

# The Results of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

## Leading Article of the "Pravda" of October 11.

The resolutions adopted by the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. are of tremendous importance for the whole of the international revolutionary movement.

Between the XI. and XII. Plenums of the E.C.C.I. there elapsed a period of 16 months. In this period the world economic crisis has become constantly deeper and more acute in all capitalist countries. All the measures of the capitalist governments aiming at alleviating the crisis have led and are leading only to a further deepening of the crisis.

The rule of monopoly capital renders it difficult, under the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, to overcome the economic crisis through free competition, the way adopted by capitalism hitherto. The long drawn out economic crisis leads to a further growth of the revolutionary upsurge, to a further aggravation of all the contradictions of the imperialist system. The correctness of the Bolshevik estimate of the third period of the post-war crisis of capitalism as a

period of shakiness and of the end of relative stabilisation of capitalism, as a period of tremendous collisions between the classes and the States is already now confirmed with extraordinary clearness.

The growth of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses compels the imperialists to hasten in their search for new sales markets, sources of raw material and spheres of capital investment. The intensification of the antagonisms between the imperialist States, above all the antagonisms between Great Britain and the United States, but to a no less extent also the antagonisms between the United States and Japan, between France and Italy, Germany and France, Germany and Poland, are leading to a **new imperialist world war**, the main seat of which has now become the Far East.

The victory of the Soviet revolution in a considerable part of China, the phenomenal growth and strengthening of the Chinese Red Army, the revolts of the oppressed peoples against the imperialists in the most backward regions of the colonial world, the revolution in Spain, the economic and political strikes, which coincide with peasant revolts, the growth of the influence and of the numerical strength of the Communist parties, indicate that the revolutionary movement in the whole of the capitalist world is assuming increasingly extensive and sharper forms, whilst certain countries (Poland, Germany) are on the verge of a revolutionary crisis.

Against the growing forces of the revolution the forces of counter-revolution are being mobilised. Bourgeois "democracy" is more and more giving place to open fascist dictatorship. The present government in Germany is one of the forms of the fascist dictatorship. Nevertheless the setting up of the fascist dictatorship betokens not a strengthening but a weakening of the bourgeoisie of Germany.

The fundamental process which is now taking place in the whole of the capitalist countries is the growth of the forces of the revolution. Under the influence of the revolutionary upsurge there is **already to be observed a process of decay of fascism** even in countries in which the fascist dictatorship was set up before the commencement of the present economic crisis (Poland, Italy, Yugoslavia).

On the basis of all these facts, the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. stated that the position of world imperialism as a whole and the situation in a number of big imperialist countries is becoming more and more **shaky and uncertain**, that the relative stabilisation of capitalism which took place after the defeat of the working class in a number of European countries in the first period of revolutions and wars, is at an end, that tremendous collisions between the classes and the States, wars and revolutions are approaching.

The fundamental feature in that estimate of the international situation given by the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. consists in the establishment of the fact that the **relative stabilisation of capitalism is at an end**, that there is taking place at the present moment the **transition** to great and violent collisions between the classes and the States, the **transition to the second round of revolutions and wars**.

The Communist International is exerting all its energies to bind itself still more firmly to the masses, **to place itself at the head of the masses, to organise the fight of the masses and to raise it to the level of the fight for power**. Precisely for this reason the Communist International now makes the **fight against the attack of capital and of reaction, against the approaching new imperialist war and against the danger of military intervention threatening the Soviet Union** its chief task.

The end of the capitalist stabilisation, the rapid growth of the prerequisites for the revolutionary crisis in a number of capitalist countries and the whole of the present new international situation, **indicate that the revolutionary crisis is rapidly approaching**.

The strategic main task confronting the whole of the Communist International and each of its Sections in particular is the **winning of the majority of the working class for the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat**. In some countries (China, Spain, Germany, Poland etc.) this task must be solved already within a short space of time. It must be solved by strengthening the connections of the Communist Parties with the broadest masses of the working class, by persistent work in the reformist trade unions and by organising the fight against the attacks of capital on the wages and rights of the workers. The Communists are the only ones who take on themselves to defend the everyday needs of the masses,

whereby they raise the political activity of the masses and lead them to the fight for power. The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. recorded the inadequate development of the strike struggle in Germany, and at the same time called attention to the great importance of the successes of the proletariat in Germany in the anti-fascist fight—which sometimes assumes very sharp forms of street fighting—and to the importance of the successes of the C.P. of Germany in its fight against the social democracy and for the majority of the working class.

The Plenum also recorded the great importance of the work of the Communist Parties of Poland and of Czechoslovakia in mobilising the masses during the recent strikes and peasant actions. It likewise recorded the great importance of the successes achieved by the C.P. of Bulgaria, which is already leading the majority of the working class and considerable sections of the peasantry.

The winning of the majority of the working class for the revolution can be achieved only in a decisive fight against the social democracy, only by destroying the mass influence of this party which is the main social buttress of the bourgeoisie. The social democracy is resorting to new "Left" manoeuvres. The "Left" manoeuvres of the social democracy indicate that the illusions of the broad masses regarding capitalism and the bourgeois State are already undermined. In accordance with the decisions of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and **on the basis of the tactic of the united front**, the Communists will mobilise the masses, increase their self-confidence and lead them to the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Against the social democratic proposals of "nationalising" the factories and works by the bourgeois State, the Communists advocate the confiscation of the means of production by the proletarian State as being their real nationalisation.

The Communist International regards the preparation and the development of political mass strikes as one of its fundamental and most important tasks. The Communist International therefore sets the Communist Parties of Germany and Poland the task of declaring a **political general strike** under the leadership of the Communists.

The XII. Plenum recorded a number of great weaknesses in the work of the Communist Parties. The Communist Parties have not yet fully utilised the whole favourable situation for organising economic struggles. In a whole number of cases they were not able to induce the masses to enter on a political strike against the attack of fascism and capitalism. The successes of the Communist Parties of the imperialist countries were not able to **put a stop** to the transport of war material to Japan. The successes of the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries in the fight against the attack of capital and against the robbery of the working class, against fascism and reaction, against imperialist war, are not yet adequate by a long way.

The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. pointed out that the Communist International has grown very considerably and has become consolidated. In all the largest capitalist countries the Communist Parties have already finally become Bolshevik Parties. Therefore the fights which the Comintern is now approaching will be much more serious, and in a number of countries will be decisive fights.

The Communist International has grown and become strong in the fight for the Bolshevik line against Right and "Left" opportunism and against the conciliators, against Trotskyism, against Zinoviev, Bukharin and their followers, against Brandlerism, against Lovestoneism and against many other varieties of Right and "Left" opportunism.

The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. has summoned the whole of the Communist International to a further decisive fight against the Right tendencies in some parties (Humbert-Droz), as well as against the "Left" sectarian (United States) and anarcho-syndicalist (Spain) tendencies, and also against the attempts to unite all the fragments of the various oppositions under the "ideological" leadership of Trotsky (Poland).

In calling upon the working masses to undertake the broadest propaganda of the big socialist achievements of the Soviet Union and to support the Bolshevik policy of the C.P.S.U. by all means, in calling upon them to learn from the great experiences of the revolutionary fight of the C.P.S.U., the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. expressed the firm conviction that **in the approaching big class battles the Communists will be the actual leaders of the masses in the fight for power**.