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Tenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I.

Theses and Resolutions.

Theses on the International Situation and the Immediate Tasks of the Communist International.

(Adopted by the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. July, 1929.)

The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. declares that the development of events since the VI. World Congress fully and entirely confirms the analysis of the world economic and political situation made by the VI. Congress, as well as the correctness of the line laid down by it for the international Communist movement.

Despite the prophecies made by the social-democrats and echoed by the Right Wing and conciliatory elements, the stabilisation of capitalism has not only become no firmer, but on the contrary, is becoming more and more undermined. The

correctness of the estimation made by the VI. Congress of the present third period of post-war capitalism is being ever more obviously demonstrated as a period of the increasing growth of the general crisis of capitalism and of the accelerated accentuation of the fundamental external and internal contradictions of imperialism leading inevitably to imperialist wars, to great class conflicts, to an era of development of a new upward swing of the revolutionary movement in the principal capitalist countries, to great anti-imperialist revolutions in colonial countries.

I. The Sharpening of the Principal Contradictions of Capitalism.

1. In the course of the ten years which have passed since the end of the World War, the bourgeoisie, with the direct and active assistance of the parties of the II. International, have systematically deceived the workers with the legend that the war of 1914—1918 was the "last" war, that from now on, Germany having been crushed and disarmed, permanent peace would exist between the capitalist states (the League of Nations as the "instrument of peace", the innumerable bourgeois "disarmament" plans; the hypocritically pacifist Kellogg Pact; the Young-Plan as a method for the "peaceful solution" of the reparation problem and other increased post-war imperialist contradictions). In reality, however, at no time since the end of the war of 1914—18 has the menace of another imperialist world war been so great as at the present time. The furious struggle for markets, for sources of raw material, for the export of capital and spheres of investment is inevitably leading to war among the great imperialist powers for the expansion of economic territory, at each others' expense, to war for the redistribution of the world. The League of Nations, the instrument of British and French imperialism, is actively preparing this war. By rejecting the proposal of the U. S. S. R. for real

universal disarmament, the League of Nations exposed itself as an instrument in the preparation of war. Under the hypocritical mask of "outlawing war", the Kellogg Pact conceals the attempt of American imperialism to secure for itself the right and possibility finally to decide the question of the most favourable moment to begin the new war. The rapid increase of armaments in the imperialist countries and the establishment of new military and political alliances (England-France, England-Japan, France-Poland, etc.) are further evidence of the approaching new imperialist war — a war more gigantic, more destructive than the war of 1914—18. The re-adjustment of the reparations problem through the Young Plan in no way signifies, as asserted by the reformists, a weakening of the imperialist contradictions, but on the contrary leads to a further sharpening of the conflicts within the camp of the imperialists (British-American struggle for the reparations bank, Franco-German antagonisms), at the same time increasing the danger of a financial blockade and hence of intervention against the U. S. S. R. since Germany is increasingly being drawn into the front of the imperialist anti-Soviet war policy.

The "little" wars waged in the colonial and semi-colonial countries (China; Kwangsi and Nanking, Feng Yu-Hsiang) behind which are hidden the growing Anglo-American rivalries are but a prelude to the great war between the United States and Great Britain for world hegemony. Since the Paris Conference, the reparations problem, — which is the meeting ground of the principal antagonisms of the dominant capitalist powers, and which is connected with the shrapening of the struggle between the imperialist groups and powers for markets, sources of raw materials, spheres of capital investment — stands out more acute than ever. The international interlocking of monopolist combines of finance capital (international cartels, financing companies, the Young proposal to establish an international reparations super-bank) not only fail to diminish the danger of war, but on the contrary increase the danger and create the conditions for the transformation of the approaching war into a world war, into a war for a fresh redistribution of the globe.

At the same time, notwithstanding the rivalry and intense struggle within the imperialist camp, the fundamental world antagonism, the antagonism between the capitalist world and the U. S. S. R. as the two economic and political systems diametrically opposed to each other in principle, is becoming ever sharper. The attack of the imperialists on the U. S. S. R. is the chief menace. This is proved by the new attempts to establish and widen the anti-Soviet military bloc, the feverish growth of armaments in the States bordering on the U. S. S. R. (the reorganisation of the Rumanian army, the feverish arming of Poland aided by the French General Staff, the reactionary revolt in Afghanistan aided by Great Britain, etc.) and the systematic provocation of conflicts with the U. S. S. R. by raids on Soviet diplomatic agencies abroad. The raid on the Soviet Consulate in Harbin engineered by the imperialist powers, the insolent violation of treaty obligations with the U. S. S. R., the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway by the Chinese militarists, the mass arrests and brutal treatment of Soviet workers and functionaries constitute a direct provocation of war with the Soviet Union on the part of international finance capital. All these preparations for new imperialist wars are being carried out with the active co-operation and full participation of the "Socialist Parties", the "Left" Wing of which play the most despicable part of screening these preparations with pacifist phrases.

2. At the same time, the hopes of the bourgeoisie for the capitalist degeneration of the Soviet Union, for its gradual subjection to the capitalist world, and its consequent conversion into a colony of international capital have proven to be all in vain. Notwithstanding enormous difficulties (the technical and economic backwardness of the country inherited from the past, the extremely low level of development of peasant farming, the hostile capitalist ring encircling the country), the U. S. S. R., under the guidance of the C. P. S. U. has launched a victorious offensive against the capitalist elements in town and country, securing the decisive predominance of the socialist forms of economy over the capitalist elements. The mighty sweep of mass collectivisation of agriculture on the basis of a higher technical level, the establishment of Soviet farms, collective farms, machinery and tractor bases, and finally, the sturdy growth of socialist industry are creating new productive forms of alliance between the working class and the peasantry and are consolidating the main outposts of the proletarian dictatorship. The enthusiasm of the proletariat in building up Socialism is now finding more and more powerful expression in the development of socialist competition, in the work of increasing productivity of labour and industrial output, in the growing struggle against bureaucracy, in the combing out of elements alien to the Soviet Government from the Soviet institutions, etc. The Five-Year Plan of socialist construction calculated to bring about the further rapid industrialisation of the U. S. S. R., the maximum development of the production of means of production, the decisive strengthening of the socialist sector in town and country at the expense of the capitalist elements, the raising of agriculture to a higher level together with the drawing in of millions of peasants to the work of socialist construction, the considerable rise in the material and cultural level of the proletariat and of the toiling masses in the rural districts — this plan constitutes the greatest achievement not only for the masses of the toilers in the U. S. S. R., but also for the whole of the international proletariat. The successful realisation of this great Plan, which has been already

commenced, is strengthening the socialist foundations of the proletarian dictatorship, is increasing its power of defence and consequently strengthening the fighting positions of the world proletarian revolutionary movement. The successful progress of the U. S. S. R. along the road towards Socialism is an important factor in the undermining of capitalist stabilisation and in sharpening the general crisis of capitalism.

3. The attempt of the bourgeoisie to establish "peace in industry" in the most important capitalist countries have also proved of no avail. With the impoverishment of broad masses of the population the bourgeoisie is ever more sharply confronted with the insoluble problem of markets, which is becoming increasingly acute not only as a result of the growth of productive capacity, but also of the high prices established by the monopolist trusts and cartels — as a result of high tariff barriers, the industrial development of economically backward countries, the general instability of the situation in colonial countries, etc. The attempts of the bourgeoisie to circumvent this fundamental contradiction by means of large-scale capitalist rationalisation have been useless. Rationalisation serves only to intensify these contradictions still more. By still further increasing productive capacity, by eliminating millions of workers from the process of production, by intensifying still further the competition on the world market, capitalist rationalisation is leading to the intensification of social conflicts. The whole burden of rationalisation falls upon the shoulders of the working class, reduces its standard of living, and, as a result of the lengthening of the working day and the introduction of the conveyor system, leads to the exhaustion of labour to its extreme limit. All the social gains of the working class won in the course of decades of struggle, and particularly in the period of the revolutionary tide of 1918—1920, have either been withdrawn or are in danger of being withdrawn (the eight-hour day, social insurance, unemployment insurance, factory legislation, rights of the trade unions, right to strike). In some countries the social political gains of the proletariat are being withdrawn with the help of the social democrats under the hypocritical mask of "new reforms" (social insurance and rent restriction laws in France). Under the camouflage of "peace in industry" in Great Britain and "industrial democracy" in Germany, the fascist "compulsory arbitration" in Italy and in other countries, the bourgeoisie, aided by social democracy and the reformist trade union bureaucracy, is, with the utmost ruthlessness carrying out a policy of unashamed robbery, enslavement and barbarous oppression of the working class. Capitalist rationalisation has resulted in an enormous increase in unemployment (from 12 to 13 million unemployed in the principal capitalist countries). The ruin of the middle classes, the reduction of staffs in capitalist States, increase the numbers of the urban poor.

The position of the basic masses of the peasantry has certainly not only not improved, but on the contrary, the pauperisation of the middle and poor peasants has considerably increased. The position of these sections of the rural population is made still worse by the ever growing agricultural crisis and the growth of reaction in all countries. The bankruptcy of the notorious "prosperity" slogan of the American bourgeoisie who, in order to withstand European competition, is conducting a systematic attack on the standard of living of the American working class and multiplying the ranks of the unemployed (more than 3 million unemployed in the United States) is becoming more and more apparent. The conception of the conciliators that the inner contradictions in the capitalist countries are weakening and that it is possible to organise the internal market while preserving anarchy exclusively on the world market, is refuted by the entire development of capitalism in recent years, and in reality means capitulation before the reformist ideology.

The policy of economic strangulation of the working class is accompanied by the simultaneous growth of political reaction; the fascist transformation of the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie, the intensification of repression and white terror, fascist coup d'Etats aided by world capitalism (Yugoslavia), mass arrests of workers (France, Poland, etc.), suppression of revolutionary organisations (the prohibition of the Red Front Fighters' League in Germany), shooting down of workers during strike demonstrations (India, United States, Germany), the murder of revolutionaries with and without trial, penal servitude and long term sentences (Italy, Balkan countries, Po-

land, etc.), brutal white terror against the workers' and peasants' movement (Mexico, Cuba, Colombia, Venezuela and other countries of Latin America).

In this situation of growing imperialist contradictions and sharpening of the class struggle, fascism becomes more and more the dominant method of bourgeois rule. In countries where there are strong social-democratic parties, fascism assumes the particular form of social-fascism, which to an ever-increasing extent serves the bourgeoisie as an instrument for the paralysing of the activity of the masses in the struggle against the regime of fascist dictatorship. By means of this monstrous system of political and economic oppression, the bourgeoisie, aided and abetted by international Social Democracy, has been attempting to crush the revolutionary class movement of the proletariat for many years. But here also their calculations have proved to be wrong. The increasing militant activity of the working class, the rise of a new tide of the revolutionary labour movement, signalise the inevitable breakdown of this regime of unexampled exploitation and outrage against the toilers, which the international social democracy cynically declared to be the era of "flourishing democracy" and of capitalism growing into "socialism".

4. Nor has the bourgeoisie succeeded in suppressing the revolutionary movement in the colonies. The antagonism between imperialism and the colonial world is demonstrating itself more and more acutely in the important colonial and semi-colonial countries. After the temporary defeat of the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants in China, the Chinese bourgeoisie, whose economic interests have become closely interwoven with finance capital of the various imperialist countries (United States, Great Britain, Japan) in alliance with feudal reactionaries, proved totally bankrupt in the matter of defending the independence of China, and have in fact passed over to the camp of the imperialist enemies of this independence. The internecine war now going on in China between the three militarist cliques, who are the instruments of the various imperialist governments, strikingly demonstrates that the interests of the ruling clique in China are diametrically opposed to the interests of the national unification of China. The unification of China and its liberation from the yoke of imperialism are

II. The Parties of the II. International in Power.

5. The impotence of the bourgeoisie to find a way out of the ever more sharpening external and internal contradictions, the necessity to prepare for new imperialist wars and to secure their rear by bringing the greatest possible pressure upon the working class as "a means of extricating themselves" from the present situation; the inability of the bourgeoisie to carry out these tasks by their own efforts, without the aid of the social-democratic parties, and finally, the need to screen this policy under the mask of democracy and pacifism have led to the need of open co-operation between the bourgeoisie and the parties affiliated to the II. International. Hence, the accession to government of the social-democracy in Germany and of the Labour Party in Great Britain. The political mission of the governments of MacDonald and Müller is to carry out the policy laid down by the bourgeoisie in home politics (the utmost pressure upon the working class, — the double enslavement of the working class of Germany in connection with reparations, rationalisation in England) and in foreign politics (preparations for new wars and intensified oppression in the colonies).

In Germany we have a new experiment of the largest Party in the II. International, the German social-democratic party, being in power.

As a result of their own experiences the German workers are abandoning their illusions concerning the social-democratic Party. The social-democratic party has revealed itself as the Party which, on coming into office, has strangled the workers strikes with the noose of compulsory arbitration, has helped the capitalists to declare lockouts and liquidate the gains of the working class (8-hour day, social insurance, etc.). By the construction of cruisers and by the adoption of its new militaristic programme, breaking with all the remnants of pre-war traditions of socialism, social democracy is preparing the next war. The leading cadres of social democracy and of the reformist trade unions, fulfilling the orders of the bourgeoisie are now, through the mouth of Wels, threatening the German working class with

inseparably linked up with the agrarian revolution and the eradication of all survivals of feudalism. But the fulfilment of these fundamental tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution can be achieved only on the crest of a new powerful wave of the workers and peasants revolution headed by the working class. This revolutionary tide, the conditions for which are undoubtedly ripening, cannot fail to bring about the establishment of Soviets as the organs of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.

At the present time a powerful revolutionary movement is developing in India. The heroic strikes of the Bombay proletariat, the struggles of the toilers against the Simon Commission, the street demonstrations and street fighting, the growing agrarian movement, — all these indicate that India is already becoming one of the most important fields of battle of the colonial revolutions. The undisguised betrayal of the cause of national independence by the Indian bourgeoisie (the resolutions passed by the Swarajist Indian National Congress in favour of Dominion status) and their active support of the bloody suppression of the workers on strike, expose the counter-revolutionary character of the Indian bourgeoisie. This signifies that the independence of India, the improvement of the conditions of the working class and the solution of the agrarian problem, can be achieved only by means of the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants led by the proletariat in the struggle against British imperialism, the Indian feudal rulers and Indian national capital. The tasks of the Indian revolution can only be solved through struggle for the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry under the banner of Soviets.

Simultaneously with the approach of the revolutionary upswing in India, there is again unfolding itself the struggle in the colonies and dependent countries against the foreign conquerors (Morocco, Congo, Latin America, etc.). With the increasing growth of the revolutionary labour movement in the imperialist countries and the strengthening of the position of the U. S. S. R., the revolutionary movement in the colonies will become consolidated and grow much more rapidly than ever before and bring nearer the collapse of the whole capitalist system.

open fascist dictatorship. Social democracy prohibits May Day demonstrations. It shoots down unarmed workers during May Day demonstrations. It is the Social Democracy who suppresses the labour press ("Rote Fahne") and mass labour organisations prepares the suppression of the C. P. G. and organises the crushing of the working class by fascist methods.

This is the road of the coalition-policy of the Social Democracy leading to social-fascism. These are the results of the governing activities of the biggest Party of the II. International.

The entire policy of the Labour Party, particularly in the past few years, indicates that the MacDonald Government will proceed along the same path as that followed by German social democracy as a government party. The MacDonald Government will brutally carry out capitalist rationalisation, suppressing all and every strike movement. It will strangle the national revolutionary movement in the colonial countries, particularly in India. It will conduct an aggressive imperialist policy of war, primarily against the U. S. S. R., camouflaging this policy with pacifist phraseology. No negotiations or even temporary agreements between the MacDonald Government and the U. S. A. will avert the inevitable armed conflict between the United States and Great Britain, but will in fact mark a stage in the preparations for that conflict in the same way as the attempts of the imperialist powers to reach an agreement on the eve of the world war of 1914—1918 marked a stage in the preparations for that war. The wide-spread illusion among the British workers that the entry of the Labour Party into office signifies the coming of the working class to power will be shattered by the imperialistic and anti-labour policy of the MacDonald Government. The rapid political differentiation in the masses and their desertion of the bourgeois "Labour Party" will begin only now. The more decisively the Communist Party of Great Britain will eradicate from its ranks all remnants of Right opportunist deviations, will carry out the correct Bolshevik policy, sharpening the fight of the workers against the so-called

"Labour" Government — the sooner the toiling masses of England will realise that the "class against class" policy conducted by the Communist Party of Great Britain during the recent general election was the only correct policy and that this policy alone is hastening the liberation of the broad masses of the workers from parliamentary pacifist illusions and pointing out the correct road to the victory of the working class.

The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. declares that the fact that the two largest Parties of the II. International are now in office amidst conditions of approaching war and the increasing impoverishment of the working class, creates the conditions for a profound crisis of social democracy among the masses of the proletariat. This crisis is reflected in the acceleration of the process of radicalisation among the broad masses and inevitably leads to the loss of the influence of social democracy upon the

broad masses and thereby creates favourable conditions for the winning over of the majority of the working class by the Communist Parties.

The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. imposes on all the Sections of the Communist International the obligation to intensify their fight against international social democracy, which is the chief support of capitalism.

The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. instructs all Sections of the C. I. to pay special attention to an energetic struggle against the "left" wing of social democracy which retards the process of the disintegration of social democracy by creating the illusion that it — the "Left" wing — represents an opposition to the policy of the leading social-democratic bodies, whereas as a matter of fact, it whole-heartedly supports the policy of social-fascism.

III. The Rising of the New Tide of the Revolutionary Labour Movement.

6. A new feature in the situation since the VI. World Congress is the sharply marked radicalisation of the international working class and the rising of the new tide of the revolutionary labour movement. The worsening of the conditions of the working class, resulting from the increased pressure and growth of capitalist exploitation, the self-exposure of social democracy, which is openly acting together with the bourgeoisie against the working class and is conducting a social-fascist policy, the growth of the influence of Communism among the masses, are leading the masses of the workers to resort to more active methods of fighting against the bourgeoisie. The capitalist offensive is now meeting with an increased resistance power of the working class. Class battles are growing over from the bourgeois offensive to the proletarian counter-offensive, and partly to direct offensive struggles. Movements like the General Strike in Lodz (Poland), which displayed a high state of class consciousness and revolutionary activity of its participants; fights like that in the Ruhr, where the offensive of the Triple Alliance of the capitalist state, the employers and the reformist bureaucracy, met with the determined and stubborn resistance of the working class, and also the big successes the Communist Party achieved in the factory council elections in Germany, all indicate that we are witnessing the rising of a new revolutionary tide. The reparation burdens are rapidly accentuating the class struggle in Germany, which takes the form of a ruthless offensive by the employers, on the one hand, and of mass actions of the proletariat on the other hand. The double burden placed on the shoulders of the German proletariat by reparation payments and the increased drive of the German bourgeoisie against the working class, is accelerating the maturing of a revolutionary crisis in Germany. Everywhere the tide of the strike movement is rising: in France — the strikes of the miners, textile workers, dockers, postal workers; in the United States — the textile workers' strike, in which the mass struggle led up to armed bloody clashes between the workers and the police; the big strike movements in Australia; strikes in South America (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Colombia); in Germany — the dockers' strike, the strike and lockout in the Ruhr, the textile workers' strike which lasted many months; in Poland — the General Strike in Lodz, the agricultural labourers' strike; the general strike in Greece; in Czechoslovakia — the big strikes of agricultural labourers; in Bulgaria the general tobacco workers' strike; the mighty revolutionary strike wave in India; the revival of strikes in China. There is hardly a country where the number of strikes or of workers affected by strikes in the first part of 1929 has not exceeded any other period in the past few years. This strike movement has revealed the active part played in them by the unorganised workers, who very often display a far greater militancy than the workers organised in the reformist trade unions.

A series of solidarity and protest strikes have been waged against the reactionary persecutions of the workers. Simultaneously with this we observe in a number of countries a growing revolutionary mood among the oppressed nationalities and peasant masses, which in several countries takes the form of mass actions and armed collisions (participation of the peasants in the May Day demonstrations; strikes and revolutionary actions by the poor peasantry and the agricultural labourers in West Ukraine and Poland; unrest against taxes

by the peasants in Greece; agrarian movements in Rumania; local unrest among the peasantry of Yugoslavia and Italy; agricultural labourers' strikes in Czechoslovakia, Holland, France, etc.).

In view of the far advanced process of the merging of employers' organisations and the reformist trade union apparatus with the bourgeois state, under conditions of enormous accentuation of class contradictions in the present period, economic strikes in many cases are growing over into mass political strikes (Lodz, Bombay). This compels the masses of the workers to link up the industrial struggle with the political struggle, with the struggle against the capitalist system as a whole. The bourgeoisie resorts to every measure of repression at the disposal of the capitalist State (arrests, victimisation, shooting). This calls forth and will continue increasingly to call forth protest strikes, sympathetic strikes, which assume a strongly marked political character. This confronts the Communist Parties with the problem of the political mass strike as the decisive problem of the immediate period. The application of the weapon of the mass political strike will enable the Communist Parties to introduce greater unity into the scattered economic actions of the working class, to carry out an extensive mobilisation of the proletarian masses, to increase their political experience in every way and to lead them up to the direct struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

7. On the background of the unfolding strike battles and the new revolutionary upsurge, the action of the Berlin proletariat on May Day acquires the very greatest significance. This struggle has not only revealed the fighting initiative of the German proletariat but also the strength of the influence of the Communist Party of Germany which, notwithstanding the prohibition of the demonstration by Zoergibel and the reformist trade unions, succeeded in leading nearly 200,000 workers out into the street. The Party has not retreated one step under the onslaught of the reaction, nor did it allow itself to be provoked by the bourgeoisie to an armed insurrection which in the then existing situation would have led to the isolation of the revolutionary vanguard and to the loss of its positions.

The Berlin May Days constitute a turning point in the class struggle in Germany and accelerate the tempo of the revolutionary upward trend of the German working class movement. Far from being a defeat of the German proletariat, as all defeatists and renegades assert, they were a demonstration of the success of the fighting tactics of the Communist Party, which fought relentlessly against the tail-end tendencies (khvostism) in its own ranks. The political significance of the May Day action of the Berlin proletariat lies in the fact that it defeated the attempt of the bourgeoisie and of social-democracy to deprive the working class of its May Day festival, that it compelled the German bourgeoisie and their social-democracy to capitulate to the resistance of the working class on the question of prohibiting demonstrations, that it was reflected in the struggle for the right to the streets in other countries, and that it roused masses of the proletariat outside of Germany to demonstrate their solidarity with the German proletariat by means of mass demonstrations. The fact that the action of the Berlin workers occurred at a time when the character of the May Day demonstrations and strikes in other countries (Poland, France, Bombay) revealed a higher militancy

than in previous years, is indicative of a tendency of the economic movement of the masses of the proletariat to grow over into higher forms of revolutionary struggle.

The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. associates itself with the

heroic proletariat of Berlin, the heroic defenders of the barricades of Neukölln and Wedding, and expresses its complete agreement with the tactical line carried out by the Communist Party of Germany during the May events in Berlin.

IV. The Comintern and the Immediate Tasks of the Communist Parties

8. The new rising tide of the revolutionary labour movement and the coming into power of social-democracy in Germany and in Great Britain urgently confronts the Comintern and its Sections with special acuteness with the task of decisively intensifying the struggle against social-democracy and especially against its "Left" wing as the most dangerous enemy of Communism in the labour movement and the main obstacle to the growth of militant activities of the masses of the workers. In this connection the central task of the Comintern in the sphere of inner-Party policy has become the fight against opportunism which is a channel for bourgeois influences among the working class and for social-democratic tendencies in the Communist movement. Unless the Communist Parties are purged of open as well as concealed opportunist elements, they will be unable successfully to advance along the road towards the fulfilment of the new tasks placed upon them by the intensification of the class struggle at this new stage of the labour movement.

The significance of this new stage insofar as the Communist Parties are concerned, lies in that it has helped to expose in the course of the unfolding class battles, the decaying opportunistic elements within it which played a strike-breaking role in these battles. This has confirmed the warning uttered by the VI. Congress of the Comintern that the Right Wing opportunist deviation was the most serious danger within the Communist Parties at the present time.

9. The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. notes with satisfaction the growth of the influence of the Comintern in the past period, the organisational and ideological consolidation of its Sections and the fact that they have purged themselves of the opportunistic elements (Brandler, Hais, Lovestone). The lamentations of the Right Wing renegades about the alleged disintegration of the Comintern, which are echoed by the petty-bourgeois conciliators, merely prove how urgently necessary it was to purge the ranks of the Communist movement in order to prevent the disintegrating work of the opportunist elements and secure the genuine Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties. The most important results of this Bolshevisation obtained in a number of Parties, principally in Germany, France and Poland, are already apparent: the Parties have been purged of opportunists, the fighting capacity of the Parties has been increased, the Parties have been brought nearer to the fulfilment of the tasks of leading the industrial and political struggles of the proletariat; new forces, which were politically moulded and grew up amidst conditions of increasing activity of the working class and in the fight against opportunism, have been brought to the front; there has been a growth of Bolshevik discipline simultaneously with the more complete unfolding of inner Party democracy and the leadership has become more working class in character. The Plenum notes the consolidation of the Communist Parties on the basis of the political and tactical line laid down by the VI. Congress. The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. declares that the leadership of the Comintern as represented by the Political Secretariat and the Presidium correctly carried out the decisions of the VI. Congress, reacted in time to the most important political events and successfully carried on the fight against the Right deviations and the conciliators.

In order to create stronger guarantees for the carrying out of the decisions of the C. I. the Plenum instructs the Presidium to take measures for the strengthening of the apparatus of the E. C. C. I. by drawing into it new workers, capable of development, from the Sections and by purging it of opportunist elements.

Under the guidance of the E. C. C. I. and on the basis of its Open Letter, the Communist Party of Germany ideologically and politically smashed the renegade Brandler-Thalheimer group and completely undermined its influence among the workers. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, actively assisted by the E. C. C. I., quickly thwarted the despi-

cable attempt of Hais & Co., to split the Red trade union movement in Czechoslovakia and emerged ideologically and politically strengthened from the struggle against the liquidators. Guided by the E. C. C. I., the Communist Party of America is successfully liquidating unprincipled factionalism and the disintegrating influence of the opportunist factional leaders upon the Party cadres (Lovestone, Pepper).

A more intensive struggle against Right deviations is necessary also in the Communist Parties of the colonial countries in which the opportunist elements are the carriers of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influence upon the proletariat and are hampering its independent struggle.

Fully and completely approving the decisions of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. on the American question, the decision on the German question, the Open Letter to the German Communist Party, the decision of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. on the Czechoslovak question, the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. considers that the defence by individual members, of Right deviation views which have been condemned by the Comintern as an anti-Party tendency profoundly hostile to the interests of the proletarian revolutionary movement, is incompatible with membership of the Communist Party.

At the same time the Plenum declares that conciliation, which appeared as cowardly opportunism screening avowed liquidation, has recently slipped over to the Right Wing position on all the fundamental questions of the Communist movement and has adopted the role of the Right Wingers within the Comintern. After the expulsion of the Right Wing liquidators, the conciliators became the centre of attraction for all the Right Wing elements in the ranks of the Communist Party, the monthpiece for all defeatist moods and opportunist views. In view of this the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. demands: a) that the conciliators openly and emphatically disassociate themselves from the Right deviators; b) that they conduct an active fight not merely in words but in deeds against the Right deviation; c) that they submit implicitly to all the decisions of the Comintern and of its Sections and actively carry them out. Failure to carry out any one of these conditions will place the culprits outside of the ranks of the Communist International.

The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. is of the opinion that unless these decisions are carried out, unless the Right and "Left" (Trotskyist) liquidators are destroyed, unless conciliation is resolutely overcome, it will be impossible to carry out the tasks confronting the Comintern and its Sections in the period of the new upward swing, i. e. the tasks of, combating the war danger and defending the U. S. S. R., of fighting Social Democracy and especially its "Left" Wing, of preparing the Communist Parties and the working class for the impending revolutionary battles, of selecting genuine revolutionary leaders of the working class, capable of boldly and unhesitatingly leading the proletariat to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

10. The fight against the liquidators and the conciliatory attitude towards the latter assumes particular importance in connection with the Communist Parties' task of winning over the majority of the working class. By relaxing the struggle against social democracy, by over-estimating its strength and belittling the role of the Communist Parties, these elements are sabotaging the fight of the Party for winning over the majority of the working class and are preventing the workers who are in transition from social democracy to the Communist movement from taking the final step towards Communism. While pointing out this blackleg role of the Right opportunist elements, the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. calls upon all Sections of the Communist International to concentrate all their efforts on the task of winning over the majority of the working class. The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. emphasises that in view of the new rising tide of the revolutionary labour movement, the winning over of the majority of the working class represents the central task of the Communist Parties. This task implies that the Communist

Parties must win the leading role in the labour movement, i. e. the leadership in all the actions of the working class, economic strikes, street demonstrations and factory councils in order by this means to secure that the Communist Parties shall maintain the leadership in the decisive battles of the proletariat.

The Communist Parties will be able to fulfil this central task only in the course of the big class battles of the proletariat on the basis of applying the new forms of the tactics of the united front from below, widely drawing into the struggles the masses of the unorganised workers (the strike committees in the Ruhr, factory council elections in Germany, conferences of factory delegates which prepared for the 1st of May strike in Paris and Berlin). For this purpose they must concentrate all their forces on the factories and convert every factory into a fortress of Communism. They must select the best elements of the old cadres; supplement them with new forces which come to the fore in the course of the class struggles from the rank and file, from the masses; planfully and systematically develop self-criticism, which is a most vital instrument of revolutionary education and Bolshevik tempering of Party cadres. From the angle of solving the central task, the winning over of the majority of the working class to the side of Communism, it is necessary to take measures towards the organisational consolidation of the political influence of the Communist Parties.

In view of the threat of illegality which hangs over several Communist Parties which have hitherto been legal, the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. makes it obligatory for these Parties unconditionally and immediately to take the necessary political and organisational measures so that a mass struggle may be launched with all possible means against this threat, to secure the continuation and even extension of Communist Party mass activity also when underground, and at all times to combine illegal with legal methods of work.

In the struggle against the threatening war danger, against the capitalist offensive and against the campaign of slander of the reformists, all Communist Parties must carry on a broad enlightenment campaign to explain the gigantic achievements of socialist construction in the Soviet Union (the Five-Year Plan). They must show the contrast between capitalist rationalisation, which brings the proletariat ever greater poverty, and socialist reconstruction in the U. S. S. R., which serves as a powerful lever in raising the material and cultural level of the working class and the toiling masses of the rural areas.

11. At the same time all Parties must with great determination increase the activity of the Communists and the revolutionary trade union opposition in the reformist unions, and work energetically in order to strengthen the Red unions wherever there are dual labour organisations.

In order to consolidate the influence of the Communists in the factories in the struggle against the employers, fascism and reformism; in order to give the Red factory councils a wider base for their activity, in order to lend all working class battles a more organised character, it is necessary to create cadres of revolutionary delegates elected by the workers in the factories.

All Sections of the Communist International must effect a radical turn in and fundamental change of their methods of work in the sphere of revolutionary activity amongst the most

oppressed and exploited sections of the proletariat, the working women, the young workers and the agricultural labourers.

The revolutionary mobilisation and organisation of the young workers acquires particular importance in view of the growing role of the young workers and particularly in connection with the war danger, and calls for the greatest attention of all Communist Parties to questions appertaining to the youth movement and the most active support of the work of the Y. C. I. In the past year, the Y. C. I. has fulfilled its task in carrying out the Comintern line for the struggle against the Right wingers and the conciliators in the Comintern. The condition of the mass work and organisational development of the Young Communist Leagues have remained, however, completely unsatisfactory and urgently dictate the need of carrying out that turn in their mass work which was demanded by the V. Congress of the Y. C. I.

In countries where there is a revolutionary peasant and national liberation movement, the main task along with the winning of the majority of the working class, must be the strengthening of the hegemony of the proletariat and the leadership of the Communist Party in that movement.

It is the task of the whole Comintern to further in every possible way the building up and consolidation of mass Communist Parties in the colonies, as Parties of the proletariat, as the vanguard and the leading force in the forthcoming revolutionary struggles.

12. A steady course must be steered towards the creation of mass Parties while at the same time combating the survival of sectarianism and social-democratic traditions as well as the remnants of unprincipled factionalism which in a number of Parties (America, for example) serves as an obstacle to further development, and is one of the causes preventing the Parties from becoming mass Parties.

In a number of Sections of the Comintern, Sweden, for example, Right vacillations are still widely expressed and constitute a great danger also in the practical work. Without resolutely combating and overcoming these opportunist waverings, the Communist Parties will not be in a position actively to fulfil the revolutionary tasks which now confront them.

In conclusion, the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. points to the increasing efforts of the enemies of the revolutionary labour movement to isolate the Communist Parties from the broad masses of the proletariat (by expelling Communists from the trade unions, by dismissing Communists from work, by prohibiting the Communist Press and its organisations, etc.). The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. calls upon the Parties to fight against these efforts, and declares at the same time that the greatest danger that confronts us in the present period is that the Communist Parties may lag behind the tempo of the development of the mass revolutionary movements (khvostism). The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. calls upon all Sections of the Comintern to wage a most decisive struggle against these tendencies to lag behind, which are a reflection of social-democratic survivals, for unless these are overcome, the Communist Parties will be unable to play their part as the vanguard of the labour movement leading the working class to new revolutionary battles and victories.

The Economic Struggle and the Tasks of the Communist Parties.

Theses upon the Reports by Comrades Thälmann and Losovsky.

1. CHARACTER OF MODERN CLASS BATTLES.

1. The period since the VI. Congress of the Comintern and the IV. Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions is characterised by an incessant and increasing growth of class contradictions and by a widening of the front of the class struggle. Not a year has passed since these two gatherings, and already the working class of Germany has experienced, apart from a series of great economic battles, the tremendous movement among the proletariat of the Ruhr; Poland has witnessed a powerful general strike of 100,000 workers of Lodz, in France there have been extensive economic conflicts which in recent times spread from district to district (constituting lately at least 100 strikes per month); Austria experienced for the first time a strike against capitalist rationalisation and against the fascisation of the factories and works, and in the United States there has been a spontaneous mass strike movement (especially in the Southern States). Of significance are the numerous small strikes in Great Britain since the beginning of 1929, where the depression since the defeat of the working class 1926 was greatest as far as strikes are concerned, and also the numerous strikes of agricultural labourers throughout Europe (Czechoslovakia, Poland, France), which have assumed an acute political character.

A characteristic feature of the present strikes is also the tremendous growth in the number of small and partial strikes which have their roots in the increased pressure of capitalist rationalisation and involve separate factories or even separate workshops. Finally, a peculiarity of the present phase of development lies in the fact that the growing strike wave also involves the colonial and semi-colonial countries (a strike of 140,000 textile workers in Bombay, the General Strike of the workers on the banana plantations of Colombia, the dockers' strikes in the French colonies), and have assumed such dimensions and desperate forms hitherto unknown in these countries. All this implies that the working class is being radicalised at an accelerated rate and that this radicalisation assumes an ever wider international character.

2. These peculiarities of the present upward swing of the labour movement are a reflection of the further accentuation of the basic contradictions of world capitalist economy. The basic contradiction between the increased productive forces and the contracted markets, is growing and becoming sharper. The entire economic policy of the capitalist states is now directed towards the capture of markets for the export of capital, markets for manufactured products and sources of raw material, the intensification of exploitation of the proletariat through the medium of capitalist rationalisation. At present every effort of the workers to improve their living conditions is resisted by the entire capitalist class which seeks to stifle the labour movement at its roots. Capitalist rationalisation has not only proved incapable of eliminating the contradiction between the productive possibilities and the absorbing capacity of the markets, but on the contrary, this problem stands out now more sharply and has become more insoluble. Rationalisation has increased output, but at the same time, has given rise to greater unemployment, profound structural changes in the social composition of the proletariat, a further lowering of the standard of living of the proletariat and the share of wages in the product of labour due to the terrific intensification of labour.

Particularly striking in this respect is the difference between rationalisation in the capitalist, countries which falls as a heavy burden upon the shoulders of the working class, and socialist rationalisation in the U. S. S. R., which is a mighty weapon for uprooting the remnants of capitalism in the U. S. S. R. and which ensures the quickest possible rate of raising the material and cultural standard of the Soviet Union.

3. The struggle for the raising of the standard of living of

the workers, as a result of the fusion of contemporary trustified capital with the State apparatus, becomes converted into a struggle against the foundations of the capitalist system and against the bourgeois state. Contemporary capitalism has already reached the point when property relations have become absolutely incompatible with the raising of the standard of living of the working class (although in some cases temporary and partial increases in wages are possible), and the working class is confronted now more than ever with the task of combining its daily struggles with the struggle against the capitalist system as a whole. In the new conditions the economic struggle of the proletariat assumes an ever more sharply expressed political character. This does not mean that the question of leadership of partial economic struggles of the proletariat is becoming of less significance than hitherto. It is precisely in this period that the role of the revolutionary trade union movement is primarily that of organisation of the struggle for partial demands from the point of view of the prospective struggle for political power. It is in this profound political significance of contemporary economic battles, that the radicalisation of the working class now finds its expression.

4. The political character of the present-day economic battles is determined also by the going over of the bourgeoisie in the major capitalist countries to new fascist methods for the suppression of the working class. In the sphere of economic fights this fascisation is expressed primarily in the effort to deprive the workers of the right to organise and to strike, thus robbing the economic fights of the proletariat of their legal positions. Among the methods adopted are the institution of compulsory arbitration as well as the open weapon of terror and of the state machinery of coercion, even to the extent of dissolving the revolutionary trade union and strike committees, dispersing strikers meetings, wholesale arrests, and the utilisation of the military apparatus of the bourgeois State as a strikebreaking force (the agricultural labourers' strike in Czechoslovakia). It is particularly necessary to mention also the direct participation of the reformist trade union apparatus in the crushing of the struggling workers and in the development of factory fascism.

5. The broad masses of workers, for whom the capitalist offensive throughout the world means growing exploitation, increasing exhaustion under hard labour conditions in the present day rationalised capitalist factory, the early discarding of the "worn-out" slaves of capital, growing unemployment, a longer working day, a lower standard of living and rapidly growing insecurity, are showing more stubborn resistance to the onslaught of capital and are more frequently and more boldly passing over to the counter offensive. The new characteristic of the economic struggles lies in the fact that they are assuming more and more the nature of mutual encounters, and in a number of cases even taking the form of a proletarian offensive. This is true of almost all the economic battles which have taken place in the last half-year, especially the Lodz strike, the Ruhr lockout, and the general textile workers' strike in Bombay.

6. A very significant feature of the present economic battles is the fact that, in spite of the blacklegging role played by the reformist trade union apparatus, to an extent hitherto unknown; in spite of the treachery of the Rights and the undermining efforts of the conciliators; and finally, in spite of the mistakes of the revolutionary trade union movement and the Communist Parties themselves, which have not yet fully learnt to lead the strikes independently how in spite even of a number of defeats, the militancy of the proletariat has not diminished. In the Ruhr, for example, though the locked-out workers did not actually gain what they wanted, at the same time, the militancy of the workers has by no means diminished and the experience of that great conflict has stimulated the further mobilisation of the masses. All this definitely refutes the theory

of the reformists and the Right wing liquidators that all recent battles of the proletariat, even those in which wages demands etc. were set up, are exclusively defensive struggles.

7. But the most characteristic feature in the appraisal of the contemporary economic battles bearing witness to an upward surge in the labour movement, is the ever growing activity of the **unorganised** workers. This is due particularly to the profound structural changes which have taken place in the composition of the working class as a result of rationalisation. The number of skilled workers constituting the principal elements of the reformist unions is rapidly declining. During the lockout in the Ruhr, the unorganised workers constituted three-fourth of the participants in the movement. In Lodz, 80,000 textile workers struck, only a little over 4,000 of whom were members of the union. In Bulgaria out of 30,000 tobacco workers on strike there were 95% unorganised. In France over 90% of the workers in general are unorganised. Even in Great Britain where strikes have so far been of a local character and of the nature of partial movements, the most striking feature is the participation of large numbers of unorganised (the strike in the automobile industry). In India, in Bombay, out of the tremendous strike which involved an overwhelming proportion of unorganised textile workers, a powerful radical union has emerged with 65,000 members, i. e. embracing about 40% of the textile workers of Bombay. Finally, the recent economic battles were strongly characterised by the sharp turn towards the Left and the activity and class firmness of the masses of **women workers** and the **youth**, the overwhelming majority of whom are unorganised. It should be particularly noted that vast sections of working women in a number of important industries (textile, machine construction, electric, chemical, food, clothing, silk, and other industries) constitute half and sometimes even a majority of the workers. At the same time they comprise very large sections of unorganised labour.

This activity of the unorganised has expressed the increasingly growing discontent of the masses and has broken through the legal framework of the trade unions, involving the rank and file of the reformist unions in a struggle which is with ever greater frequency being waged not only **without**, but even **against** the reformist trade union apparatus.

8. Thus the distinguishing features of the class conflicts since the VI. Congress of the Comintern and the IV. Congress of the R.I.L.U., which are an expression of growing elements of a new revolutionary upsurge in the labour movement, are characterised by the following:

- a) A transition from small partial struggles to **larger** conflicts bearing more of a **mass** character.
- b) The ever more frequent transition of the workers to the **counter offensive**.
- c) An ever growing activity of the masses of **unorganised**.
- d) Breaking through of trade union **legalism**.
- e) The growing **political** and revolutionary character of the strikes.
- f) The **international** character of the movement, involving the colonial countries and Great Britain, which until lately has lagged behind.

9. The scope of these new forms of economic struggle is not everywhere the same. In some countries, e. g. in Germany, where as a result of a number of circumstances we find the classic expression of the contradictions of contemporary capitalist stabilisation, these new forms have found their most glaring expression. In other countries, e. g. Great Britain, where the working class is first recovering from the defeat of the General Strike and the miners lockout of 1926, and where the process of capitalist rationalisation is still in its initial stage (as compared with Germany and the United States), there is only a prelude to the approaching period of stormy mass conflicts. The advent of the Labour Party to power will inevitably lead to the accentuation and sharpening of these conflicts, since the Labour Government will to an ever larger extent disclose its nature as an agency for the enforcement of capitalist rationalisation and a direct tool for the intensification of the exploitation of the working class, and will thus destroy the reformist illusions of the masses. Finally, what is

entirely new in the history of the international labour movement, is the **mass strike** movement in India, where all these **new forms** have found perhaps their most **sharpest** expression. The sharp class differentiation during the strike in the banana plantations of Colombia is also significant, where the entire military and governmental machine was set in motion, and where the bourgeoisie acted in a united front.

10. The struggle between the Communist and revolutionary trade union vanguard on the one hand, and the social-fascist trade union bureaucracy on the other, is no longer being waged exclusively within the unions, but is involving all the workers in general. This struggle is primarily a struggle for leadership over the masses in the strikes. In accordance with this, new, more favourable conditions have arisen for the Communist and revolutionary trade union vanguard (especially since the May Day demonstrations in Germany) to win the majority of the working class. Hence the tremendous importance of the problem of the **unorganised**. Hence the new tactics in the **election of factory councils**. Hence the decisive importance of **independent** leadership of strikes on the part of the Communist revolutionary trade union vanguard **without** and **against** the reformist trade union apparatus. Hence the ruthless struggle against opportunistic **trade union legalism** in our own ranks and the tactics of the united front from below.

2. THE RADICALISATION OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE REFORMIST TRADE UNIONS.

1. The continued radicalisation of the working class and the sharpening of class battles leads to a **growing** crisis in the reformist trade union movement. Already the VI. Congress of the Comintern and the IV. Congress of the R.I.L.U. have recorded the fusion of the reformist trade union apparatus with the bourgeois state and with the large monopoly capitalist enterprises. During the last year, in connection with the unfolding of the class conflicts, this process has gone still deeper. Just as social democracy is evolving through social-imperialism to social-fascism, joining the ranks of the vanguard of the contemporary capitalist state in the suppression of the rising revolutionary movement of the working class (Zörgiebel's May day atrocities), the social-fascist trade union bureaucracy is, during the period of sharpening economic battles, completely going over to the side of the **big bourgeoisie**, defending compulsory arbitration, endeavouring to harness the working class to the yoke of capitalist rationalisation, transforming the reformist trade union apparatus into a **strike-breaking organisation**. This is openly disclosed in the "new programme" of the reformist General Confederation of Labour in France and in the decisions of the last trade union congresses in Germany and Great Britain (Hamburg, Swansea). "Industrial democracy", which embodies the joint pressure of the capitalists and the reformists on the working class, has become the official slogan of the Amsterdam International. This International strike-breaking programme is based upon the idea of active co-operation in the enforcement of the economic policy of the capitalists by means of the direct collaboration of the reformist trade union machinery with the employers' apparatus ("peaceful" wage agreements, participation in the supervisory boards of the trusts, etc.) and with the bourgeois state apparatus ("industrial councils", economic organs of the League of Nations, compulsory arbitration boards, etc.). At the same time international reformism intensifies its efforts to throttle the revolutionary class movement of the proletariat in the colonies. Albert Thomas fraternises with the leaders of the Yellow unions of the Kuomintang hangmen. Under his leadership Bunzi Suzuki, the agent of Japanese imperialism, carries out his reactionary plan of the so-called Pan-Asiatic Labour Congress.

In this process of rapid fascistisation of the reformist trade union apparatus and of its fusion with the bourgeois state, a particularly harmful rôle is played by the so-called "Left" wing of the Amsterdam International (Cook, Fimmen, etc.) who, under the cloak of opposition to the reactionary leaders of the Amsterdam International, are trying to conceal from the workers the real significance of this process and are forming an active and constituent part (and by far not the least important) in the system of social-fascism.

Naturally, the situation becomes more and more intolerable for the workers, when in their economic struggles they must remain under the leadership of politically reactionary, strike-breaking wire-pullers. These treacherous blacklegging tactics of the trade union leaders at a time when capitalism is widening and intensifying its offensive with the object of tremendously increasing the exploitation of the workers, are the main source of the growing crisis in the reformist trade union movement.

2. This growing crisis has found its expression in a number of countries in the stagnation of the reformist trade unions (Great Britain) and in the mass growth of the revolutionary trade unions (India, Latin-America, U. S. A.). It has also found its expression in a keen distrust of the trade union masses towards reformist bureaucracy and in the onslaught of the social-fascist trade union bureaucracy on the revolutionary trade union opposition, in the ever increasing expulsion of members of the revolutionary opposition from the reformist unions, and in the threats of the expulsion of "tens of thousands" (statement by the President of the reformist Metal Workers' Union in Berlin). The more the unions which are in the hands of the social-fascist trade union bureaucracy are converted into simple accessories of capitalist economy the greater will be the growth of the crisis in the reformist trade union movement and the more severe will be the attacks of the trade union bureaucracy upon the revolutionary trade union opposition. The struggle within the reformist unions has already become unusually sharp. The pressure brought to bear upon the trade union officials by the masses of the workers is so strong that not infrequently the lower links of the reformist unions feel themselves forced to act against the trade union wirepullers who, in order to transform the unions into strikebreaking agencies and into tools of capitalist stabilisation, are pursuing the policy of class disruption, expelling the best revolutionary elements from the unions, abolishing the last vestiges of trade union democracy, presenting ultimatums ("reverses") to the revolutionary opposition, and heading for the fascisation of the trade unions.

3. The present stage of internal development in the reformist unions conforms to the general transitional period in the correlation of class forces on the whole. The working class has already become sufficiently strong to be in a position to take up the counter-offensive. The trade union bureaucracy is still influential among certain sections of the workers, but the revolutionary unions and the revolutionary trade union opposition are increasingly winning over large masses of workers belonging to the reformist unions. This predetermines also the tasks of the Communists in the reformist trade unions: not to withdraw from these unions, but to contribute in every way to the acceleration of the process of revolutionisation of the rank and file members of the reformist unions by placing themselves at the head of the class struggle of the proletariat.

3. THE ECONOMIC BATTLES AND THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNION OPPOSITION.

1. The IX. Plenum of the C. I. and the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U. placed before the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union movement not only the task of independent leadership of strikes but also of the best organisation and preparation for this struggle, and the bringing about of working class unity from below, in the factories. Already at that time the disparity between the growth of the political influence of the revolutionary trade union movement and its organisational scope was pointed out. With this in view, it was proposed to reorganise the Communist factions in the reformist unions from the bottom, and also to recognise the revolutionary unions on industrial lines (in countries with dual unions), to institute democratic centralism, and to set up factory committees as the basis of revolutionary unions. Attention was at the same time called to the danger of the social-democratic traditions and of trade union legalism which was particularly apparent then in countries where no independent revolutionary unions exist (Germany) in the slogan of "compel the trade union bureaucrats" (Zwingt die Bonzen) and also in diplomatic upper combinations of the leaders of the revolutionary unions with the heads of the reformist unions.

2. The danger could and was bound to become particularly serious in the subsequent period of the growth and unusual

intensification of the class fights. It is precisely in this process that the forces of the Comintern have become consolidated (and it could not be otherwise) on the basis of sifting out the anti-Leninist and opportunist elements. A similar regrouping was inevitable also in the revolutionary trade union movements (the split of Hais and Co. in Czechoslovakia, of a section of active functionaries of the trade union departments of the C. P. of Germany, etc.). The decisions of the Comintern and the R. I. L. U. have achieved their object. The Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions (in countries where the trade union movement is united, as well as in those where it is divided) have made big progress during this period. In comparison with the strikes of preceding years, there is to be observed better preparation, a better application of the united front tactics, and progress in the struggle against trade union legalism and in the enforcement of the economic and political slogans of the Communist Party. Experience has shown that the successes of the revolutionary trade union movement during this period were in direct ratio to the determination with which these decisions were carried into effect.

3. In countries in which there are no independent revolutionary unions, trade union legalism is still the greatest shortcoming of the revolutionary trade union movement, consisting in the fear of overstepping trade union rules and regulations. Hence the insufficient resistance to the attacks of the trade union bureaucracy (expulsions, "reverses") and the insufficient activity aiming at embracing the masses of the workers from below (enforcement of the new tactics in the factory council elections in Germany, organisation of committees of action, etc.) In Lodz, for example, during the General Strike in the Autumn of 1928, the revolutionary opposition skilfully organised the struggle, made proper use of the struggle when the workers were indignant over the new factory regulations and fines, correctly rejected the suggestion of some Communists that it was premature to declare a strike, developed a wide campaign in connection with the strike, and skilfully linked up the economic struggle with the political struggle against the fascist regime. Yet at the same time the Red fraction of the strike committee revealed an incorrect understanding of our unity tactics, with the result that a defeatist strike committee was set up consisting mostly of followers of the P. P. S.

4. Another shortcoming in these countries is the fear to apply the new tactics of the revolutionary trade union opposition, believing that they would thereby weaken their positions within the reformist trade unions. This is exactly what the Rights and conciliators are now harping on, just as before they used to speculate (when strike committees were set up in the Ruhr) on the supposed conversion of the Communist Party and the revolutionary union opposition into organisations of the "declassed slum proletariat".

5. A great defect in this connection is still the nature of the structure and activity of the Communist factions in the trade unions. A necessary pre-requisite to successful work by Communist Parties for winning the masses of the reformist unions is the existence of strong Communist fractions in the unions capable of carrying out the Party line in the unions, linked up with each other, and working under the leadership of the respective Party Committees. The Plenum again places on record that many Comintern decisions on the question of trade union fractions are not satisfactorily carried out. Trade union fractions have not yet been organised everywhere where they should have been, in accordance with the decisions of the II. International Organisational Conference; and where they do exist, they are not always properly organised. In many places where the Communist movement is illegal (Poland) side by side with Communist fractions are so-called Red fractions. The Red fractions should be so built as to represent the widest possible masses organised around the Communist fractions and sympathising with them. But Red fractions can by no means substitute Communist fractions, and the Communist Party must not organise Red fractions without securing the leading role of the Communist fractions within them.

6. Finally, in the Communist Parties themselves, there is as yet not clear understanding of the singular importance of trade union work in the present phase of development. Trade union work is regarded as ordinary work of a "department". The Party does not concentrate the whole of its attention,

and especially the attention of the factory nuclei, upon current trade union work, particularly however upon the preparation for leadership of economic fights. This shows an **under-estimation of the political significance** of revolutionary trade union work and of current economic fights.

7. In countries where there are independent revolutionary trade unions (France, Czechoslovakia), the chief defect up to now consists in the under-estimation by a certain section of the revolutionary trade union militants of the fact that **the masses are becoming radicalised**, and also in an **under-estimation of the new character of trade union reformism**. In France the unitary trade unions were taken **unawares and were overwhelmed by the movement**. ("The movement developed over the heads of the unitary unions, our organisations lacked initiative", said Monmousseau at the October Plenum of the Unitary Unions).

In Czechoslovakia the tactics of the liquidators amongst the leaders of the Red unions were characterised by the top combinations between them and the leaders of the reformist organisations, by collaboration with the corrupt reformist factory councils, which was advertised as the united front tactic, by their legalist attitude towards the bourgeois State authorities, by their opportunistic attitude in relation to the strike tactics and particularly in relation to the unorganised. As a result of this, in the first big conflict in which the Communist Party and the revolutionary unions applied the new strike tactics, the liquidators responded by breaking away from the revolutionary trade union movement.

A great danger in those countries is also legalism, a respect for capitalist laws. While fighting to the utmost for all legal possibilities, the revolutionary trade unions should not cherish any opportunistic illusions with regard to the bourgeois State and capitalist laws. The strength and influence of the Red unions depend exclusively on the active organisation and independent leadership of the economic fights of the proletariat. One of the main weaknesses of the revolutionary unions is their inadequate penetration into the factories, the absence (or extremely bad functioning) of the system of trade union delegates in the factories.

8. A direct result of this incorrect orientation and of the lack of initiative was the **weak contact between the revolutionary unions and the masses**. This fact is recognised also in the resolution of the Central Committee of the C. P. of France on the strike tactics of the Communists in France (e. g. during the miners' strike in the Loire there was practically no contact between the strikers and the leaders). Hence the **opportunistic mistakes** in the unity tactics (Bordeaux). Hence the lack of understanding of the **political significance** of the problem of the **unorganised**. This was revealed in the **negative attitude** of some of the leaders of the revolutionary unions towards the broadly elected strike committees which attitude they sought to justify with the argument that wherever revolutionary unions exist which actively lead the strikes, there is no need for such strike committees. This viewpoint is the narrow trade unionist viewpoint **turned inside out** (as applied to revolutionary unions), a lack of understanding of the **fundamental task** of the present epoch and the road towards winning over a majority of the working class. A great defect in countries with dual unions to this day is the incorrect relationship between the Communist Parties and the revolutionary unions. Particularly harmful in the present phase is the viewpoint that economic conflicts are the business only of the revolutionary unions and political conflicts the business of the Communist Parties. Such "division of labour" has brought about, on the one hand, a divorce of the Communist leaders of the revolutionary unions from the great problems of the revolutionary political struggle (a glaring example of which could be seen in the trade union bureaucrats of the type of the traitorous Hais), and on the other hand, an estrangement between large numbers of Party officials from the daily struggles of the working class, and thereby the masses in general.

9. Finally, the chief defect of the whole activity during the preparatory period of strikes in these countries, as well as in countries with a united trade union movement, is the **pre-dominance of agitation and propaganda** over organisation. A strike cannot be seriously prepared for unless sufficient preliminary organisational work is done.

4. TRADE UNIONS AND COMMITTEES OF ACTION.

1. Experience in the strikes which have taken place since the VI. Congress of the Comintern have fully justified the course adopted for independent Communist leadership of strikes. The best means of achieving the independent leadership of strikes and the attraction of the unorganised is the setting up of wide committees of action (strike committees, anti-lockout committees, etc.) elected by all the workers of a given factory including the organised and unorganised men and women. In the time of economic conflicts, the committees of action are the principal leading organs which unite the broad masses of the workers on the basis of the political and economic platform. In all cases without exception, whenever the question of setting up special committees of action during strikes or lockouts arose, this slogan was enthusiastically taken up by the widest sections of workers, which enabled the Communist Parties and the followers of the revolutionary trade unions to organise around it and on the platform of the revolutionary struggle a **considerable**, and in some cases, the **decisive** part of the strikers. Precisely the slogan of setting up independent committees not subordinated to the reformist trade union apparatus enabled the Communist Parties and the adherents of the revolutionary trade union movement organisationally to consolidate large masses of workers against the social-democratic and the reformist trade union apparatus as was the case in the Ruhr.

2. To lead the masses in their economic and political actions, the committees of action must be broad **non-Party mass organisations**, since they are called upon to unite working men and women affiliated to different Parties and different unions, as well as unorganised workers. Although non-party, nevertheless they cannot be politically neutral, indifferent, or non-political. The experience of Lodz has shown how dangerous it is to have reformist agents (P. P. S.) of the capitalists in the committees of action. The political platform of the committees of action is made up of the political slogans which are put forward by the workers in the course of their actions (e. g. the struggle against capitalist rationalisation, the struggle against compulsory arbitration, the struggle against Fascism, the struggle against bourgeois and bourgeois-democratic blocs, etc.).

At the same time the committees of action must link these political slogans closely together with the struggle for the immediate economic demands of the workers. The committees of action should consist of working men and women who stand upon this political platform.

3. The committees of action unite the broad masses of workers regardless of trade and occupation, in the form of semi-consolidated temporary organisations. They cannot be appointed from the top as is done by the reformists (the appointment of strike committees by the unions). They must be elected at general factory meetings and delegate meetings of working men and women.

4. The committees of action are temporary organisations and the Communists must take the initiative in their organisation in connection with mass actions of the proletariat on the basis of proletarian democracy. The committees of action should not limit their field of struggle, but should seek to widen it and to convert an economic into a political struggle. On the termination of the strike and after reports have been given on the results of the same, the committees of action are dissolved.

5. In view of the ever growing fascisation of the reformist trade union apparatus, every movement of the masses, whether economic or political, meets with the same resistance from the reformist apparatus as from the employers and the bourgeois State. Hence the necessity, and possibility, during mass actions of the proletariat led by committees of action, to counterpose the latter to the reformist trade union leaders not only in the sense of carrying on the fight to the end, but also by concluding wage agreements, by consolidating the result of the struggle, and by taking the initiative in the formation of wage commissions and in organising the control over the enforcement of the agreements. During recent strikes a struggle ensued between the committees of action and the reformist trade union bureaucracy for leadership over the working masses (Germany). The committees of action have even in some cases concluded agreements with capitalists on behalf of the workers.

As democratic mass organs really fighting for the interests of the workers, the committees of action became organs which exposed the trade union bureaucracy, its treachery, and its collaboration with the capitalists.

6. An important means of struggle for the winning over of the masses of the reformist unions (in countries where there is no independent revolutionary trade union movement) is the intensive drawing in of the unorganised workers to the trade unions on the basis of the platform of the revolutionary opposition, the best layers of working men and women unite around the committees of action during mass struggles. The organisation of the unorganised by the Communist Parties, which is an exceedingly important militant task of the immediate future, must proceed on the one hand through the capture and organisation of factory committees and their unification around the committees of action (and also around all possible mass revolutionary organisations, such as the W. I. R., the I. R. A., the Red Front Fighters, etc.) and on the other hand, through organising them in the revolutionary unions in countries with dual trade unions. But the Communist Parties must devote particular attention to attracting the best elements to the Communist Party and to the revolutionary mass organisations during economic conflicts. The creation of intermediate forms of organisation for the unorganised (in countries where there are no independent revolutionary unions, e. g. in Germany and Great Britain) of a semi-trade union character ("mutual aid societies" or "anti-lockout societies") would only retard the real organisation of the unorganised on revolutionary trade union lines.

7. Committees of action are organs of mass proletarian struggle. Therein lies the chief class value of the committees of action. These committees should represent the working masses involved in a given conflict irrespective of party or trade union allegiance, both organised and unorganised working men and women. The committees of action will win the leadership of the working masses: only when the latter learn for themselves from experience in the actual struggle that this form of leadership guarantees them the unity of the class front and a consistent class policy.

8. The development of the committees of action as organs of united leadership of the mass struggles of the proletariat is greatly hampered by the fact that Sections of the Comintern and the revolutionary unions are lagging behind the activity of the masses. The causes of this lagging behind are to be sought in the remnants of trade union legalism, in the insufficient organisational work of the Communist Parties, particularly as regards the organisation of strikes, and finally, in an as yet insufficient understanding of the very nature of the economic battles and the significance of the problem of the unorganised in the present period. To overcome and eliminate this major defect is possible only through the concentration and intensification of the struggle against the Rights and conciliators upon this most vital question of the present period.

5. TRADE UNIONS AND FACTORY COUNCILS.

1. The radicalisation of the workers and the increased activity of the working masses, the rise and intensification of class conflicts, and the growing influence of the Communist Parties among the workers have created the premises for a successful realisation of the fundamental decisions of the Comintern in regard to capturing the factory councils from the reformists (or establishing such councils where they do not exist) and transforming them from organs of class collaboration into which the employers and the social-imperialist trade union bureaucrats have turned them, into organs of class struggle.

2. Factory councils can and must be the natural basis of class unity from below in the factories. In contradistinction to the committees of action, they are not temporary but permanently functioning organs. They do not replace trade unions and cannot be replaced by them (as long as there are no industrial trade unions). The winning over of the factory councils (or factory delegations) is for the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union movement one of the most important roads to the essential industrial districts and branches of industry. At the present stage of extreme intensification of the class struggle, the capture of factory councils means carrying out the tactic of "class against class" directly in the factories;

it means the mobilisation of the masses for the further development of economic struggles. The factory committees must become the lever for the mobilisation of the masses and for the struggle against the trade union bureaucrats in the factories. The most important feature of our tactics is the wide mobilisation of the masses during factory council elections. Into these elections (which were organised last year by the reformist trade unions and took place under their control) we must draw — just as in the elections of the committees of action — the whole mass of the factory workers, men and women, organised as well as unorganised. The tactical inference to be drawn from this is — complete rejection of any electoral combinations with the reformists, and putting forward independent lists of candidates in spite of all regulations imposed by the reformist trade unions. For the duration of the election campaign, temporary mass organisations formed by general factory meetings (electoral commissions) must be created.

3. The successes of the Communists in the re-elections of the German factory councils bear testimony to the great dissatisfaction of the workers with the policy of the factory councils which have been converted by the reformists into organs of class collaboration, into organs which realise "industrial peace" and "industrial democracy". Through the capture of the factory councils by the revolutionary opposition it becomes possible, by transcending beyond the legal limits, to convert the factory councils into organs capable of taking upon themselves the struggle for the daily economic interests of the workers and of carrying on the political struggle in the factories (the struggle against war, the struggle against factory fascism, the organisation of proletarian self-defence, etc.). The revolutionary factory councils, if both forms of the struggle (political and economic) be consistently combined, may set the example before the other factory councils where Communist influence exists, and may become the centre for the unification of the factory councils on a national scale. For this purpose, the factory councils are linked up with each other by means of district and industrial conferences.

4. The lessons of the factory council re-election in Germany show that the revolutionary opposition was most successful — and also in strikes — where the new tactics were vigorously applied. On the other hand, where the Communists and the revolutionary opposition had joint lists of candidates with the reformists the masses were very indifferent and the lists of the Christian and Hirsch-Dunker trade unions received a relatively big number of votes. This shows that in such cases the masses have no confidence in the tactics of the Communists and of the revolutionary opposition. Here, as well as in the development of the committees of action, the revolutionisation of the factory councils is impeded by the fact that Sections of the Comintern and the revolutionary trade union opposition are lagging behind the growing activity of the masses. Here we saw again the effect of legalist tactics and the opportunistic fear of expulsions. When after thorough preparation, the question arose of drawing practical conclusions from fundamental principles, some of our active trade union workers began to doubt and hesitate. Here it became also evident that, in connection with the established tradition of bargaining and diplomacy with the trade union leaders for a number of years, there is lacking the habit of genuine mass work. This is also linked up with the underestimation of the influence of the revolutionary opposition among the masses. Preliminary bargaining frequently took place before an independent list of candidates was put up, instead of drawing up lists of candidates on the basis of democratic voting by all the factory workers.

5. However, the mobilisation of the masses at election time is only half of the work. The most important task during the forthcoming stage in Germany will be the education of revolutionary members of factory committees and the work for the conversion of the factory councils into organs of real class struggle. The Communist successes in the factory committee elections show that the masses are becoming more and more class conscious and are realising the necessity of forming organs of militant leadership from below, elected by the workers themselves. For the establishment of close contact of the membership of the revolutionary trade unions (France, Czechoslovakia, etc.) and of the revolutionary opposition (Germany, etc.) with all the factory workers, it is necessary to take the initiative in organising the institution of Delegates in every factory,

the delegates to be elected by the workers in all the departments of a given factory. These revolutionary delegates will help to revive the factory councils and to give them a political character, as well as to form factory councils where such do not exist. The programme of the revolutionary opposition and of the revolutionary factory councils must be based on **concrete slogans** of the class struggle: organisation of **decisive struggles** for an improvement of the living conditions of the proletariat, and against capitalist rationalisation, against **compulsory arbitration** and the **terrorism** of the employers; for the right to organise and strike, for united trade unions carrying on a revolutionary class struggle and built upon an industrial basis; for the establishment of **workers' democracy** in trade unions; and other factory organisations against the **expulsion** of revolutionaries from trade unions. The policy of the factory councils won over by the revolutionary opposition, as organs for the unification of the militant forces of the proletariat which are **genuinely** defending the real interests of the working class, must be counterposed to that of the reformist trade unions. The revolutionary opposition must energetically uproot the social-democratic traditions in the factory councils and fight against any subordination of the factory councils to the reformist trade unions.

6. This experience of the German factory councils should be extended as quickly as possible to those countries where similar factory councils exist (Austria, Czechoslovakia). Where there are no such factory councils, more strenuous work must be done for the direct organisation of factory representative bodies. Economic conflicts, and outstanding cases of labour exploitation which give rise to mass discontent (mass accidents, etc.) create favourable conditions for the organisation of factory councils. In particular leading organs that are formed during economic conflicts (strike committees, anti-lockout committees, etc.) may be converted and extended into revolutionary factory representative bodies (factory councils, delegates' bodies etc.) carrying out their respective functions. When factory councils are formed upon the initiative of the revolutionary trade unions (France), decisive resistance must be made to the opportunistic tendency of regarding the factory councils as a kind of **parliamentary institution** whose function is to plead for the interests of the workers before the employers" (the theory advanced by Crozet at the Congress of the French Communist Party). Energetic resistance should be made to the opportunists in our own ranks who think that "the factory councils have no political tasks, but only the tasks prescribed for them by the State". This is a direct attempt to foster "industrial democracy". At the same time, to shift the centre of gravity from **direct organisation** of factory councils to talking about the role of factory councils during an immediately revolutionary phase (Tomasi), is a survival of syndicalist abstractions. For a country like France the immediate question is not how the factory councils will appear during the revolutionary battles, but rather **how to organise them as well and quickly as possible** during the process of the struggle. Therefore, one should not wait for special permission or "recognition" of the factory councils by the employers and by the bourgeois State. The rising tide of industrial struggles creates particularly favourable conditions for the organisation of factory councils.

6. THE CONDITIONS WHICH NECESSITATE THE FORMATION OF NEW TRADE UNIONS.

1. The new character of trade union reformism, the open fusion of the trade union reformist apparatus with the bourgeois State, have once more brought sharply to the fore the question of our tactics with the reformist trade unions. The X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. re-affirms that the policy of the social-fascist trade union bureaucracy, a policy of splitting the trade union movement (expulsion of Communists and members of revolutionary opposition from reformist trade unions, "reverses", etc.), must on no account lead to any relaxation in our efforts for the winning over of the trade union rank and file, and especially must this not lead us to call upon the workers to leave the reformist trade unions. On the contrary, this work must be increased. "In order to be able to help the masses and to win the sympathy, confidence and support of the masses, one must not be afraid of difficulties, of the chicanery, underhand dealings, insults and persecution on the part of the 'leaders' (who, being opportunists and social-chauvinists, are in most

cases either directly or indirectly connected with the bourgeoisie and the police) and one must certainly **work where the masses are**" (Lenin, "Infantile Sickness of Leftism", Chapter entitled "Should Revolutionaries work in Reactionary Trade Unions").

2. The rising tide of the labour movement and the growing crisis in the reformist trade unions have brought forth the dangerous tendency of **refusing** to work in the reformist trade unions. At the same time this rising tide of the labour movement has brought forth the new problem of establishing at certain stages, under certain conditions, **new revolutionary trade unions**.

3. The former tendency is based upon an erroneous conception of the problem of the unorganised, upon confounding the trade unions with the committees of action, upon an under-estimation of the possibility of capturing the trade unions by means of **winning the rank and file of the membership** (artificial creation of "transitional" forms of organisation leading up to new trade unions). These tendencies are directly contradictory to the repeated decisions of the Comintern in regard to winning the masses of the workers in the trade unions. Increased provocation on the part of the reformists, which is intended to split the trade union movement and which takes the form of expelling Communists and members of the revolutionary opposition, cannot serve as a reason for a revision of the decisions concerning the work **within** the reformist trade unions in countries where there are no independent trade unions, nor can it justify a relaxation in our efforts to capture the trade union masses nor the artificial organisation of new trade unions. The present period confronts the Comintern with the policy, not of quitting the reformist trade unions or of artificially creating new trade unions, but of carrying on a **fight for winning the majority** of the working class, in the reformist unions as well as in organisations, based upon wider masses (committees of action, factory councils) which pursue the same aims as the revolutionary trade union movement, but do so in their **own special way**.

4. At the same time it would be a harmful and opportunistic illusion to believe that we can under the present conditions capture the reformist trade union apparatus, even if the membership of the trade unions be on our side. Yet this by no means signifies that the Communists and revolutionary opposition has to be inactive when trade union leaders are being elected. On the contrary, the struggle for ousting all the bureaucrats and capitalist agents from the unions, the fight for each elected position in the unions, especially the struggle for the positions of the lower trade union delegates, must serve in our hands as a powerful instrument for exposing the role of the social-fascist trade union bureaucracy, and for combating it.

5. Connected with this is the struggle against the disruptive policy of the social-fascist trade union bureaucrats. This struggle against expulsions and other disruptive measures must be a struggle against the reformist policy of "industrial peace", for unity on the basis of the class struggle, for proletarian democracy in the trade unions. The disruptive work of the reformist leaders has for its object the weakening of the organisational strength of the workers in the struggle for their economic and political demands and the isolation of the Communists and the revolutionary opposition from the organised masses. Therefore, one of the main tasks is to mobilise the widest masses of the workers against the disruptive activity of the social-fascist trade union bureaucracy. At the same time it is necessary to wage a decisive struggle against any form of **capitulation**. Capitulation before the trade union bureaucracy would not only discredit, but also destroy the revolutionary opposition.

The expulsion of entire trade union bodies should be replied to by active continuation of the work and a strengthening of these bodies, accompanied by a simultaneous struggle for their reinstatement under the slogan of unity on a class struggle basis. These expelled unions must not become the rallying points for expelled workers from other trade unions. When individual revolutionary workers are expelled, all efforts must be made to mobilise the workers in the struggle against the disruptive policy of the reformists. The struggle for the reinstatement of the expelled must be waged under the slogan of winning over the workers who are still under reformist influence to the side of the revolutionary opposition.

The struggle against the disruptive policy of the trade union bureaucracy in such countries must be waged not by

means of organisation of the expelled Communists and members of the revolutionary opposition in new unions, but by means of a more intense struggle for proletarian democracy in the unions, against reformism, for the elimination of the reformist trade union bureaucracy. The fusion of the reformist trade union apparatus with the bourgeois State apparatus on the one hand, and the growing influence of the Communist Parties among the workers and in the mass reformist unions on the other, not only extend the possibilities of the struggle against the reformist dictatorship, but also render it necessary to mobilise the masses for challenging the trade union statutes and for a rupture with the legalism of the reformist trade unions.

6. At the same time the revolutionary opposition cannot allow the dispersion of the growing number of members of the revolutionary opposition expelled from the reformist trade unions. Therefore, an active connection between the revolutionary opposition and all the expelled members of the opposition becomes necessary. Yet this must not lead to the formation of new organisations (for instance, by collecting special membership dues from the expelled and issuing special membership cards) which might serve as artificial "transitional forms" leading to new trade unions.

7. However, the Communists cannot be opposed on principle to splitting the trade unions. The resolution of the II. Congress of the Comintern pointed out the conditions under which Communists are bound to work for a split, namely: "Communists should not shrink from splitting the trade union organisations if to avoid a split would mean to give up revolutionary work in the unions, to abandon the attempt to organise the most exploited sections of the proletariat". The growth of the strike movement since the VI. Congress of the Comintern, and the furious onslaught of the social-fascist trade union bureaucracy, which resorts to the expulsion and dissolution of entire organisations (A. D. G. B.)* and which is artificially narrowing down the number of workers in the trade union by means of craft barriers (the most glaring example of this is the American Federation of Labour), its open blackleg activity, — all this has created in a number of countries the conditions under which it has been necessary in some cases to establish new revolutionary trade unions. The IX. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. and the VI. Congress of the Comintern have laid down the line for the American Communist Party of establishing new trade unions, first and foremost in those branches of industry where no trade unions exist, and then in those cases where, as a result of revolutionary actions by the workers due to the treachery of trade union bureaucrats, the workers were leaving the trade unions en masse and the trade union movement was being destroyed. This work has been started by the Party, and it should be carried out with the utmost vigour, attracting into the new unions the large masses of the unorganised workers in the United States. The case was the same in Great Britain, where a new garment workers' union and a new Scottish miners' union were formed. In Poland it became necessary, in connection with the mass strike movement in Lodz and the split in the P. P. S., to raise the question of the formation of a new, single union of textile workers on the platform of the class struggle (in Lodz), and a similar question is now being considered by the miners (in the Dombrowo district). Also in Mexico, in connection with the radicalisation of the masses of the workers and the reactionary degeneration of the *Crom*, a new revolutionary Unitary Confederation of Labour was formed which has now about 100,000 members.

8. Communists must understand, however, that the splitting of trade unions is not a question of mechanical formation of new trade unions. It is necessary to combat energetically the idea of the wholesale splitting of trade unions. The formation of new trade unions is possible only at the high tide of strikes, only when the political struggle is very acute, when considerable sections of the proletariat have already grasped the social-fascist character of the reformist trade union bureaucracy, and when these masses are actively supporting the formation of a new union. But even if all these conditions exist, the formation of new trade unions in countries where there are

as yet no independent revolutionary unions (e. g. in Germany) should be undertaken only from case to case, in conformity with the whole objective situation.

7. WORK IN COUNTRIES WHERE THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IS ILLEGAL.

The growing intensification of the class struggle urges the ruling classes to adopt harsh repressive measures to crush and smash the revolutionary unions. Where the revolutionary trade unions are still legal (France, Czechoslovakia, etc.) they are threatened with dissolution. Under these circumstances the fundamental task is to prevent the outlawing of the existing legal organisations. In countries where the bourgeoisie in collusion with the social-fascists has succeeded in outlawing the unions (Italy, Yugoslavia, etc.), where the revolutionary unions are functioning underground, the outstanding task is to strengthen the illegal unions, to draw into them the largest possible number of non-Party workers, and to unfold their activity on the basis of the growing strike wave. It is essential to wage a relentless struggle against the capitulatory and liquidatory tendencies to abandon the activity of the illegal trade unions on the ground of the impossibility of the existence of any illegal trade union in general. In countries where the movement is illegal it is particularly important to create broad committees of action to lead the economic fights. These committees of action may serve as the best means for breaking through the whole system of police and fascist bans and enabling the illegal trade unions to come out into the open. The struggle for emerging from underground, and for open existence, a struggle which should be the first and foremost charge of the revolutionary unions, can be successful only if the illegal unions link it up with the struggle for the daily needs of the workers and with actual leadership in the economic fights.

A necessary condition to the strengthening of the illegal trade unions, to the revolutionary leadership of strikes, and to the emergence from the underground into the open, is persistent and systematic work in the factories for the creation of factory nuclei and the building up of all trade union work upon a factory basis.

8. WORK IN THE COLONIAL AND SEMI-COLONIAL COUNTRIES.

The past year has been characterised by a great upswing in the economic struggle of all colonial and semi-colonial countries, especially in India. The strike wave reached even the most backward sections of the colonial proletariat (Equatorial Africa) and signifies that the developing upward swing of the labour movement has gone far beyond the boundaries of the old capitalist countries. The main features of the recent strikes in the colonial and semi-colonial countries (India, China, and also Indonesia, Ceylon, Burma, Africa, etc.) indicate that even where the movement broke out spontaneously, it was of a profound revolutionary character. This creates a favourable ground for the strengthening and development of the Communist Parties and revolutionary unions in those colonial countries where they exist, and for the formation of Communist Parties and revolutionary trade unions in those colonial countries where they do not as yet exist. The major task for all the Communist and revolutionary workers of those countries is secure working class leadership in all economic fights, eliminating from the strike committees the national-bourgeois and social-reformist elements, and elevating the economic actions of the workers to a higher stage of struggle.

The multifarious forms of trade union organisation existing in the colonial and semi-colonial countries require the Communists and the revolutionary workers in those countries to employ great flexibility in pursuing the policy of independent leadership of the economic fights, winning the large masses of the workers in the course of the unfolding of the strike struggle, and closely linking up the economic struggle of the workers with the general class aims of the proletariat.

The creation of committees of action in those countries must be utilised for the organisation of revolutionary class

*) The General Federation of German Trade unions.

unions where none exist, and for the emergence of the illegal trade unions into the open.

The experience of Girna Kamgar, the Left textile workers' union of Bombay, shows the rapid and good success the revolutionary elements may achieve in the organisation of a radical mass trade union movement through the leadership of strikes and the extensive application of the new forms of organisation (strike committees) and of activity in the factories (factory councils).

The most important task is to strengthen and extend both the illegal and the legal revolutionary unions. It is essential, on the basis of the rising tide of the labour movement, to utilise all and any possibility to enable the illegal trade unions to overcome their isolation from the large masses, which still exists to a certain extent, to develop mass activity, and to fight their way to a legal existence. It is essential, further, to work untiringly and systematically in all the mass reformist and yellow organisations with the object of winning over the workers in those organisations to the revolutionary class struggle. It is the task of the Communist Parties to take advantage of the rising tide of the strike movement to break through all the barbed wire erected by imperialism and the national bourgeoisie against the class unions. The Communist Parties of the imperialist countries must systematically aid the strike movement in the colonial countries, intensifying the struggle against imperialism and for the independence of the colonies in connection with the growing economic battles. Particular attention should be given to helping the labour movement in China and India, for the victory of the revolution in these two countries would deliver a mortal blow to imperialism throughout the world.

9. THE MOST IMPORTANT PRACTICAL TASKS.

1. The political character of the contemporary class conflicts, into which millions of men and women are drawn, brings very forcibly to the notice of the Communist Parties the necessity — repeatedly emphasised in the Comintern resolutions — of the local Party organisations taking up the direct leadership of economic struggles. The Communist Parties have already begun to discard the old methods of leading strikes by means of handing over the leadership to the trade union departments of the Party and to the Communist factions in the trade unions. Nevertheless, a number of resolute steps have yet to be taken in this direction. As the tide of the labour movement rises, the leadership of the economic fights should be the task of the Party as a whole; all the forces of the Party should be concentrated upon this work, and the whole organisation of the Party be adapted to this purpose.

2. The experience of last year's strikes has shown that the weakest spot in the Communist Party and in the revolutionary trade union movement is the insufficient consistency in carrying out the decisions of the VI. Congress of the Comintern and of the IV. Congress of the R.I.L.U. The carrying out of these decisions is still meeting with opposition in the ranks of the Parties, and what is particularly important among the functionaries of the lower Party and revolutionary trade union organisations. The main task confronting the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union movement consists in taking practical measures for accelerating the carrying out of these decisions at all costs.

The IV. Congress of the R.I.L.U. marked a serious turning point for the whole of the international revolutionary trade union movement. The Comintern and all its Sections should contribute in every way to the extension of the influence of the R.I.L.U., popularising its decisions and systematically strengthening the R.I.L.U. and its affiliated bodies.

3. In this connection, the centre of gravity in Party work must be placed more than hitherto directly in the factories. Committees of action, revolutionary factory councils, and industrial unions, these are needed by the proletariat for the organisation of its ranks for mass fights under the leadership of the Communist Party. All these fundamental organisations must have their basis in the factory. Therefore, the organisation of Party nuclei in factories, and their consolidation where they

already exist, acquires paramount importance at this juncture, more than ever before, and becomes the chief link in the chain of Party activity.

4. Of decisive importance in this connection is the invigoration and training of new cadres of leaders of strike battles. Apart from the fact that opportunistic tendencies and bureaucratic practices have found their most favourable soil among trade union workers of the Communist Parties (the most glaring example in this respect is furnished by Czechoslovakia), probably the most serious defect in the leadership of economic struggles has been the conservatism of considerable strata of that section of the membership of the revolutionary trade unions who, while theoretically, in words, fully and entirely accepting the new tactics and decisions of the Comintern, practically, have proved incapable of carrying them into effect. The most serious consideration must be given especially to checking up the leading elements in the Communist trade union factions, in order fully to secure a correct policy.

5. The most important task of the Communists and the revolutionary opposition must be, further, to concentrate the forces as well as the attention upon the main branches of industry and upon the factories which play a decisive role in the class fights.

6. The discrepancy between the extent to which working women participate in the present economic conflicts and the degree of leadership of that movement by the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union movement, which is becoming increasingly conspicuous, must by all means be quickly overcome. The lower Party organisations, the factory nuclei, the factory councils led by communists and the revolutionary opposition must reach the working women by their activity to a much larger extent than hitherto, championing and defending their interests. Active and militant working women must be resolutely advanced to leading positions, especially in factories where female labour predominates. An end must be put to the underestimation of the work among the working women which is to be observed among the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions.

7. The same is true with regard to the young workers. The fact that the overwhelming majority of young workers are unorganised and are deliberately ignored by the reformist unions calls for the launching of a special struggle for the organisation of the youth in the unions on the basis of the revolutionary opposition's programme. In those cases, where the unions refuse to organise the youth, or where no unions exist, it is necessary to organise separate economic associations of young workers of a provisional character to fight for the demands of the youth and for their joining the unions. In strengthening the revolutionary opposition the struggle for the creation of youth sections in the trade unions and for the granting of equal rights to the youth and the adults is of utmost importance. The revolutionary unions must immediately take steps towards the organisation of youth sections. Here, just as with regard to the working women, a firm policy of drawing in new forces must be pursued.

8. The conduct of the economic fights requires the creation of organs of proletarian self-defence to protect and organise factory meetings, to protect strike pickets, to combat strike breakers, factory fascism, all kinds of yellow organisations, etc.

9. The growth of unemployment as a result of rationalisation affects first of all the ranks of the revolutionary opposition. The trade union bureaucracy on many occasions takes advantage of the existence of these unemployed in the revolutionary opposition to prevent them from participating in trade union activity within the reformist unions. The revolutionary opposition must by all the means at its disposal protect the rights of the unemployed in the unions even where they create unemployed organisations (Great Britain), or any other form of associations (e. g. in Germany) under the open leadership of revolutionary elements.

10. It is necessary, with greater energy than hitherto, to mobilise the masses for the struggle for the 7-hour day (and the 6-hour day for underground work, for injurious trades, and also for workers under 18), making this the central slogan in the struggle against capitalist rationalisation.

11. The central organs of the Communist Parties should send into the districts where conflicts are maturing, leading workers who should on the one hand acquaint themselves with the local conditions, and on the other hand should help the local organisations to carry out the maximum of efficient preparatory work. The whole of the preparatory work should be conducted so as to be based upon the factory. In this respect, the following tasks are essential: a) Consolidation of the factory nuclei in such enterprises; b) publication of factory newspapers; workers, and if possible, social-democratic working men and c) formation of initiative groups comprising active non-Party women, syndicalists, etc., so as to prepare for elections to the strike committees. The preparations for the election of strike committees in the factories should be immediately started, as

soon as there becomes evident the maturing of a favourably objective situation.

12. An indispensable prerequisite to successful leadership of the economic fights by the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union movement is courageous, Bolshevist, **self-criticism** and revolutionary **initiative**, carried out from top to bottom. It is essential to increase to the utmost the **international** education of the members of the revolutionary trade union movement, especially of the revolutionary trade union cadres.

13. As to the practical methods for the organisation of the strike struggle, the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. recommends all the Communist Parties to take as a basis the decisions worked out at the International Strike Conference in Strassburg.

To our Readers!

Of the Theses and resolutions of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. there has already been published in the "Inprecorr" "The resolution of the E. C. C. I. on International Day against Imperialist War", in No. 35, 24th July 1929.

The present number contains:

1. "The International Situation and the Immediate Tasks of the Communist International" (Theses upon the Reports of Comrades Kuusinen and Manuilsky);
2. "The Economic Struggle and the Tasks of the Communist Parties" (Theses upon the Reports by Comrades Thälmann and Lozovsky).

The further resolutions of the X. Plenum will be published in their order as soon as possible.