

13TH PLENUM

**THESES AND
DECISIONS**



EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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●

**Fascism, the Danger of War and the
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Report by O. KUUSINEN15

We are Fighting for a Soviet Germany

*Report by WILHELM PIECK, Secretary of the
Communist Party of Germany*15

**The Communist Parties in the Fight for
the Masses**

Speech by O. PIATNITSKY15

Revolutionary Crisis, Fascism and War

Speech by D. Z. MANUILSKY05

**Fascism, Social-Democracy and the
Communists**

Speech by V. KNORIN, Member of the E.C.C.I.10

Revolutionary China Today

Speeches by WAN MING and KANG SIN15

**The Revolutionary Struggle of the
Toiling Masses of Japan**

Speech by OKANO, Japan05

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of the Communist International — December, 1933

Theses and Decisions

Thirteenth Plenum of the
E. C. C. I.



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CONTENTS

ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING THE THIRTEENTH PLENUM OF THE E.C.C.I.	3
THESES OF THE THIRTEENTH PLENUM OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL	5
DECISION OF THE THIRTEENTH PLENUM OF THE E.C.C.I. ON THE CALLING OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL	22
DECISION OF THE THIRTEENTH PLENUM REGARD- ING THE FINANCIAL REPORT OF THE E.C.C.I.	23

Announcement Concerning the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

THE Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International was held in Moscow in December.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. heard the following reports:

1. Report by Comrade Kuusinen on Fascism, the war danger and the tasks of the Communist Parties.

2. Reports from the Parties:

(a) Report by Comrade Pieck on the activity of the Communist Party of Germany.

(b) Report by Comrade Pollitt on united front tactics in England.

After hearing Comrade Kuusinen's report and the reports of Comrades Pieck and Pollitt, the Plenum, following upon a thorough discussion, adopted its theses on fascism, the war danger and the tasks of the Communist Parties.

In connection with the report by Comrade Pieck, the Plenum approved the work of the C.P. of Germany since the coming to power of the fascists and the proposed plan for further activity.

In connection with Comrade Pollitt's report the plenum declared that the C.P. of Great Britain had achieved some success in carrying out the united front, particularly with regard to the Independent Labor Party. The Plenum proposed that the C.P. of Great Britain strengthen its struggle for a united front on the basis of concrete demands, drawing in the workers who still support the Labor Party and the trade union bureaucrats, at the same time exposing the maneuvers of the leaders of the Labor Party and the Independent Labor Party.

3. With regard to the third point on the agenda, the Plenum decided to call the Seventh Congress of the Comintern during the second half of 1934.

The Plenum carried out supplementary elections to the Presidium and approved the financial report of the E.C.C.I.

The Plenum also issued an appeal on the White Terror to the workers of all countries.

All decisions were adopted by the Plenum unanimously.

The Theses and decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. are to be published simultaneously with this announcement.

POLITICAL SECRETARIAT
OF THE E.C.C.I.

Theses of the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

THE development of the general crisis of capitalism, after the end of the relative stabilization that was noted by the last (XII) Plenum of the Executive Committee, Communist International, 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 overthrow the intolerable yoke of the exploiting classes are growing more and more.

The tremendous strains 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 revolution and wars.

I.—Fascism and the Maturing of the Revolutionary Crisis

1. Fascism is the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance cap-

ital. 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, also trying to penetrate into the working class.

The growth of fascism and its coming into power in Germany and in a number of other capitalist countries mean:

(a) That the revolutionary crisis and the indignation of the broad masses against the rule of capital are 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.

FASCISM BORN IN THE WOMB OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

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 fascization of bourgeois democracy and makes a contrast between the 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 paralyzed by the corrupting influence of social-democracy more than by anything else.

2. While the general line of all bourgeois parties, including social-democracy, is towards the fascization of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the realization of this line inevitably gives rise to disagreement among them as to forms and methods of fascization.

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 fascization 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 fascization 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 fascized.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY MAIN PROP OF BOURGEOISIE

3. The establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany has unmasked *German Social-Democracy* before the whole world. 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 cooperate 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 radicalization 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. On the basis of the sharp antagonisms between the imperialist countries, the international organization of social-democracy is disintegrating. The crisis of the Second International is a fact.

FINANCE CAPITAL CANNOT RESTORE STABILIZATION OF CAPITALISM

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 stabilization of capitalism; on the contrary, it is helping still further to disintegrate the mechanism of capitalist economy (disorganization of the money system, of the budget, state bankruptcies, a further deepening of the agrarian crisis), and to sharply 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). 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 an actual international economic war.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY'S WRONG ESTIMATE OF THE CRISIS

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 fascization of capitalist states which took place at the time of the transition from a revolutionary crisis to partial stabilization, the capitalist world is now passing from the end of capitalist stabilization 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 reorganizes 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. Finally, when the bourgeoisie tries, by an aggressive war policy, to strengthen its foreign position, it intensifies extremely international antagonisms and the danger for capitalism which arises from them.

THE MATURING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS

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 Communist 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. In *China* there is a war, intervention and revolution. In *Japan* there is the growth of the forces of revolution and the mobilization 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 program 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 follows 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.

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.

SOVIET CHINA A BIG FACTOR OF WORLD REVOLUTION

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 southeastern 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 imperialists are behind the Kuomintang in its sixth campaign against the only people's government in China, against the Chinese Soviets. 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.

UNLEASHING COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY WAR AGAINST U.S.S.R.

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 imperialists (the German-Polish negotiations). The British imperialists at the present time have taken the place of the French as the chief organizers 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 of 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. 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.

FASCIST GERMANY CHIEF INSTIGATOR OF WAR IN EUROPE

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 reorganized around the key-points of imperialist contradictions. Europe has become a powder-magazine which may explode at any moment.

British and American imperialists, 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.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IN SUPPORT OF IMPERIALISM

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 international capital against the U.S.S.R.

Japanese social-democracy and the trade union leaders, following

General Araki, proclaim the civilizing mission of Japanese imperialism in Asia and justify the predatory conquests of their bourgeoisie in China on the grounds of the "interests 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 "defense of democracy", and "defense against German fascism", actively participate in the preparations for war against Germany. The 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, trying 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 ask 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. 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 mobilize 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.

III.—The Tasks of the Communist Parties

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 *fascization 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 keypoints 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 hangmen's "third empire" of German fascism.

Widely popularize 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 FASCIZATION OF THE BOURGEOIS GOVERNMENTS AND AGAINST WAR

In the fight against the fascization 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 fascization 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 defense of the trade unions, of the labor press, of the workers' clubs, of the freedom to strike and of workers' meetings, organizing protest demonstrations, strikes, and setting up fighting self-defense detachments to resist the terrorist gangs.

In the fight against the fascist dictatorship, the Communists must:

(a) Taking as the starting point the defense of the *every-day* economic and political interests of the toilers, rouse the masses against the fascist dictatorship which deceived the workers, the peasants and the urban toilers; expose the demagoguery and all 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 the *fascist mass organizations* 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 utilize 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 organizations; (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 organizations in the rural districts in order to split off the toiling peasants; organize the *agricultural proletariat* in independent trade unions which are to serve as the main lever for the whole work in the rural districts.

In fighting *against war*, the Communists must prepare even now for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, 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 organization of *mass action* (increasing the work among the railwaymen, seamen and harbor workers, preventing the shipping of arms and troops, hindering the execution of orders for belligerent countries, organi-

zing demonstrations against military maneuvers, etc) and must intensify political educational work in the army and in the navy.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls 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.

C. 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.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. fully approves the appeal for a united front issued by the Presidium of the E.C.C.I., and the position of the Political Secretariat, 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 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, striven 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 realization 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 heroic Bolshevik struggle waged by the Communist Party of Germany against the fascist dictatorship.

IV.—The Tasks of Mass Work and the Strengthening of the Communist Parties

The fulfilment of these fundamental tasks demands the genuine reorganization 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 in both 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 organization 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 trade 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 program 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 mobilized comrades.

g) Putting an end to the *narrowness of the Y.C.L.* and really turning it towards the masses of working youth, struggling against the compulsory government system of fascization and militarization. The Communist Parties must give every possible help to the Y.C.L. in developing the work inside the mass bourgeois and reformist youth organizations (cultural, sporting, etc.) and in the formation of Y.C.L. cells in the factories.

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DISCIPLINE AND FIGHTING FITNESS

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. sets before all Communist Parties as most important tasks the carrying out of regular and constant check-ups on the strengthening of their ranks, of preparing to go underground, of tightening up the *discipline* and *fighting fitness* of every Party organization and of every member of the Party.

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

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

In carrying out these tasks, the Communists must utilize all

legal possibilities to develop mass work, and to link up legal and illegal work.

The XIII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls upon all sections of the Comintern to ruthlessly root out opportunism in all its forms, and above all, right opportunism (Remmele, Neumann, the defeatists in other countries in their estimate of the prospects of the German revolution), without which struggle the Communist Parties will not be able to lead the working masses up to the victorious struggles for the Soviet power.

V.—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 the 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 bourgeois rule.

There is no way out of the general crisis of capitalism other than the one shown by the *October Revolution*, via 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.

LIVING EXAMPLE OF SOVIET UNION

2. It is necessary increasingly to popularize 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 of 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 inter-

ested in this development and in its rapid *tempo*; how the Soviet proletarian state, which is at the same time the organization of the power of the proletariat as well as the dominating productive organization of society, constantly increases the social wealth and thereby the welfare of all the toilers, whereas every bourgeois state, being a social economic parasite, devours and exhausts the economic forces of the people.

It is necessary to unfold before the toilers of each country a program 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 emphasize 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 cooperative 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 Soviet Power, which is based on the mass organization of the workers and semi-proletarians, offers the possibility of the wide and real enjoyment 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 exploiters.

CHIEF SLOGAN IS SOVIET POWER

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 their 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.

Decision of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the Calling of the Seventh Congress of the C. I.

1. To call the Seventh Congress during the second half of 1934.
2. To instruct the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. to publish not later than June 1st, the agenda for the Congress, to name the speakers for the different questions on the agenda, and to set the quota of representation of the individual sections of the C.I. at the Seventh Congress.
3. To instruct the Sections of the C.I. to begin the preparation of the Seventh Congress in all Party organizations as soon as the Agenda is made public.
4. To instruct the Central Committees of all the Communist Parties to submit before June 1st to the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. any proposals they may have regarding the Agenda of the Congress.

Decision of the Thirteenth Plenum Regarding the Financial Report of the E.C.C.I.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., after examining the financial report for 1932, submitted by the Political Secretariat of the E.C.C.I., resolves:

- a) To approve the report in its entirety.
- b) To publish the financial Balance Sheet for 1932.

RECEIPTS

	<i>American Dollars</i>
1. Carried over from 1931.....	74,948.75
2. Membership dues (for 38 Parties, including 3,584,647 members; the Y.C.L. and 19 Parties are exempted from payment of membership dues; the remaining have not presented their financial reports)	967,819.35
3. Collections and donations	28,364.80
4. Receipts from publishing houses and telegraph agencies ..	63,390.00
Total	1,134,522.90

EXPENDITURES

1. Administrative expenditures, (maintenance of apparatus, running expenses of building, etc.)	418,120.00
2. Postal and telegraph charges	37,627.65
3. Subsidies to Party papers and publishing houses and for Party educational work	601,000.00
4. Traveling expenses	47,689.00
5. Balance for 1933.....	30,086.25
Total	1,134,522.90

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