., N.S.W.