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Resolution on the Executions in Ireland

Conolly: (Ireland)

Comrades, In the name of the delegation of the Irish Communist Party I propose the following resolution:

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International vigorously protests against the executions by the Irish Free State of the five national revolutionaries on the 17th and 25th November. It draws the attention of all the workers and peasants of the world to this savage culmination of a widespread and ferocious terror in Ireland. Already more than 6,000 valiant fighters against British Imperialism have been thrown into jails under nauseating conditions; scores of women have been compelled to hunger strike in prison and already 1,800 casualties have resulted from five months' struggle against this Terror which has produced samples of horrible atrocities unparalleled by the British Black and Tans, the Italian Fascisti, or the American Trust Thugs. The Free State, which has unhesitatingly used the British supplied artillery and munitions, rifles and bombs, and even aeroplanes with death-dealing machine guns on crowds of ordinary people as well as on the armed revolutionaries, has capped all this by the brutal executions of five men on the charge of merely having arms in their possession. This desperate shooting of prisoners is a direct outcome of the declared bankruptcy of the Free State and is a last resort on its part to crush the resistance of the Irish masses fighting against their enslavement to the British Empire. The crushing of the Republicans can only result in firmly establishing an Imperialist Terrorist

Government which will not hesitate to attack the Irish working class movement with the same brutal weapons upon the first sight of an advance to power or to better conditions. This being undeniably so, the action of the majority of the Labor Party headed by Johnson, in supporting the executions, is the most criminal betrayal that these traitors to the working class have yet perpetrated, particularly so when even the most reactionary Irish capitalist organ that called aloud for the blood of Connolly in 1916 deprecates this action of the Government. The Comintern warns the working class of Ireland against these betrayals of the ideals of Connolly and Larkin, and points out to the Irish workers and peasants that the only road out of this Free State terrorism and imperialist oppression lies through an organized and coordinated struggle in the political and industrial as well as the military field. The struggle with arms alone if not supplemented and reinforced by political and industrial action, will inevitably fail. To win success the masses must be mobilized against the Free State, and this can only be done on the basis of the Social Program of the Communist Party of Ireland.

The C.I. sends fraternal greetings to the struggling Irish national revolutionaries, and feels that they will soon tread the only path that leads to real freedom the path of Communism. The C.I. will assist all efforts to organize the struggle to combat this terror, and to help the Irish workers and peasants to victory.

Long live the Irish national struggle for Independence.
Long live the Workers' Republic of Ireland!
Long live the Communist International!

Resolution on the Question of the Versailles Peace Treaty

The World War ended with the overthrow of these imperialist powers,—Germany, Austria, Hungary and Russia. Four large imperialist countries came out victorious from the struggle,—the United States of America, England, France and Japan.

The Peace Treaties which centre around the Versailles Peace Treaty, represent an attempt to consolidate the rule of these four victorious nations politically and economically, by reducing the rest of the World to the state of colonial territories for exploitation; socially, by securing the domination of the bourgeoisie over its own proletariat and against the victorious revolutionary proletariat of Soviet Russia by a union of the bourgeoisie of all countries. For that purpose they elected a barrier of small vassal states ready to strangle Soviet Russia at the first opportunity. Besides this, the burden of war costs incurred by the victorious countries was placed wholly upon the defeated nations.

To-day it is clear to everybody that the assumptions on which the peace treaties were built were incorrect. The attempt to establish a new equilibrium on a capitalist basis has failed. The history of the last four years shows a continuous fluctuation of conditions, a constant uncertainty: economic crises, unemployment, increased hours of work, ministerial Party and foreign crises follow each other. The imperialist powers attempted to

conceal the disruption of the world system brought about by the peace treaties and the bankruptcy of the Peace of Versailles by an endless series of conferences.

The attempts to overthrow the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Russia have failed. The proletariat of all capitalist countries appears more and more in favour of Soviet Russia. Even the leaders of the Amsterdam International must acknowledge that the fall of the proletarian rule in Russia would mean the victory of the World reaction over the whole proletariat.

Turkey as outpost of the uprising Orient has successfully opposed the carrying out of the peace treaty by force of arms. An important part of the peace treaty is being solemnly buried at the Lousanne Conference.

The continuous economic crisis in the whole world proves that the economic conceptions underlying the Versailles Treaty are without foundation.

Without the restoration of Germany and Russia, England the leading European imperialist power which is greatly dependent upon world trade, cannot consolidate its industries. The strongest imperialist power, the U.S.A. turned its back upon the Peace treaty and is attempting to erect its world imperialism independent of Europe. In this it is supported by important sections of the British Empire,—Canada and Australia.

The oppressed colonies of England, the basis of its World Power, are rebelling; the whole Mahomedan world is in a state of open or latent revolt.

All the provisions of the Peace Treaty have become void, except the one that the bourgeoisie of all countries has been able to shift the burden of the war and the Peace Treaty upon the Proletariat.

France.

Apparently, France above all other victorious states has increased her power. In addition to the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, the occupation of the Left bank of the Rhine, and her claim to many unpaid billions of German indemnities, France has actually become the strongest military power on the European Continent. With its vassal states, whose armies are trained and led by French generals (Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania) with its own large army, with its fleet of submarines and its squadrons of aeroplanes, it rules the continent; it is the Guardian of the Versailles Peace Treaty. But the economic basis of France, its diminishing population, its ever growing home and foreign debts, and the resultant dependence upon England and America, gives sufficient foundation for her boundless imperialist desires of expansion. Politically she finds herself hemmed in by England's control of the most important sea-ports and the Anglo-American monopoly of petroleum. Economically her increased possession of iron ore is rendered worthless because the coal necessary for its exploitation remains in Germany, in the Ruhr. She had hoped to bring order into her disturbed finances by means of the German reparations payments. All financial experts agree that Germany cannot pay the sums necessary to stabilise French finances. The only way that remains open to the French bourgeoisie is the reduction of the standard of living of the French proletariat to the level of that of the German. The hunger suffered by the German Workers will to-morrow be suffered by the French Proletariat. The deliberate depreciation of the franc by certain circles of the French heavy industry will be the means to shift the burden of the war upon the French proletariat after the Versailles Peace Treaty has proved useless.

England.

Thanks to the World War England has been able to unite its colonial empire from the Cape to Egypt, Arabia and India. The most important entrances to the World seas have remained in her possession. By concessions to her Anglo-Saxon colonies, she is attempting to create an Anglo-Saxon World Empire.

In spite of the adaptability of the British bourgeoisie, and its determined attempts to conquer the World market, it became apparent that the conditions created by the Versailles Treaty made the further progress of England impossible. England cannot maintain its existence as long as Germany and Russia have not been economically restored. This sharpens the conflict between France and England. England wants to send her goods to Germany, but is prevented by the Versailles Treaty; France wishes to obtain from Germany greater sums for reparations, which of course destroys the purchasing power of Germany. This is why England demands the reduction of the reparations; France conducts a masked war against England in the Near East in order to force her to yield in the reparations question. While the proletariat of England is paying for the war in the form of unemployment, the bourgeoisie of France and England always unite at the cost of Germany.

Central Europe and Germany.

The most important object of the Versailles Peace Treaty is central Europe, the new colony of the imperialist predatory States. Broken up into a countless number of small countries incapable of independent economic existence, which of course, cannot conduct an independent policy. They have sunk down to colonies of French and English capital. They are incited against each other according to the changing interest of the large Powers. Czecho-Slovakia, cut off from a unified economic territory of 60 million people, is in a state of chronic crisis. Austria has shrunk down to a dying state which maintains its political independence only on account of the conflicting desires of her neighbours. Poland which received a great number of foreign territories has become one of the outposts of France, a caricature of French imperialism. In all these countries the proletariat is paying for the war in the form of a lowered standard of living and great unemployment.

But the most important object of the Versailles Peace Treaty is Germany. Disarmed, robbed of every possibility of self defence it has been delivered to the mercy of the imperialist powers. The German bourgeoisie attempts to unite its interests, now with the bourgeoisie of England, and now with other friends. By intensified exploitation of the German proletariat, it is attempting to satisfy some of the demands of France and at the same time to obtain foreign help to secure its rule over the German proletariat. But even the extensive exploitation of the German

proletariat, and its misery as a result of the Versailles Peace Treaty do not make it possible for Germany to pay the reparations. Germany has become the football of England and France. The French attempt to solve the question forcibly by the occupation of the Ruhr. England opposes this move. Only the interference of the greatest economic power of the World, the United States will make it possible to conciliate the conflicting interests of France, England and Germany:

United States of America.

The United States of America has turned its back on the Versailles Treaty and refused to ratify it. The United States which has come out of the war as the strongest industrial and political power of the World, to whom every imperialist European power is deeply indebted, shows no desire to stabilise French finances by any large credit to Germany. American Capital is turning away from the European chaos and is attempting to create its own colonial empire in Central and South America and in the Far East and to secure the exploitation of the home market for its own ruling class by means of a high protective tariff. But while it is not interested in the fate of Europe, it is coming into conflict with the interests of England and Japan in the Far East. Through its economic power, the United States forced the other imperialist powers to come to the Washington Disarmament Conference. In this way it destroyed one of the most important bases of the Versailles Treaty—the supremacy of England on the seas—and broke up the alignment of power resulting from the Treaty.

Japan and the Colonies.

The youngest imperialist world power, Japan, is keeping away from the European chaos created by the Treaty of Versailles. But her interests are greatly affected by rise of the United States to a world power. In Washington it was forced by the United States to dissolve its alliance with England, whereby another provision of the Treaty was rendered ineffective. At the same time not only are the oppressed peoples rebelling against the rule of England and Japan, but the Anglo-Saxon colonies of Britain seek to protect their interests in the coming conflict between the United States and Japan by a closer union with the United States. The frame of British Imperialism is being shaken more and more.

The New War.

The attempt of imperialist powers to create a firm basis for the domination of the world has failed on account of their conflicting interests. The great edifice lies in ruins. The large powers and their vassals are preparing for a new war. Militarism is stronger than ever. Although the bourgeoisie is oppressed by the fear that a new proletarian revolution might follow in the wake of another war, the laws of capitalist society are driving inevitably towards a new world conflict.

The Task of the Communist Parties.

The 2 and 2½ Internationals confine their efforts to supporting the radical wing of the bourgeoisie which represents primarily the trading and banking interests, in its weak fight for the reduction of the reparation payments. As in every other problem, they are working hand in glove with the Bourgeoisie. The task of the Communist Parties, and first of all those of the victorious countries is to show clearly to the masses that the Versailles Treaty shifts all the burdens of the war, in the victorious as well as the defeated countries upon the shoulders of the proletariat that the proletariat is the real victim of this bourgeois peace treaty. On this ground, the Communist Parties, primarily those of Germany and France should conduct a common fight against the Versailles treaty. The German communist party must declare the willingness of the German proletariat to help the workers and peasants of Northern France to rebuild their destroyed homes; at the same time it should conduct an intense struggle against its own bourgeoisie which, in agreement with the French bourgeoisie, is conducting its policy of "fulfillment" at the cost of the German proletariat, and is willing to see Germany reduced to a French colony as long as its own class interests are thereby insured. The French Communist Party must fight against the imperialism of its bourgeoisie, against the intensified exploitation of the German Proletariat to enrich the French bourgeoisie, against the occupation of the Ruhr, against the partition of Germany. To-day it is not sufficient in France to fight against the social patriots, we must combat the Versailles treaty at every opportunity. It is the task of the Communist Party of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and the other vassal countries of France to combine the struggle against the bourgeoisie with the fight against French Imperialism. We must convince the French and German proletariat, by means of joint campaigns, that the attempt to carry out the Versailles treaty would plunge the proletariat of both countries, and with them the proletariat of the whole of Europe into the deepest misery.

Theses on Tactics

Noerne:

Amendments to the Theses on the Tactics of the Comintern have been introduced by the German and by the Austrian Delegations. It was therefore necessary to appoint a small editing commission to examine these amendments. The editing Commission submits to you the following amendments.

In section three, that dealing with the Versailles Treaty, the second and third paragraphs of the Theses are to be deleted, and substituted by the following text:

"The recent experiences of a small country such as Austria, have much importance as symptoms of the political condition of Europe. By the edict of Entente Imperialism, the whole of that "democracy"—which has been so much praised by the Two-and-a-Half International, the defence of which served as a pretext for every act of betrayal of working class interest, and the protection of which they also placed in the hands of the most reactionary Monarchists, Christian Socialists, Pan-Germans, who simply used it for the re-establishment of their power, as well as by the Christian Socialists—has been annihilated by a stroke of the pen in Geneva and replaced by the uncompromising dictatorship of a plenipotentiary of the Entente. As soon as the bourgeois parliament was eliminated, its place was taken by a servant of the Entente bankers. The Social Democrats after a brief show of resistance, capitulated and voluntarily assisted in carrying out the damaging agreement. They even showed a badly concealed willingness to re-enter the Coalition, in order to hamper as far as possible the resistance of the workers.

These experiences of little Austria, and also the recent Fascist rise to power in Italy, clearly show that insecurity of the whole situation and prove that "democracy" is merely a sham and implies in truth the veiled dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. When this appeared to serve its purpose, a brutal white guard terror took the place of the bourgeois dictatorship."

This amendment gives stronger emphasis to the part played by the Austrian Social Democracy in the recent events.

A further amendment in Section V, paragraph I, where the second sentence commencing with the words: "In view of the increasing impoverishment also among the middle classes, etc.: was somewhat modified so as to avoid misunderstanding as though the cause of Fascism consisted only in the fact that the middle classes, the peasantry, had ceased to be the willing tool of the bourgeoisie. In its amended form the sentence in question should read as follows:

"In view of the fact that the general impoverishment affects also the middle class, including the State officials, the ruling classes can no longer depend on the bureaucracy as an a solutely reliable tool. This causes the bourgeoisie everywhere to create special white guards..."

The creation of the special white guards is thus based on the increased revolutionizing of the large masses which steadily grips also the ranks of petty officialdom, etc.

Furthermore, in the same section in the second paragraph, a new sentence should be added. The second paragraph begins with the words: "The salient feature of Italian Fascism that 'Classical' Fascism, etc."; and ends with the words: "Even among certain elements of the working class". Here the words should be added: "In order to make use of general disappointment with the so-called democracy for its own ends."

In the following paragraph, between the words "Germany (Bavaria), and America", there should be inserted also, the word "Austria", because Fascist phenomena have made their appearance also in that country.

The greatest modification has been introduced in the paragraph dealing with the workers' government. The Commission deemed it necessary to state the question of the workers' Government with the utmost clearness and precision.

In section 11, on Workers' Government, that part dealing with the conditions under which it would be possible for Communists to participate in a workers' government, a new condition was inserted. The text should now read as follows.

"1. That participation in such a government must first have the consent of the Comintern."

This is the new condition.

Then the wording is to be the same as in the first draft.

"2. That the Communist representatives participate in such a government under the strict control of their parties."

"3. That the said communist members of the workers government be in close contact with the revolutionary organizations of the working masses."

"4. That the Communist Party maintain its own character and complete independence in its agitational work."

"With all its advantages, the watchword of the workers' government has its perils just as that of the United Front. In

order to avoid such perils the communist parties must bear in mind that every bourgeois government is at the same time a capitalist government, but that not every workers' government is a real proletarian power."

In the original draft there occur the words: "a socialist government."

The Commission has struck out these three words and substituted them by the words: "A revolutionary instrument of the proletarian power". Because the word "Socialist" is too ambiguous. It should be stated clearly as to what should be the class composition of such a government.

The paragraph continues as follows:

"The Communist International must anticipate the following possibilities":

Then follows the enumeration of the five possibilities, which were partly redrafted.

"1. A Liberal Workers' Government such as exists in Australia, and is likely to be formed in Great Britain in the near future.

2. A Social Democratic Workers' Government (Germany)."

In the original draft the third point was as follows:

"A Workers' and Peasants' Government".

It was justly pointed out that in certain countries this title would be claimed by a coalition government of the Social Democrats with any Christian Peasants' Party consisting, not of poor and small peasants, but of rich peasants, as has been the case in Austria. For the purpose of avoiding any misunderstanding, the paragraph now reads as follows:

3. "A Workers' and Peasants' Government" — such possibilities exist in the Balkans, in Czecho-Slovakia, etc...."

In the original draft the fourth point contains the words: "A Social Democratic-Communist Coalition Government". The Commission was of the opinion that such a formulation was rather narrow. It is not only a question of a coalition between Social Democrats and Communists, but there is the possibility of eventual participation in such a government by non-party, syndicalists, and even Christian Trade Unions. It has therefore been redrafted as follows:

"A Workers' Government in which Communists participate."

Point five remained unaltered.

"5. A real proletarian Workers' Government which the Communist Party alone can embody in a pure form."

The next paragraph was subjected to even greater modification. It was necessary to emphasise at this point, that the first two of the above mentioned forms of a Workers' Government were not revolutionary workers' governments, but in reality nothing else than disguised coalition governments. The attitude of the Communists must be stated precisely. For this reason the Commission suggested the following statement:

"The first two are not the revolutionary workers' government, but disguised coalitions between the bourgeoisie and anti-revolutionary groups. Such Workers' governments are tolerated at critical moments by the weakened bourgeoisie in order to dupe the workers as to the true class character of the State, or with the aid of the corrupt leaders, to divert a revolutionary onslaught of the proletariat, and to gain time.

"The Communists cannot take part in such governments. On the contrary, they must ruthlessly expose their true character to the masses. In this period of capitalist decline, when the main task is to win the majority of the proletarians for the proletarian revolution, such governments may serve as a means to precipitate the destruction of bourgeois power.

"The Communists are willing to make common cause also with those workers who have not yet recognised the necessity for proletarian dictatorship, with Social Democrats, Christian Socialists, non-party and syndicalist workers. Thus the Communists are prepared under certain conditions and with certain guarantees to support a non-communist Workers' Government. At the same time the communist say to the masses quite openly that it is impossible to establish a real workers' Government without a revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie."

In conclusion two further types of workers' governments are mentioned, namely the Workers' and Peasants' Government, and the Workers' Government with the participation of Communists. The first sentence of the last paragraph of this section is deleted.

It should read as follows:

"The other two types of Workers' Governments, Workers' and Peasants' Government and Workers' Government with Participation of Communists, are not proletarian dictatorships, nor are they historically inevitable transition forms of government towards proletarian dictatorship, but where they are formed they

may serve as starting points for the struggle for dictatorship. Only the Workers' Government consisting of Communists can be the true embodiment of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Finally, following section XIII on Factory Councils, a new paragraph should be added under number 14 as follows:
"14. The Comintern as a World Party. The Communist International must to an increasing degree and simultaneously

The Tactics of the Communist International

On the Report of Comrade Zinoviev on the Further Tactics of the Communist International.

I. Endorsement of the Resolutions of the Third Congress.

The Fourth World Congress of the Communist International emphatically states that the following resolutions of the Third World Congress have been completely confirmed through the experiences and the development of the working class movement in the period between the Third and Fourth Congresses:

- 1) Resolution on the World Economic Crisis and the tasks of the Communist International; and
- 2) Resolution on the tactics of the Communist International.

II. The Decline of Capitalism:

The Third World Congress, after an investigation of the world economic situation, could confidently assert that capitalism, after the fulfillment of its mission of developing the forces of production, now stands completely in opposition, not merely to the necessities of the present historical development, but even to the satisfaction of the most elementary human requirements. These fundamental contradictions of the capitalist system were clearly reflected in the recent imperialist war, and were sharpened thereby, as the fabric of production and distribution received a shattering blow. Obsolete capitalism has now reached that stage when its unbridled powers of destruction cripple and destroy these economic accomplishments which have been achieved by a proletariat in a condition of capitalist serfdom.

The general aspect of the decay of capitalist economy shows no modification through the inevitable fluctuations which are a feature of the capitalist system, as much during its growth as during its decline. The efforts of bourgeois and social-democratic economists—who saw, in the improvement of the economic situation in the second half of 1921 in the United States, Japan and England, and also to some extent in France, a restoration of capitalist equilibrium—were founded partly on the deliberate misrepresentation of facts and partly on the shortsightedness of these lackeys of capitalism. The Third Congress, which was held before the present revival of industry, foresaw that this revival must inevitably take place in the comparatively near future, and characterised it then distinctly, as a superficial back wave in the advancing disintegration of capitalism. One can already clearly see that as the present revival of industry is by no means capable of restoring capitalist stability, not even of repairing the grave damage wrought by the war, the next periodical crisis will accentuate the downward course of capitalism and intensify the revolutionary situation to an unusual degree.

Capitalism will undergo periods of fluctuation until the day of its destruction. Only the seizure of power by the proletariat and the socialist revolution can save mankind from the complete catastrophe which is now inevitable in the conditions of present day capitalism.

III. The International Political Situation:

The international political situation also reflects the rapid decay of capitalism.

The Reparations problem is still unsolved. While conference after conference of the Entente Powers takes place, the economic destruction of Germany proceeds apace and threatens the existence of capitalism in the whole of Central Europe. The catastrophic deterioration of the economic situation in Germany will either force the Entente to renounce their reparations claims—which would accentuate the political and economic crisis in France—or it will lead to the creation of a Franco-German industrial alliance on the Continent. The latter would damage the economic life of England, and its standing in the world market, and would bring England and the Continent into conflict.

In the Near East, the Entente policies are completely bankrupt. The Sevres Treaty has been torn to pieces by Turkish bayonets. The war between Greece and Turkey and its consequences have plainly shown how unstable is the present political situation. The spectre of a new imperialistic war is looming ahead. After imperialistic France, actuated by its rivalry with England, had trampled underfoot the joint work of the Entente

with its establishment as an International Party from the point of view of organisation also act as an International party politically. It must control the political actions of its sections in the various countries."

Thus the last paragraph, dealing with International discipline now becomes number 15.

in the Near East, it once more returned to its place in the common antagonism of the capitalist nations to the Peoples of the East. The action of capitalist France has clearly shown to the peoples of the Near East that they can successfully carry on their struggle against their oppressors only by the side of Soviet Russia and with the support of the revolutionary world proletariat.

In the case of the Far East, the victorious Entente powers endeavoured to revise the Versailles Treaty at the Washington Conference. However, they were only able to gain a respite by the reduction, in next year's construction, of one particular class of armaments namely, warships. But they came to no real solution of the problem. The struggle between America and Japan goes on and adds fuel to the flames of civil war in China. The Pacific is menaced by the calamity of war.

The experiences of the movements for national liberation in India, Egypt, Ireland and Turkey, show that the colonial and semi-colonial countries are hotbeds of a growing revolutionary movement against the imperialistic powers, and that inexhaustible reservoirs of revolutionary strength may there be found which, under the present circumstances, may be objectively directed against the entire bourgeois system of the world.

The Versailles Treaty is being annulled by facts. It does not lead the way to any general understanding among capitalist countries, nor to an abandonment of imperialism, but on the contrary it creates new antagonism, new imperialistic groupings and new armaments. In the present situation, the reconstruction of Europe is impossible. American capitalism will make no sacrifice to restore the capitalistic system in Europe. America is like a vulture hovering over Europe which will become its prey. America will enslave capitalistic Europe unless the European working class seizes political power and clear away the wreckage of the world war by the reconstruction of Europe through a federated Soviet Republic.

The recent experiences of a small country such as Austria, have much importance as symptoms of the political condition of Europe. By edict of Entente Imperialism, the whole of that "democracy"—which has been so much praised by the Two and a Half International, the defence of which served as a pretext for every act of betrayal of working class interest, and the protection of which they placed also in the hands of the most reactionary Monarchists, Christian Socialists, Pan-Germans, who simply used it for the re-establishment of their power,—has been annihilated by a stroke of the pen in Geneva and replaced by the uncompromising dictatorship of a plenipotentiary of the Entente. As soon as the bourgeois parliament was eliminated, its place was taken by a servant of the Entente bankers. The Social Democrats after a brief show of resistance, capitulated and voluntarily assisted in carrying out the detrimental agreement. They even showed a badly concealed willingness to re-enter the Coalition, in order to hamper as far possible the resistance of the workers.

These experiences of little Austria, and also the recent Fascist rise to power in Italy, clearly show that insecurity of the whole situation and prove that "democracy" is merely a sham and implies in truth the veiled dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. When this appeared to serve its purpose, a brutal white guard terror took the place of the bourgeois dictatorship.

At the same time the international political situation of Soviet Russia—the only country where the proletariat has conquered the bourgeoisie and has retained its power during the five long years that it has been withstanding the attacks of its enemies—has become considerably stronger.

At the conferences of Genoa and Hague, the Entente capitalists tried their best to force Russia to abandon the nationalisation of industry and to burden Russia with such a debt as would have converted the Soviet Republic into an Entente colony. The Russian Proletarian State, however, was strong enough to resist this attempt. Amidst the chaos of the collapsing capitalist system, Russia stands—from Beresina to Vladivostok, from Murmansk to the mountains of Armenia—as a growing power in Europe and the Near and Far East. Despite the attempt of a capitalist world to ruin Russia by a financial blockade, it is in a condition to proceed with its economic reconstruction. To this end, it will use its own economic resources as well as make use of the rivalry of the various capitalist States, which will lead to some of them being compelled to enter into relationship with

her. One sixth of the globe is now under the rule of Soviets. Already the existence of the Russian Soviet Republic has a weakening influence upon bourgeois society, and it is a powerful factor in the world revolution. The more Soviet Russia is economically restored and strengthened, the greater will be the influence of this mighty revolutionary factor in international politics.

IV. The Capitalist Offensive.

Owing to the fact that the proletariat of all countries with the exception of Russia, did not take advantage of the weakened state of capitalism, to deal it the final crushing blows, the bourgeoisie—thanks to the aid of the social-reformists—managed to suppress the militant revolutionary workers, to reinforce its political and economic power and to start a new offensive against the proletariat. All the attempts of the bourgeoisie to re-establish the international production and distribution of commodities after the storms of the world war, have been made solely at the expense of the workers. The systematically organised attack of world capitalism upon all the achievements of the working class has spread like wild-fire to all countries. Organised capital everywhere relentlessly carried out the policy of cutting down the real wages of the worker, of prolonging the working day and of curtailing the most moderate rights of the workers in the industries. In the countries with a depreciated valuta, capitalism is compelling the destitute workers to bear the brunt of the economic crisis caused by the depreciation of money, and so forth.

The capitalist offensive, which of late has assumed gigantic proportions, compels the workers of all countries to adopt measures of self-defence. Tens of thousands of workers employed in the chief industries were brought into the fray. The fight is joined again by new groups of workers engaged in the most essential industries (railway workers, miners, metal workers, state and municipal employees). The majority of these strikes have hitherto failed to bring immediate success. But this struggle was for the new groups of hitherto conservative workers a good training in implacable hatred towards the capitalists and towards the governments which openly defend them. These fights, forced upon the proletariat, destroy the policy of cooperation which the employers preached by the social-reformists and the trade union bureaucrats. These fights demonstrate even to the most backward elements of the proletariat the manifest connection between economics and politics.

Every big strike assumes today the importance of a great political event. In these struggles the parties of the Second International and the leaders of the Amsterdam International, far from lending aid to the working masses in their hard struggles, have even directly left them in the lurch and betrayed them to the capitalists and to the bourgeois governments.

It is one of the tasks of the Communist Parties to expose this continuous and unparalleled treachery and to bring it to light in the daily struggles of the working masses. It is the duty of the communist parties of all countries to widen the scope of the numerous economic strikes that frequently break out, to deepen them and, wherever possible, to lead them on to political strikes and combats. It is also the self-evident duty of the Communist parties to take advantage of the defensive struggles to so strengthen the revolutionary consciousness and militancy of the working masses that these struggles, given the proper forces, might turn the defensive into an offensive. The widening of the scope of these struggles by no means stultifies the systematically increasing antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The situation remains objectively revolutionary, and the slightest outbreak may to-day become the point of issue for great revolutionary struggles.

V. International Fascism.

Closely allied with the capitalist offensive in the economic field, is the political offensive of the bourgeoisie against the working class, which finds its expression in International Fascism. In view of the fact that the general impoverishment affects also the middle class, including the State officials, the ruling classes can no longer depend on the bureaucracy as an absolutely reliable tool. This causes the bourgeoisie everywhere to create special white guards, directed against all the revolutionary aims of the proletariat, to crush in most brutal fashion every attempt of the workers to improve their position.

The salient features of the Italian Fascism—that "classical" Fascism which has now taken possession of that country for some time—consists of the fact that the Fascists, not content with establishing their own counter-revolutionary militant organisations armed to the teeth, seeks also to gain ground by social demagogy, among the masses of the peasantry, among the lower bourgeoisie and even among certain elements of the working class, in order

to make use of the general disappointment with so-called democracy for its own ends.

The menace of Fascism lurks to-day in many countries; in Czecho-Slovakia, in Hungary, in nearly all the Balkan countries, in Poland, in Germany (Bavaria), in Austria and America, and even in countries like Norway. Fascism in one form or another is not altogether impossible even in countries like France and England.

One of the most important tasks of the Communist Parties is to organise the resistance to International Fascism, to take the lead in the struggle of all the workers against the Fascist bands and vigorously to carry the tactics of the United Front also in this field of activity, where the methods of illegal organisation are an absolute necessity.

The Fascist organisation is the last card of the bourgeoisie. The unbridled fury of the white guards is directed also against the foundations of bourgeois democracy as a whole. This fact brings home to the working masses the conviction that the domination of the bourgeoisie cannot be maintained otherwise than by undisguised dictatorship over the proletariat.

VI. The Possibility of New Pacifist Illusions.

The International political situation at the present moment is characterised by Fascism, martial law and the rising tide of white terror against the working class. This however, by no means precludes the possibility of the bourgeois reaction making the attempt in the near future, to assume the pose of "democratic pacifism" in the more important countries. Such a transitional form of "democratic pacifism" is likely to occur in England (strengthening of the Labour Party at the last elections), in France (the inevitable period of the so-called "Left Bloc"), and there is also a possibility of a revival of pacifist hopes in bourgeois and social-democratic Germany. Between the present period of the domination of undisguised bourgeois reaction and the complete victory of the revolutionary proletariat over the bourgeoisie, there is a possibility of various intervening stages and transitional episodes. The Communist International and its sections must bear in mind also such eventualities and prepare for the defence of the revolutionary positions under all circumstances.

VII. The Situation within the Labour Movement.

During this period, when the working class is put on the defensive against capital, we see the rapprochement and the eventual amalgamation of the centrist parties (Independents) with the undisguised social-traitors (Social Democrats). During the revolutionary upheaval the Centrists, under pressure of the masses, were constrained to shout for the proletarian dictatorship and to seek the way to the Third International. With the temporary receding tide of the revolution, the Centrists fell back again into the Social-Democratic ranks from which they never really departed. Having always maintained a hesitating and wavering attitude in times of revolutionary mass struggles, they now desert the workers in the defensive struggle and betake themselves again to the Second International which has always been consistently anti-revolutionary. The Centrist parties and the whole of the Centrist Two and a Half International are now in a state of flux. The best part of the revolutionary workers which was temporarily in the Centrist camp, is bound to come eventually into the Communist International. In some places it has already begun (Italy). On the other hand, the major, part of the Centrist leaders, now in league with Noske, Mussolini, etc., are becoming the bitterest counter-revolutionaries.

Taken objectively, the amalgamation of the parties of the Second and Two and a Half Internationals can only benefit the revolutionary labour movement. The fiction of another revolutionary party outside of the Communist camp has now vanished. There will now be only two groups vying for the influence with the majority of the working class: the Second International which represents the influence of the bourgeoisie within the working class, and the Third International which holds aloft the Banner of the Social Revolution and the Proletarian Dictatorship.

VIII. Splitting the Trade Unions and the Organisation of White Terror Against the Communists.

The amalgamation of the parties of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals has the undoubted task of preparing a "favourable atmosphere" for a systematic campaign against the Communists. Part of this campaign is the systematic splitting of the trade unions by the leaders of the Amsterdam International. The Amsterdam leaders shrink from any fight against the capitalist offensive, and they continue in their policy of cooperation with the employers. To avoid being hindered by the Communists in their alliance with the employers, they endeavour systematically to banish the influence of the communists from the

trade unions. Nevertheless, the communists in many countries have already won a majority, or are on the point of winning a majority, in the trade unions in spite of these tactics, and the Amsterdam leaders do not shrink from mass expulsions nor from formally splitting the trade unions. Nothing so weakens the resistance of the proletariat against the capitalist offensive as the splitting of the trade unions. Of this the reformist leaders of the trade unions are well aware, but seeing the inevitable end of their influence, they hasten to disrupt the unions, the only instrument of the proletarian class struggle, in order to leave to the communists a legacy of broken fragments of the old trade union organisations. No darker betrayal of the working class has been known since August, 1914.

IX. The Task of Winning the Majority.

Under such circumstances the guiding principle of the Third World Congress—"to obtain communist influence within the majority of the working class, and to bring the most effective sections of this class into the struggle"—remains in full force. Now, even more so than at the time of the Third Congress, one may assert that under the present unstable conditions of the bourgeois order a sharp crisis may be upon us at any time, either as the consequence of a big strike, a colonial rising, a new war, or even of a parliamentary crisis. It is precisely for this reason that the 'subjective' factor, viz., the degree of organizational preparedness and of the class consciousness of the workers and of their vanguard, becomes extremely important. Now as never before, it is the principal task of the Communist International to win the majority of the working class of Europe and America.

In the colonial and semi-colonial countries the task of the Communist International is twofold. Firstly, to establish and consolidate nuclei of communist parties which will stand up for the interests of Communism as a whole, and secondly, to give the utmost support to the national revolutionary movement directed against imperialism, and to become the vanguard of the movement, arousing and developing the social movement within the national movement.

X. The United Front Tactics.

The foregoing shows the imperative need of the tactics of the United Front. The slogan of the Third Congress, "To the Masses!" is now more important than ever. The struggle for the United Front is only beginning, and it will no doubt occupy a whole period in the international Labour movement. The best illustration is furnished by France, where the march of events has convinced even those who but recently were the principal opponents of these tactics to become now its ardent adherents. The Communist International calls upon all Communist parties and groups to carry out to the full the tactics of the United Front, which are the only means of winning over the majority of the workers to the communist side.

The reformists are now looking for a split. The communists are interested in bringing about the closest union of all the forces of the working class against Capitalism.

The tactics of the United Front imply the leadership of the communist vanguard in the daily struggles of the large masses of the workers for their vital interests. In these struggles the communists are even ready to parley with the treacherous leaders of the social-democrats and of Amsterdam. It is obviously our duty to make the most unequivocal denial of the allegations made by the Second International misrepresenting the United Front as the organizational amalgamation of all the 'labour parties'. The attempts of the Second International to win over the more advanced labour organizations under the cloak of the United Front (amalgamation of the social-democrats and independents in Germany), are in reality nothing but an opportunity for the social-democratic leaders to deliver some other parts of the working masses into the hands of the bourgeoisie.

The existence of independent communist parties and their complete freedom of propaganda against the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary social-democracy is the most important historical conquest of the proletariat, and one which the communists should not give up under any circumstances. The Communist parties are the only fighters for the interests of the proletariat as a whole.

The tactics of the United Front should by no means imply the forming of "electoral combinations" of leaders for the pursuit of certain parliamentary aims. The tactics of the United Front is the call for the united struggle of Communists and of all other workers, either belonging to other parties and groups, or belonging to no party whatever, for the defence of the elementary and vital interests of the working class against the bourgeoisie. Every struggle, even for the most trifling every-day demand, is a source of revolutionary education and revolutionary training; for, the experiences of the struggle will convince the

workers of the inevitability of revolution and of the importance of Communism.

A specially important task in carrying out the United Front is to achieve not only agitational but also organisational results. No opportunity should be omitted of creating organizational points of support within the working masses themselves, (Industrial councils, controlling committees composed of workers of all parties, or belonging to no party, committees of action, etc.)

The most important thing in the tactics of the United Front is and remains the agitational and organizational unification of the working masses. The real success of the United Front tactics is to come from "below", from the depth of the working masses themselves. At the same time the Communists should not decline, under given circumstances, to negotiate with the leaders of the workers' parties in opposition to us. But the masses must be kept constantly and completely informed of the course of these negotiations. Even during such negotiations the Communist Party should not in any way circumscribe the independence of its agitation.

It stands to reason that the tactics of the United Front should be applied in the different countries in various forms, in accordance with actual circumstances. But in the most important capitalist countries where the objective circumstances are ripe for the social revolution, and where the social-democratic parties—led by counter-revolutionary leaders—are deliberately working for the splitting of the workers' ranks, the tactics of the United Front may be the starting point for a new phase of the movement.

XI. The Workers' Government.

As a propagandist watchword the workers' government (and eventually of the workers' and peasants' government) is to be generally applied. But as an actual political watchword the workers' government is the most important only in those countries where the bourgeois society is particularly very unstable and where the balance of power between the workers' parties and the bourgeoisie makes the decision on the question of government a practical necessity. In those countries the watchword of the workers' government is an unavoidable consequence of the united front tactics.

The parties of the Second International in these countries endeavour to "save" the situation by propagating and bringing about coalition between the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats. The recent attempts of some of the parties of the Second International (for instance in Germany) to refuse to participate openly in such coalition government, and at the same time tacitly carry on a coalition policy are nothing but a manoeuvre to keep the indignant masses quiet and to deceive them in the most cunning and shameful way. To such an open or disguised bourgeois-social-democratic coalition, the communists oppose a united front of the workers, a coalition of all the workers' parties on the economic and political fields for the struggle against the bourgeois power and for the ultimate overthrow of the latter. Through the united struggle of all the workers against the bourgeoisie, the entire State machinery is to get into the hands of the workers' government, thus consolidating the chief fortifications of the working class.

The most elementary tasks of a workers' government must consist in arming the proletariat, in disarming the bourgeois counter-revolutionary organizations, in introducing control of production, in putting the chief burden of taxation on the shoulders of the rich and in breaking down the resistance of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

Such a workers' government is only possible if it arises out of the struggle of the masses, and if it is based on the support of active workers' organizations involving the lowest strata of the oppressed working masses. A workers' government which is the outcome of parliamentary origin, may likewise become the cause of a revival of the revolutionary labour movement. It is self-evident that the formation of a real workers' government and the continued existence of such a government whose policy is revolutionary, must lead to a bitter struggle and eventually to civil war with the bourgeoisie. The very attempt of the proletariat to establish such a government is bound to meet immediately with the most stubborn resistance on the part of the bourgeoisie. Therefore the watchword of the workers' government is likely to unite the proletariat and initiate revolutionary struggles.

Under certain circumstances the communists must be prepared to form a government jointly with the non-communist workers' parties and organizations. But, they can do this only in case there is the assurance that this workers' government will in good earnest carry on the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the above mentioned sense. Moreover, the communists can participate in such a government only on the following conditions:

1. That participation in such a government must first have the consent of the Comintern.

2. That the communist representatives participating in such a government be under strict control of their party.

3. That the said communist members of the workers' government be in close contact with the revolutionary organizations of the working masses.

4. That the communist party maintain its own character and complete independence in its agitational work.

With all its advantages, the watchword of the workers' government has its perils just as that of the United Front. In order to avoid such perils the communist parties must bear in mind that every bourgeois government is at the same time a capitalist government, but that not every workers' government is a really proletarian, i. e. a revolutionary instrument of the proletarian power.

The Communist International must anticipate the following possibilities:

1. a Liberal Workers' Government, such as existed in Australia, and likely to be formed in Great Britain in the near future.

2. a Social-Democratic "workers' government" (Germany).

3. A Workers' and Peasants' government—such possibilities exist in the Balkans, in Czecho-Slovakia, etc.

4. A Workers' Government in which Communists participate.

5. A real proletarian Workers' government which the Communist Party alone can embody in a pure form.

The first two types are not revolutionary workers' government, but disguised coalition between the bourgeoisie and anti-revolutionary groups. Such workers' governments, are tolerated, at critical moments, by the weakened bourgeoisie, in order to dupe the workers as to the true class character of the State, or with the aid of the corrupt leaders to divert the revolutionary onslaught of the proletariat, and to gain time.

The Communists cannot take part in such governments. On the contrary they must ruthlessly expose their true character to the masses. In this period of capitalist decline when the main task is to win the majority of the proletarians for the proletarian revolution, such governments may serve as a means to precipitate the destruction of bourgeois power.

The Communists are willing to make common cause also with those workers who have not yet recognised the necessity for proletarian dictatorship, with Social-Democrats, Christian Socialists, non-party and Syndicalist workers. Thus, the communists are prepared, under certain conditions and with certain guarantees, to support a non-communist workers' government. At the same time, the communists say to the masses quite openly that it is impossible to establish a real workers' government without a revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The other two types of workers' government (workers and peasants' government, and workers' government—with participation of Communist) are not proletarian dictatorships, nor are they historically inevitable transition forms of government towards proletarian dictatorship, but where they are formed, they may serve as starting points for the struggle for dictatorship. Only the workers' government, consisting of communists, can be the true embodiment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

XIII. The Factory Councils Movement.

No communist party can be considered a bona fide, well organised communist mass party if it has no well established communist nuclei in the workshops, factories, mines, railways, etc. Under present conditions a movement cannot be considered as a systematically organised proletarian mass movement, if the

Theses on the Eastern Question

1. The Growth of the Revolutionary Movement in the East.

The second Congress of the Communist International basing itself on the work of Soviet Administration in the East and the growth of the Nationalist-Revolutionary movement in the colonies, outlined the principles of the Nationalist-colonial question in the period of prolonged struggle between imperialism and the proletarian Dictatorship.

Since that time the struggle against imperialist oppression in the colonies and semi-colonial countries has become considerably more acute as a consequence of the deepening post-war political and economic crises of imperialism.

Evidence of this is served by 1) the collapse of the Sèvres Treaty on the partition of Turkey and the possibility of the complete restoration of the national and political independence of the latter; 2) the stormy growth of a nationalist-revolutionary movement in India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Morocco, China and Korea; 3) the hopeless internal crisis of Japanese imperialism

working class and its organizations do not succeed in establishing factory councils as the backbone of the movement. Moreover, the struggle against the capitalist offensive and for the control of production will be hopeless if the communists are without a strong foothold in all the industries and where the workers fail to create within the industries their own proletarian fighting organs (factory councils, workers' councils, etc.)

Therefore, the Congress deems it to be one of the chief tasks of all communist parties to obtain a firmer foothold in the industries than has been the case hitherto, to support the factory councils movement or take up the initiative in the organization of such a movement.

XIV. The Comintern as a World Party.

The Communist International, must to an increasing degree, and simultaneously with its establishment as an international party from the point of view of organization, also act as an international party politically. It must control the political actions of its sections in the various countries.

XV. International Discipline.

In order to carry out the united front tactics internationally and in every individual country, the Comintern must insist more than ever on strict discipline within the sections, as well as on an international scale.

The IV Congress categorically demands of all its sections and members to observe strict discipline in carrying out the adopted tactics, which can be successful only if they are systematically applied in all the countries not only in words but in deeds.

The acceptance of the 21 conditions implies the carrying out of all tactical decisions of the world congresses and of the Executive, as the organ of the Comintern, in the period intervening between the world congresses. The Congress instructs the executive to demand and watch over the fulfillment of the tactical decisions by all the parties.

Only the well-defined revolutionary tactics of the Comintern can guarantee a speedy victory of the international proletarian revolution.

The Congress resolved to add the text of the December (1921) theses of the Executive on the United Front to this resolution in the form of an appendix, as they give a clear and detailed definition of the United Front tactics.

Chairman Neurath:

We shall now take the vote on the theses on tactics. Is anyone against the proposal of the Commission? Are there any abstentions? Neither is the case. I declare the amended tactics resolution carried unanimously.

The Commission which deals with the resolution on the capitalist offensive, has also been instructed to draw up an Open Letter to the Amsterdamers concerning the capitalist offensive and the question of the United Front. The Commission has informed us that this work is not quite complete, and this work is not quite complete, and this material too is to be handed over to the Executive.

The Eastern Commission has drawn up its resolution and has distributed copies of it among the delegates.

Thus, it does not require to be read. We shall now take the vote on this resolution.

Is anyone against it? As this is not the case. I declare the resolution carried unanimously.

The text of the resolution follows.

giving rise to the rapid growth of elements of a bourgeois-democratic revolution in the country and the transition by the Japanese proletariat to independent class struggle, 4) the awakening of the labour movement in all countries of the East and the formation of Communist Parties almost in all parts of the East.

The facts enumerated above, indicate a change in the social basis of the revolutionary movement in the colonies. This change leads to the anti-militarist struggle becoming more acute; this struggle is no longer being led exclusively by the feudal classes, while the national bourgeoisie is preparing to compromise with imperialism.

The imperialist war of 1914—1918 and the prolonged crisis which followed it, particularly in Europe, has weakened the power of the Great Powers over the colonies. On the other hand, these same circumstances in narrowing the economic bases and spheres of influence of world capitalism have rendered imperialist rivalry for the colonies more acute and in this way have disturbed the equilibrium of the whole world imperialist system (the fight for

oil, Anglo-French conflict in Asia-Minor, the Japanese-American rivalry for the domination of the Pacific Ocean, etc.).

It is precisely this weakening of imperialist pressure in the colonies, together with the increasing rivalry between various imperialist groups, that has facilitated the development of native capitalism in the colonies and semi-colonial countries which are outgrowing the narrow framework of the domination of the imperialist Great Powers. Hitherto the capitalists of the Great Powers in maintaining their monopoly rights to secure excess profits from trade, industry and the taxation of backward countries, have striven to isolate these from world economic intercourse. The demand for national and economic independence put forward by the nationalist movements in the colonies serves to express the needs of bourgeois development in these countries. The growth of native productive forces in these colonies therefore, causes an irreconcilable antagonism of interests between them and world imperialism; for the essence of imperialism consists in using the varying levels of development of productive forces in various parts of the economic world for the purpose of extracting monopolist excess profits.

II. Conditions of the Struggle.

The backwardness of the colonies is reflected in the motley character of the Nationalist Revolutionary movements against imperialism, which in their turn, reflect the varying states of transition from feudal and feudal-patriarchal relations to capitalism. This variety of conditions makes its impression upon the ideology of these movements. To the extent that capitalism in the colonial countries arises and develops from feudal bases in hybrid, imperfect and intermediary forms, which gives predominance above all, to merchant capitalism, the rise of bourgeois democracy from feudal-bureaucratic and feudal-agrarian elements, proceeds often by devious and protracted paths. This represents the chief obstacle for successful mass struggles against imperialist oppression as the foreign imperialists in all the backward countries convert the feudal (and partly also the semi-feudal, semi-bourgeois) upper classes of native society into agents of their domination (military governors—Tutchuns—in China, the native aristocracy and tax farmers—the Zemindars and Talugdars in India, the feudal bureaucracy in Persia, the agrarian-planter capitalist formations in Egypt, etc.).

For that reason the dominant classes in the colonies and the semi-colonial countries are incapable and unwilling to lead the struggle against imperialism as this struggle is converted into a revolutionary mass movement. Only where the feudal-patriarchal system has not decayed to such an extent as to completely separate the native aristocracy from the mass of the people, as among the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples, can those upper classes take up the active leadership of the struggle against imperialist violence (Mesopotamia, Morocco, Mongolia).

In Moslem countries the nationalist movement at first expresses its ideology in religious-political watchwords of pan-Islamism, which enables diplomats and officials of the Great Powers to exploit the prejudices and ignorance of the masses of the people to combat this movement, (British Imperialism's gains of pan-Islamism and pan-Arabism, the British plan of transferring the Kaliphate to India and the gambling of French imperialism with its "Moslem sympathies"). With the growth and expansion of the national liberation movement the religious-political watchwords of pan-Islamism are substituted by concrete political demands. The struggle for the separation of the temporal power from the Kaliphate which took place in Turkey recently is evidence of this.

The main task common to all national revolutionary movements is to bring about national unity and achieve political independence. The real and consistent solution of this depends on the extent to which the national movement in any particular country is capable of attracting to itself the toiling masses and break off all connection with the reactionary feudal elements and include in its program the social demands of the masses.

While being completely aware that the will of a nation for political independence in varying historical conditions can be expressed by the most diverse classes, the Communist International supports all national revolutionary movements against imperialism. At the same time it does not lose sight of the fact that only a consistent revolutionary line of policy based on the active support of the masses, and the unreserved break with all advocates of compromise with imperialism in the interests of maintaining class domination, can lead the oppressed masses to victory. The connection between the native bourgeoisie and the feudal reactionary elements enables the imperialists to make wide use of feudal anarchy, the rivalry between various leaders and tribes, the antagonism between town and country, the struggle between castes and national religious sects etc. for the purpose of disorganising the popular movement (China, Persia, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia).

III. Agrarian Question.

In the majority of countries in the East (India, Persia, Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia) the agrarian question is of primary importance in the struggle for emancipation from the domination of the despotism of the Great Powers. Exploiting and ruining the peasant majorities in the backward nations, imperialism deprives them of the elementary means of existence while the low development of industry scattered among a few junctional points in the country renders it impossible for it to absorb the superfluous agrarian population which at the same time has no means of emigrating. The peasants remaining on the land are pauperised and converted into serfs. While in the advanced countries prior to the war, industrial crises served as regulators of social production, this function in the colonies is performed by famine. Vitaly interested in securing the greatest profits with the least expenditure of capital, imperialism strives all it can to maintain in the backward countries the feudal usurious form of exploiting labour power. In some countries like India, it assumes the monopoly rights of the native feudal State to the land and converts the land tribute into feudal dues and the Zemindars and Talugdars into its agents. In other countries it extracts ground rent through the native organisations of large landowners, as is the case in Persia, Morocco, Egypt etc. The struggle for the emancipation of the land from feudal dues and feudal obstacles thus assumes the character of a struggle for national emancipation against imperialism and feudal large land ownership. (Examples of this are the Moplah rising against the landowners and the British in India in the Autumn of 192; and the revolt of the Sikhs in 1922.)

Only the agrarian revolution aiming at the expropriation of the large landowners can rouse the vast peasant masses destined to have a decisive influence in the struggle against imperialism. The fear of agrarian watchwords on the part of the bourgeois nationalists (India, Persia, Egypt) is evidence of the close ties existing between the native bourgeoisie with the large feudal and feudal bourgeois landowners and their ideological and political dependence upon the latter. The hesitation and wavering of this class must be used by the revolutionary elements for systematic criticism and exposure of the lack of resolution of the bourgeois leaders of the nationalist movement. It is precisely this lack of resolution that hinders the organization of the toiling masses as is proved by the bankruptcy of the tactics of non-cooperation in India.

The revolutionary movement in the backward countries of the East cannot be successful unless it is based on the action of the masses of the peasantry. For that reason the revolutionary parties in all Eastern countries must define their agrarian program which should demand the complete abolition of feudalism and its survivals expressed in the forms of large landownership and tax farming. In order that the peasant masses may be drawn into active participation in the struggle for national liberation, it is necessary to proclaim the radical reform of the basis of land ownership. It is necessary also to compel the bourgeois nationalist parties to the greatest extent possible to adopt this revolutionary agrarian program.

IV. The Labour Movement in the East.

The young Labour movement in the East, is a product of the development of native capitalism during the last few years. Hitherto the working class in the East, even its fundamental nucleus has been in a state of transition, on the path from small handicraft to large capitalist industry. In so far as the bourgeois nationalist intelligentsia draws the revolutionary movement of the working class into the struggle against imperialism, this intelligentsia provides the leaders for the embryonic trade union organizations and their sections in the first stages of their development. In the first stages, these movements do not extend beyond the limits of the "common national" interests of obourgeois democracy (strikes against imperialist bureaucracy and administration in China and India). Frequently as was already shown at the Second Congress of the Comintern, representatives of bourgeois nationalism, exploiting the moral and political authority of Soviet Russia, and playing to the class instincts of the workers, clothed their bourgeois democratic strivings in "socialist" and "communist" forms, in order by these means, sometimes unconsciously, to divert the embryonic proletarian organizations from the direct tasks of class organizations (the Eshil Ordu, in Turkey, which painted pan-Turkism in communist colours, the "State Socialism" advocated by some representatives of the Kuo-Min-Tan in China).

In spite of this, the trade union and political movement of the working class in the backward countries has made considerable progress in recent years. The formation of independent proletarian class parties in almost all the Eastern countries, is a remarkable fact, although the overwhelming majority of these parties must still undergo considerable internal reorganization in order to free themselves from amateurism and

the forms of close circles and other defects. The fact that the Communist International estimated the potential importance of the labour movement in the East right from the very beginning, is a fact of colossal importance, as it is a clear expression of the real international unity of the proletariat of the whole world under the banner of communism. The Second and Two and a Half Internationals to this very day, have not found support in a single backward country precisely because they play the part of "servants" to European and American imperialism.

V. The General Tasks of the Communist Parties in the East.

While the bourgeois nationalists regard the labour movement merely from the point of view of its importance as a means for securing victory for themselves, the international proletariat regards the young labour movement of the East from the point of view of its revolutionary future. Under capitalism the backward countries cannot achieve modern technique and culture without paying enormous tribute in the form of barbarous exploitation and oppression for the advantage of the capitalists of the Great Powers. Alliance with the proletariat of advanced countries is dictated not merely by the interests of a common struggle against imperialism but also by the fact that only by a victory of the proletariat of the advanced countries can the workers of the East obtain unselfish aid in the development of their productive forces. An alliance with the proletariat in the West will lay the path towards an International Federation of Soviet Republics. The Soviet system, for the backward nations represents the least painful form of transition from primitive conditions of existence to the highest culture of communism, destined to take the place of the capitalist method of production and distribution all over the world. This is proved by the experience of the development of the Soviet system in the liberated colonies formerly comprising the Russian Empire. Only a Soviet form of administration is able to guarantee the consistent fulfillment of the agrarian peasant revolution. The specific conditions of agriculture in certain countries of the East (artificial irrigation) maintained in the past by a peculiar organization of collective co-operation on a feudal-patriarchal basis and disrupted by predatory capitalism, demands also a State organization of such a type as would be able systematically and in an organized manner to serve public needs. As a consequence of special climatic and historical conditions the co-operation of small producers in the East is destined to play an important role in the transition period.

The objective tasks of colonial revolutions exceed the limit of bourgeois democracy by the very fact that a decisive victory is incompatible with the domination of world imperialism. While the native bourgeoisie and bourgeois intelligentsia are the pioneers of colonial revolutionary movements, with the entry of proletarian and semi-proletarian peasant masses into these movements however, the rich bourgeoisie and bourgeois landlords begin to leave it as the social interests of the masses assume prominence. The young proletariat of the colonies is still confronted by a prolonged struggle over a whole historical epoch, a struggle against imperialist exploitation and against its own ruling classes, striving to secure in its own hands the monopoly of all the advantages of industrial and cultural development and to maintain the masses of the toilers in their previous "primitive" state.

The struggle to secure influence over the peasant masses should prepare the native proletariat for the role of political leadership. Only after having accomplished this preparatory work on its own training and that of the social classes closely allied to itself, will it be possible to advance against bourgeois democracy which, amidst the conditions of the backward East, bears a more hypocritical character than in the West.

The refusal of the communists in the colonies to participate against imperialist oppression on the pretext of alleged "defence" of independent class interests, is opportunism of the worst kind calculated only to discredit the proletarian revolution in the East. Not less harmful must be recognized the attempt to isolate oneself from the immediate and everyday interests of the working class for the sake of "national unity" or "civil peace" with bourgeois democracy. The communist and working class parties in the colonies and semi-colonial countries are confronted by a twofold task: on the one hand to fight for the most radical solutions of the problems of bourgeois democratic revolution, directed to the conquest of political independence, and on the other to organize the workers and peasants to fight for their special class interests and to take advantage of the antagonism existing in the nationalist bourgeois democratic camp. In putting forward special demands, these parties stimulate and release revolutionary energy which finds no outlet in bourgeois liberal demands. The working class in the colonies and semi-colonial countries must know that only by deepening and

extending the struggle against the imperialism of the Great Powers, can its role as revolutionary leader be fulfilled. On the other hand, the economic and political organization and the political training of the working class and the semi-proletarian classes will facilitate and extend the revolutionary scope of the struggle against imperialism.

The Communist Parties in the colonies and semi-colonial countries in the East, which are still in a more or less embryonic stage must take part in every movement that gives them access to the masses. At the same time however, they must conduct an energetic campaign against the patriarchal and craft prejudices and bourgeois influences in the labour unions, in order to protect these embryonic organisations from reformist tendencies and in order to convert them into mass fighting organisations. They must exert all their efforts to organise the numerous agricultural labourers and artisans of both sexes on the basis of defending their immediate everyday interests.

VI. The United Anti-Imperialist Front.

While in the West amidst the conditions of the transition period, which is a period of organised accumulation of strength, the watchword of the United Labour Front was put forward, in the colonial East it is at present necessary to put forward the watchword of a United Anti-Imperialist Front. The expediency of these tactics is dictated by the prospects of a prolonged struggle against world imperialism demanding the mobilisation of all revolutionary elements. This mobilisation becomes all the more necessary from the fact that the native ruling classes are inclined to make compromises with the foreign capitalists directed against the fundamental interests of the masses of the people. Just as the watchword of the United Labour Front in the West facilitates the exposure of the social democratic betrayal of the interests of the proletariat, so the watchword of the United Anti-Imperialist Front will facilitate the exposure of the wavering and hesitation of certain bourgeois nationalist groups in the East. This watchword will also help to develop the revolutionary will and to make more definite the class consciousness of the masses of the toilers and bring them into the front ranks of the struggle, not only against imperialism but against all survivals of feudalism.

The labour movement in the colonies and semi-colonial countries must first of all secure for itself the position of an independent factor in the common Anti-Imperialist Front. Only on the basis of the recognition of this independence and the maintenance of complete independence is a temporary agreement with bourgeois democracy permissible and necessary. The proletariat must support and put forward partial demands such as: independent democratic republic; abolition of all feudal rights and privileges, and enfranchisement of women etc., in view of the fact that the present correlation of forces does not permit it to carry out its Soviet program. At the same time it must strive to put forward such demands as will assist in establishing the closest possible contact between the peasantry and semi-proletarian masses and the labour movement. To explain to the masses of the toilers the necessity for an alliance with the international proletariat and the Soviet Republics is one of the most important tasks of the tactics of the Anti-Imperialist Front. The colonial revolution can be victorious and defend its gains only in conjunction with the proletarian revolution in the advanced countries.

The danger of an agreement being arrived at between the bourgeois nationalists and one or several of the rival imperialist powers in the semi-colonial countries (China, Persia), or in countries striving to secure political independence by exploiting the rivalry between the imperialists (Turkey) is greater than in the colonies. Such an agreement would signify an irrational division of power between the native ruling classes and the imperialists, and under the cloak of a formal independence will leave the country in the same position of a buffer semi-colonial state subordinate to world imperialism.

Recognising the permissibility and inevitability of partial and temporary compromises for the purpose of securing a respite in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, the working class must however irreconcilably resist every attempt at avowed or tacit division of power between the imperialists and the native ruling classes aiming at the preservation by the latter of their class privileges. The demand for a close alliance between the proletariat and Soviet Republics serves as the banner of the united anti-imperialist front. Simultaneously with the advocacy of this demand, a most determined struggle must be conducted for a most democratic political regime, in order to undermine the power of the most politically and socially reactionary elements and preserve the freedom of organisation for the toilers in their struggle for their class interests (the demand for democratic republics, agrarian reforms, reforms of taxation, the basis of wide self-government, labour legislation, the protection of child

labour, the protection of mothers and infants etc.). Even in independent Turkey, the working class does not enjoy freedom of organisation, and this may serve as a typical example of the attitude of the bourgeois nationalists towards the proletariat.

VII. The Tasks of the Proletariat on the Pacific Coast.

The necessity for the establishment of an anti-imperialist front, is dictated also by the constant growth of imperialist rivalry. This rivalry has to-day assumed such acute forms, that a fresh world war, the arena of which will be the Pacific Ocean is inevitable unless an international revolution forestalls it.

The Washington Conference was an attempt to obviate this danger, but as a matter of fact it succeeded only in rendering the antagonisms between the imperialists more profound and acute. The recent conflict between Wu-Pai-Fu and Chang-Tso-Lin in China was a direct consequence of the failure of Japanese and Anglo-American capitalism to harmonise their interests at Washington. The new world war which menaces the world will affect not only Japan, America and England, but also other capitalist Powers (France, Holland etc.) and threatens to be even more destructive than the war of 1914-1918.

The task of the Communist Parties in the colonial and semi-colonial countries on the Pacific Coast is to conduct an extensive propaganda to explain to the masses the oncoming danger, to call upon them to take up an active struggle for national liberation and to teach them to regard Soviet Russia as the bulwark of all the oppressed and exploited masses.

The Communist Parties in the imperialist countries: America, Japan, England, Australia and Canada, in view of the threatening danger must not limit themselves merely to a propaganda against war, but must exert all their efforts to remove all the disruptive factors from the labour movement in their respective countries and to prevent the capitalists taking advantage of national and racial antagonisms.

This factor is the immigration question and cheap coloured labour.

The system of indentured labour, to this very day is the main system of recruiting coloured workers for the sugar plantations of the Southern Pacific to which workers are transported from China and India. This fact has compelled the workers in the imperialist countries to demand anti-immigration laws against coloured workers as is the case in America and Australia. These prohibition laws deepen the antagonism between white and coloured workers and breaks and weakens the unity of the labour movement.

The Communist Parties of America, Canada and Australia must conduct an energetic campaign against anti-immigration laws and must explain to the masses of the proletariat in these countries that these laws by arousing national hatreds, in the last resource only damages them.

On the other hand, the capitalists desire to repeal the anti-immigration laws in order to maintain the free import of cheap labour, and thus force down the wages of the white workers. This attempted offensive of the capitalists can be successfully averted only by the immigrant workers being absorbed in the existing white labour unions. At the same time the demand must be put forward for raising the wages of

The Educational Work of the Communist Parties

The development of Marxist educational activity is one of the very necessary tasks of all Communist Parties. The aim of this educational work is to improve our propaganda organisations and increase the strength of our members. Besides the general Marxian education, the members of the Party should also be trained for special work.

The Communist work of education which should be an integral part of the general activity of the Party, must be directly subordinated to the Central committee of the Party. In the countries where the revolutionary education of the workers is carried on by special organisations outside the Communist Party, this goal is to be achieved by the systematic activity of the Communists in these organisations.

It is desirable that the Party educational committees be created in the Central Executives of the Parties to conduct this educational activity. All members of the Party who belong to educational institutions which are not controlled directly by the Party, such as the proletarian culture organisations, workers' educational clubs, proletarian universities, proletcult, labour colleges etc., fall under the control of the Party and must follow its directions.

To carry on this communist work of education, the Parties must organise central and local Party schools, evening and day courses, form a corps of teachers and lecturers, organise libraries etc. as the circumstances demand. It is the duty of

coloured workers to the level of white workers. Such tactics will expose the plans of the capitalists and at the same time clearly show to the coloured workers that the international proletariat has no racial prejudices.

In order to carry out these tactics, the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the countries on the Pacific should gather at a Pan-Pacific Conference in order to work out correct lines of action and to decide on the proper forms of organisation for the purpose of uniting all the proletarians among the races of the Pacific.

VIII. The Task of the Communist Parties in the Home Countries.

The great importance of the colonial revolutionary movements for the cause of the international proletarian revolution makes necessary an intensification of the work in the colonies, particularly by the Communist Parties of the imperialist countries.

French imperialism is basing all its calculations on the suppression of the proletarian revolutionary struggle in France and Europe, by using its colonial slaves as the fighting reserve of the counter-revolution.

British and American imperialism continues to divide the labour movement by maintaining on its side the aristocracy of labour by promises of a share in its excess profits obtained by the exploitation of the colonies.

Every Communist Party in the countries possessing colonies, must undertake the task of organising systematic ideological and material assistance to the labour and revolutionary movement in the colonies. They must carry out a persistent and determined struggle against the quasi-socialist colonising tendencies prevailing among certain categories of well-paid European workers in the colonies. European communist workers in the colonies must strive to rally around themselves the native proletariat and gain its confidence by concrete economic demands (equal pay for white and native workers, protection of labour, labour insurance etc.).

The formation of exclusive European Communist Organisations in the colonies (Egypt, Algiers) is a concealed form of colonialism and is an aid to imperialist interests. The formation of communist organisations on national lines, is a contradiction of the principle of proletarian internationalism. All parties belonging to the Communist International must unceasingly explain to the masses of toilers the importance of the struggle against imperialist domination in the backward countries. The Communist Parties working in the imperialist countries should set up a special colonial committee of their E.C.-s. for this purpose. The aid rendered by the Communist International to the Communist Parties of the East, must be expressed in the first place by helping to establish a press, and the publication of journals and periodicals in the native languages. Special attention must be given to work among the European labour organisations and among occupational troops in the colonies. The Communist Parties in the imperialist countries must not allow a single opportunity to slip by to expose the predatory policy of their imperialist governments and their bourgeois and opportunist parties.

the Party to render the independent educational work of the communist Youth material and intellectual support. The Youth should be admitted to all the educational activities of the Party. The revolutionary training of the proletarian children should be conducted in common with the Communist Youth. The policy for these activities will be issued by the educational sections of the Executive of the Comintern.

An International educational Section should be created in the E.C. Its principal tasks are the solution of the educational problems of the Communist Parties, the conduct of the whole educational activity of the Parties, the unification of the proletarian educational institutions outside the Party. To these tasks belong the collection and spread of International experiences, the estimation of the forms and methods of work required by every country, the preparation and publication of manuals, text books and other material, and the solution of all educational problems, which may come up in any country.

International courses should be organised in the Socialist Academy and other similar institutions in Soviet Russia for higher Marxist training and practical communist education.

Tasks of Agitation.

1. Every member of the Communist International must consider himself an agitator among the masses. This can always take place wherever and whenever workers usually gather, in the

workshops, in the trade unions, at mass meetings in workers' clubs, in sport clubs, musical societies, tenants and consumers' organisations, in people's houses, in workers restaurants, in the trains, in the villages, etc. and even in the homes of the workers (house to house agitation).

2. The agitation shall always take as its starting point the concrete conditions and needs of the worker in order to lead him on the path of organised, revolutionary class war. One should not expound Communist Doctrines which would not be understood by the audience; one should always urge them to rise and fight for the immediate demands of the Proletariat against capitalist and bourgeois class rule wherever it appears.

3. In all the struggles of the worker against the capitalists and the bourgeois regime, the Communists should always energetically defend the interests of the workers, fight in the front ranks for the interests of the whole working class, sacrifice their own personal interests and let their example serve as the best means of propaganda.

4. The leading Party organs should issue practical instructions to all local groups on the regular propaganda work of all members of the Party as well as the activity in special campaigns (electoral, high cost of living, and tax campaigns, Shop Councils, and Unemployment movement) as well as all actions conducted by the Party. (A copy of all these instructions is to be sent to the Executive Committee of the Comintern.)

5. Every member of the Party has the right to demand from leaders of his organisation concrete and exact information on the agitation he should conduct. It is especially the task of the leaders of Communist nuclei, workers' groups, groups of tens, and factions to issue such directions and control their execution. Groups which possess no leaders should at once be provided with an agitation leader to carry out this policy.

6. The primary aim of the organisation to which a member of the Party belongs should provide a Centre with the following information on its membership during the coming winter:

A. Whether he is conducting any agitation, among the non-party masses;

a) Regularly?

b) Casually?

c) Or not at all?

Program of action of the French Communist Party.

1. The most pressing task of the Party is to organise the resistance of the proletariat against the capitalist offensive which is developing in France as in every other large industrial country. The defense of the eight-hour day, the maintenance and increase of the present salaries, the struggle for the immediate economic demands of the proletariat, this is the best platform to reunite the disorganised proletariat, and give it confidence in its strength and its future. The Party must immediately take the initiative in every mass action capable of opposing the offensive of capital and instilling the working class with the spirit of unity.

2. The Party must undertake a campaign to show the workers the interdependence of the eight hour day and of wages and the inevitable effect of one of these demands upon the other. It must use as a weapon of agitation, not only the activities of the employers, but also the attacks of the State against the immediate interests of the workers, as for instance the tax on wages, and every economic question which interests the working class, such as the increase in rents, the tax on consumption, social insurance, etc. The Party must undertake an active propaganda campaign among the workers for the creation of Factory Councils, uniting all the workers in each enterprise, irrespective of whether they are already organised economically and politically or not, in order to exercise workers' control over the conditions of work and production.

3. The slogans for the immediate economic demands of the proletariat must serve as a means to realise the United Front against the economic and political reaction. The United Working Class Front must be our governing rule for every mass action. The Party must create the favourable conditions for the success of this policy by undertaking seriously the education of its own members and of sympathetic elements by every means of propaganda at its disposal. The press, the pamphlets, the books, meetings of all sorts, everything must be used in this work of education which the Party must carry on in every proletarian group where there are Communists. The Party must appeal to the important rival political and economic organisations of the workers; it must always publicly state its proposals and those of the reformists, and give the reasons for its acceptance of some proposals and the rejection of others. In no case must it renounce the complete independence, its right to criticise all the participants

B. Whether he takes part in any other Party work;

a) Regularly?

b) Casually?

c) Or not at all?

The Party Central Executive after consultation with the Executive Committee of the Comintern shall issue a circular letter to all its organisations to explain clearly how the above questionnaire is to be answered.

The district Executives and the local groups are responsible for the strict execution of this order. The results should be sent to the E.C.C.I. through the Party Central Executive.

Knowledge of the Most Important resolutions of the Party and the Comintern.

1. Every member of the Communist International must be acquainted not only with the most important decisions of his own Party but also with the most important decisions of the Communist International.

2. All organisations of the affiliated sections must see to it that every member of the Party knows at least the programme of his own Party and the 21 conditions of the International, as well as the decisions of the Comintern regarding his own Party. The members should be tested as to their knowledge.

3. Every responsible member shall be acquainted with every important tactical and organisatory resolution of the World Congress and shall be submitted to a test on these topics. This is also desirable for the other members of the Party but not obligatory.

4. The Party Central Executive in every section must issue the proper instructions to its organisations to carry out this decision, and report to the E.C.C.I. on the results during the coming spring.

Chairman Neurath: The Program of Action of the French Party also lies before the Congress. The Presidium has been informed that all three factions in the French delegation are in full agreement with the basic principles which have dictated this programme.

We now come to the vote. Is anyone against this Programme Of Action? Does anyone abstain from voting? No. The Programme of Action of the French Party is adopted unanimously.

In the action. It must always seek to take and maintain the initiative of those movements, in the sense of this programme.

4. To be able to take part in the action of the workers in all its forms, to help in the orientation of this action or in certain circumstances, to fulfil a decisive role in them, the Party must immediately create its organisation for activity among the unions. The formation of Trade Union committees in the federations and the sections (decided upon at the Paris Congress) and of Communist nuclei in every factory and large capitalist or state enterprise will permit the Party to penetrate the masses of workers, and enable it to spread its slogans and increase Communist influence in the proletarian movement. The Trade Union Committee, whatever the degree of organisation of the Party of the trade union may be, will maintain connections with the Communists who, with the permission of the Party, have remained in the reformist C.G.T. and will guide their opposition to the policy of the official leaders; they will register every Trade union member of the Party, control his activities and transmit to him the instructions of the Party.

5. Communist agitation in all Trade Unions without exception shall consist primarily in agitating for the re-establishment of Trade Union unity, indispensable for the victory of the proletariat. The Communists must make use of every opportunity to show the harmful effects of the present division, and advocate fusion. The Party must combat every tendency to dispersed action, to decentralised organisation, to local or craft exclusiveness and to anarchistic ideology. It must propagate the necessity of a centralised movement of the formation of large organisations by industry, of co-ordination of strikes in order to substitute mass actions which will instill the workers with confidence in their strength, for localised actions which are doomed to failure. In the C.G.T.U. the Communists must combat every tendency opposing the adhesion of the French Trade Unions to the Red International of Labour Unions. In the reformist C.G.T. they must denounce the Amsterdam International and the leaders' policy of class collaboration. In both federations, they must advocate joint action, demonstrations and strikes, the United Front, organic unity, and the integral programme of the R.I.L.U.

6. The Party must take advantage of every large movement, spontaneous or organised, to show the political character

of every class conflict and use them as favourable conditions for the propagation of its political slogans; such as political amnesty, the annulment of the Versailles Treaty, the evacuation of the left bank of the Rhine, etc.

7. The struggle against the Treaty of Versailles and its results must be the first task. We must effect the union of the proletariat of France and Germany, against the bourgeoisie of the two countries which profit by the war and the peace treaty. It is the urgent duty of the French Party to inform the workers and the soldiers of the tragic situation of their German brothers crushed by the burden of the economic difficulties resulting directly from the Peace Treaty. The German government can satisfy the demands of the Allies only by increasing the burdens of the German working class. The French bourgeoisie spares the German bourgeoisie, negotiates with it to the detriment of the working class, helps it to take possession of the public utilities, and guarantees it aid and protection against the revolutionary movement. The two bourgeoisies are ready to accomplish the alliance of French iron and German coal interests; they are coming to an understanding on the question of the occupation of the Ruhr, which signifies the enslavement of the German miners. But the German workers are not the only ones menaced; the French workers will be made to feel the competition of German labour, reduced to such cheapness by the depreciation. The French Party must explain this situation to the French working class and warn it against the danger which menaces it. The communist Press must constantly describe the sufferings of the German proletariat, the victims of the Versailles Treaty, and show the impossibility of carrying out the Treaty. Special propaganda must be carried on in the devastated regions to denounce the two bourgeois classes as responsible for the sufferings of both countries, and to develop the spirit of solidarity among the workers of the two countries. The communist slogan must be, "Fraternalisation of the French and German soldiers and workers on the left bank of the Rhine!" The Party must maintain close ties with its brother party in Germany in order successfully to conduct this struggle against the Treaty of Versailles and its results. The French Party must combat French Imperialism not only in Germany, but all over the world, especially as it appears in the St. Germain, Neuilly, Trianon and Sevres Peace Treaties.

8. The Party must undertake systematic permeation of the army. Our anti-militarist propaganda must differ radically from the hypocritical pacifism of the bourgeoisie, but must be based on the disarmament of the bourgeoisie and the arming of the proletariat. In their Press, in Parliament, on all favourable occasions, the communists must defend the interests of the soldiers, advocate the recognition of their political rights, etc. Our revolutionary anti-militarist propaganda must be intensified every year when there is a menace of war. This propaganda must be placed in the hands of a special organ of the Party, in which the Communist Youth must participate.

9. The Party must take in hand the interests of the exploited colonial people oppressed by French Imperialism, support the nationalist demands which constitute a step towards the liberation from the yoke of the foreign capitalists, and defend unreservedly their right to autonomy and independence. The immediate task of the Party is to fight for the political and trade union liberties of the natives, against native levies. The Party must combat ruthlessly every reactionary tendency existing even among certain working class elements in the form of a prejudice against the natives. It must create a special organ within the Central Executive to carry on communist agitation in the colonies.

Resolution on the Russian Revolution

The IV World Congress of the Communist International expresses its gratitude and admiration to the working population of Soviet Russia not only because it conquered State power and established the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also because it has successfully defended the achievements of the revolution against all enemies from within and from without. It has thus made lasting achievements for the cause of the emancipation of the exploited and oppressed of all countries. Which will make its memory live forever.

The IV World Congress affirms with great satisfaction that the first workers' State of the world, created by the proletarian revolution, has during the five years of its existence, regardless of all difficulties and perils definitely demonstrated its strong will and great power to live and develop. The Soviet State has come out stronger than before from the horrors of civil war. Owing to the unexampled heroism of the Red Army, it has overthrown on all the fronts the military counter-revolution, which was equipped and supported by the world bour-

geoisie. Politically, it has repulsed all the attempts of the capitalist States to rob the Russian proletarian revolution of the fruits of the social revolution by diplomatic trickery and by economic pressure, striving for the recognition of the rights of private ownership of the means of production and for the renunciation of the nationalisation of industry. It unswervingly defended the fundamental condition of proletarian emancipation i. e., the collective ownership of the means of production, against the attack of the world bourgeoisie. It saved the workers and peasants of the Soviet Republic from being reduced to the status of colonial dependency, by refusing to take upon its shoulders the colossal national debt.

10. Our propaganda among the peasantry to win over the majority of the agricultural workers, tenant farmers and poor peasants to the Revolution and gain the sympathies of the small land owners must be accompanied by action for the amelioration of the working and living conditions of the peasant workers and of the tenants dependent upon the large landowners. Such action demands that the district organisations of the Party establish and propagate programs of immediate demands corresponding to the peculiar conditions in each district. The Party must favour the agricultural associations and co-operatives which help to destroy the individualism of the peasants. More especially, it must exert its efforts to create and develop trade unions among the agricultural workers.

11. The communist propaganda among the working class women is of the greatest importance and requires a special organisation. A Central Committee within the Executive with a permanent Secretariat, more and more numerous local commissions and a journal devoted to propaganda among the women are necessary. The Party must demand the unification of the economic demands of the men and women workers, equal pay for equal work without distinction of sex, the participation of the exploited women in the campaigns and the struggles of the workers.

12. We must make more efforts than in the past in the development of the Communist Youth. In every branch of both organisations reciprocal relations must be established between the Party and the Youth. The Youth must be represented on every Commission formed in the Central Executive. The federations, sections and propagandists of the Party must help the existing groups of young Communists and help to create new ones. The Central Committee must take an interest in the Press of the Youth and assure to that organisation a forum in the Party Press. In accordance with this programme, the Party must represent the demands of the young workers, in the Trade Unions.

13. In the co-operatives, the Communists must defend the principle of unified national organisation, and create national groups attached to the co-operative section of the Comintern through a commission formed in the Executive. In every federation, a special commission must be created for propaganda among the co-operatives. The Communists must transform the co-operatives into a branch of the working-class movement.

14. Our members in the Chamber, in the Municipal Councils, etc., must conduct an energetic struggle in connection with the struggles of the working class and the campaigns conducted by the Party and the Trade Unions outside of Parliament. In accordance with the Theses of the Second Congress of the Comintern, the Communist representatives controlled and directed by the Executive of the Party, the municipal, general, and district councillors, controlled and directed by the sections and the federations must serve the party as agents of propaganda and agitation.

15. To be able to accomplish the tasks developed in its programme and the national and International Congresses, the Party must perfect and strengthen its organisation following the example of the large Communist Parties of other countries and the rules of the Comintern. We require a strict centralisation, an inflexible discipline, the subordination of every member of the Party to his branch, of each branch to the organisation immediately above it. Furthermore, we must develop the Marxian education of our militants by a systematic increase of theoretical courses in the sections, by the opening of Party schools; these courses and these schools must be placed under the direction of a Central Commission of the Executive.

The IV World Congress of the Communist International establishes the fact that Soviet Russia, the proletarian State, as soon as it was no longer compelled to defend its existence by force of arms, has proceeded with unexampled energy, with the development and reconstruction of the economic system of the Republic, while keeping to the path which leads to com-

munist. The various phases and measures leading towards this aim, the transition phase of the so-called new economic policy, are products, on the one hand, of peculiar objective and subjective historic conditions in Russia, and on the other hand, of the slow trend of development of the world revolution and of the isolation of the Soviet Republic in the midst of capitalist States. Notwithstanding the enormous difficulties created by these conditions, the workers' State is able to record considerable progress in its economic reconstruction.

Just as the Russian proletarians have paid dearly for the conquest and defence of political power and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in the interests of the workers of the world, it is they again who must bear the brunt of the battle during this period in which they are confronted with the problems and tasks of the transition from capitalism to communism.

The IV. World Congress with great satisfaction establishes the fact that the policy of Soviet Russia has ensured and consolidated the most important prerequisite for the construction and the development of the communist social order, viz. the Soviet Power, the Soviet order, the dictatorship of the proletariat. For it is this dictatorship alone which overcomes the bourgeois capitalist resistance against the complete emancipation of the workers, and thus guarantees the complete overthrow of capitalism and a clear path towards the realisation of communism.

The IV. World Congress recognizes also the decisive and glorious part which the bold attitude of the Russian Communist Party, as the leading class Party of the proletariat, has played, with the support of the peasants in the conquest and consolidation of the workers' State power. The ideological and organisational unity and strict discipline of the Party has inspired the masses with confidence in the ultimate revolutionary aim, has raised their determination and self-sacrifice to the pitch of heroism and has created a firm organic union between the leadership and the activity of the masses.

Report of Commission on Election of the Executive

Kolaroff:

In accordance with the resolution on the organization of the Executive of the Communist International, the future Executive must be composed of one chairman, 24 members, and 10 substitutes.

Therefore the Presidium has asked the different delegations to nominate their delegates and to prepare complete lists. Some delegations have handed in complete lists, while others have only designated their own candidates.

The small Commission has had a most difficult problem to solve. As you know, our International is composed of 62 Communist Parties. Each of these Parties would like to be represented on the Executive, which is naturally quite impossible.

Therefore the Small Commission was forced to make a choice, giving a preference to certain Parties—notably to those parties which, because of their numerical strength and political importance, are of greater importance within the International.

On the other hand, the Small Commission has tried to have the whole world represented on the new Executive. We believe that the Commission has succeeded in solving this problem in a more or less satisfactory manner. In the list which it now presents to you, are contained representatives of all continents, all the large Parties, and of all those groups of interconnected parties which are in a more or less identical situation.

The list prepared by the Small Commission has been confirmed by the Presidium with certain modifications, and I am instructed to present it to you. It is as follows:

Chairman: Zinoviev.

France: 2 delegates: Frossard, Souvarine, 1 substitute: Duret.

Germany: 2 delegates: Clara Zetkin, Eberlein, 1 substitute: Boettcher.

Russia: 2 delegates: Bukharin, Radek, 2 substitutes: Lenin, Trotsky.

Czecho-Slovakia: 2 delegates: Smeral, Neurath, 1 substitute: Muna.

Italy: 2 delegates: Gennari, Gramsci, 1 substitute: Bordiga.

Young Communist International: 2 delegates: Schueller, Schatzkin.

England: 1 delegate: MacManus, 1 substitute: Newbold.

America: 1 delegate: Carr, 1 substitute: Damon.

Scandinavia: 2 delegates: Hueglund, Schefflo.

Poland: 1 delegate: Pruchniak.

Finland: 1 delegate: Kuusinen.

Balkan States: 1 delegate: Kolaroff.

Australia: 1 delegate: Garden.

S. America: 1 delegate: Sturmer.

The IV. World Congress reminds the proletarians of all countries that the proletarian revolution can never be completely victorious within one single country, but that it must win the victory internationally as the world revolution. The work and struggle of Soviet Russia for its existence and for the achievement of the revolution, is the struggle for the emancipation of the proletarians, the oppressed and exploited of the whole world from slavery and servitude. The Russian proletarians have done more than their duty as the revolutionary pioneers of the world proletariat. The world proletariat must at last do its share. In all countries, the workers, the disinherited and the enslaved, must show morally, economically, and politically the most active solidarity with Soviet Russia. Their own interest, and not only international solidarity, demand that they should engage for this purpose in the most energetic struggle against the bourgeoisie and the capitalist State. In all countries their watchword must be "Hands off Soviet Russia!" "De jure recognition of Soviet Russia!" "Universal active support for the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia!"

The consolidation of Soviet Russia means the weakening of the world bourgeoisie. The five years' existence of Soviet Russia is the greatest blow which world capitalism has as yet received, and which it cannot overcome.

The IV. World Congress calls upon the proletarians of the as yet capitalist countries, inspired by the example of Soviet Russia, to strike a death blow against capitalism and to do their utmost for the world revolution.

Chairman Neurath: The vote will now be taken. Is anyone against the proposed resolution? As this is not the case, I declare the resolution carried unanimously.

We come now to the next item on our agenda, the election of the Executive. A Commission was appointed, on behalf of which Comrade Kolaroff will now report.

S. Africa: 1 delegate: Andrews.

The Orient: 2 delegates: Katayama, Safarov, 1 substitute: Roy.

With regard to the delegates recommended by the Italian Party, the Presidium has decided to move that they be accepted with the reserve that the Italian Party, after its Unity Congress, has the right to propose new representatives, who must, however, be ratified by the Executive.

In the name of the Presidium, I ask you to adopt this list, if possible unanimously.

Chairman (Neurath): Comrades, the voting will proceed in such a manner so as to distinguish the voting for the Presidium from the members of the Executive. If there is no objection, this will be the procedure.

As there is no opposition we now proceed to elect the Chairman. The Commission recommends Comrade Zinoviev.

Comrades, we now come to the vote. I ask all those who are in agreement with the proposal of the Commission to raise their hand—All those opposed—I announce the unanimous election of Comrade Zinoviev as Chairman of the Executive of the Third International. (The entire list of candidates is also elected unanimously.)

Zinoviev:

Our Congress was held in a situation when no new special tasks could be formulated. We have a different task before us, with which I have already briefly dealt, namely, the task to proceed with the definition and the differentiation of the decisions arrived at at the first three congresses and especially at the Third Congress. I am of the opinion that this task has been brilliantly carried out by our Congress. For the first time, we met here as a truly International World Party. This was exemplified by the fact that we have dealt with the most important affairs of a large number of parties.

The greatest part of our work at this Congress consisted in selecting the most important questions with which they are concerned,—in Commissions, every-one of which was a miniature International Conference. We had before us a French and Italian, a Czecho-Slovakian, Norwegian, Danish, Yugoslavian, Polish, American, Spanish and some other questions. All these questions were of vital interest for the movements of the respective countries and all of them were studied and solved with the assistance of the best representatives of other parties, viz. by making use of the collective experience of all our parties. This means that our International is at last

beginning to be a real world party. The Commissions have very carefully studied all the political and organisational questions with which the various parties were concerned. We may say that our Congress has treated every separate party like a good medical practitioner treats his patient, for it carefully investigated every tendency and every contentious question within the parties. Thus, the decisions which were taken are really and truly the result of the collective experience and collective spirit of our International organisation. If, on some questions there are minorities within our parties (and this is unavoidable), these minorities must realise that what was decided here on the various questions, is really what the entire International considers to be right. This was the first time that we could allow ourselves the luxury to study so minutely the internal questions of a large number of our parties.

We had to deal with the French question. I trust that we have at last assisted our brother party in France in overcoming the survivals of the old party. We discussed quite openly with our French comrades the weak points of their party, we have given them instructions which are the result of the collective experience of the International. We can therefore quietly await the results of these deliberations, trusting that our French brother party will eradicate the disease which is undermining its strength.

We had an Italian question, which was of a quite different nature. This was a question of giving the disrupted revolutionary working class new inspiration, fresh courage and confidence; of amalgamating the best elements of the Socialist Party with the Communist Party and of making proper use of the hard lessons of the past.

We had a Czech crisis which, I hope is now overcome. This was a question of bringing back on the right path a small group of workers who, owing to the difficulty of the existing situation had got out of hand. We have every reason to feel proud that the majority of the Czech delegation, while having every justification for being indignant over the breach of discipline which occurred in Czecho-Slovakia, nevertheless fully agreed with the decisions of the Congress, which we trust, will put everything right in Czecho-Slovakia.

We had a Norwegian question, with one part of which we have just dealt. A struggle is going on there, the purport of which Comrade Bukharin explained today very clearly and minutely. Norway is still afflicted with semi-reformist and semi-syndicalist tendencies. Federalist traditions are mixed up within the party with semi-social-democratic elements. It therefore behoves us to tell the unvarnished truth to our Norwegian party, which is one of the strongest parties of the Communist International, and of the working class movement in general.

We dealt with a number of other questions, and I trust that we have solved them in a satisfactory manner.

Those minorities which are not quite satisfied with the decisions of our Congress will become convinced by their future experience, as the Congress became convinced in the Italian question, that the Communist problems of the Communist International as a whole are more important than those of the individual Parties which belong to it.

At this Congress, we had 65 delegations representing 62 countries. Only 52 were represented at the Third Congress. This shows that our International is growing, and this is why it is necessary to prepare our work in detail, to define it carefully, and to give the Parties not only general political slogans and tactical formulas, but concrete advice. This process signifies that the Communist International is not only an organization, but that it is becoming a unified world organization of the proletariat.

We have also dealt with a number of general questions and our task therein was also to define the decisions which we have already reached on those questions. The resolution on tactics which we adopted today had only the modest purpose of enlarging upon the policies of the Second and especially the Third Congresses, and to adapt them to the concrete political tasks required by the present situation.

At this Congress we have also discussed for the first time the question of the workers government. Much had to be changed during the course of the discussion. This is just the purpose of the Congress that we may be able to influence each other and formulate the final experience of the whole International. Comrade Hoernle with whom we worked in the subcommission said to us: The problem of the workers government today is not quite clearly formulated; and I agree with him. But I answered him: We must have one or two workers governments and collect their experience and carry on a real revolutionary struggle under this slogan. I hope that it will not take long before we will have such experience in one or more countries.

In the question of the United Front, we have formulated quite precise tactics. This policy had already been issued, in a general form, in December; at the Fourth Congress we had to

sum up the experience of almost a year and characterise the opposition with which this policy met. I hope that we have now formulated this policy of the United Front clearly for the coming period; our problem lies now in its application.

The case is the same for the agrarian problem. We had to adapt the theoretical resolutions of the Second Congress to the concrete circumstances and conditions in the various countries at the present period. This is what the Fourth Congress has done. At the Fourth Congress we did not want to hear the objection that the Communists had nothing to do with the peasantry, as some members expressed at the Second Congress. This is another victory for the Communist International. We have now a clear policy for the agrarian problem, and this is one half the preparation for victory. The working class can conquer power and hold it only if it can rally to the banner of Communism the majority of the workers. But the second part of our task consists in neutralising a section of the peasantry in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and winning over the other to our side.

The theoretical resolution of the Second Congress and the practical programme of action of the Fourth have created a firm basis for agitation in the country, for our whole work among the agrarian population.

Let us go over to the problem of the Orient. Our general theoretical policy was formulated at the Second Congress. Our relation to the revolutionary non-Communist national movements has been clearly defined in the resolution of the Second Congress, and our theoretical policy remains the same. We have now a more important task before us; we must apply these decisions to the concrete conditions of a great number of countries which show a revolutionary movement. And I hope that the Fourth Congress has been able to make great progress in regard to our practical activity among the hundreds of millions of Oriental peoples.

At this Fourth Congress, we have not yet adopted a programme for the Communist International, but the corner stone has been laid for this work. The drafts which were laid before us must naturally be changed. During the coming year we will try to collect the opinions of the whole International. Nevertheless, the first step has been taken, the first rules have been formulated, we now have a general line for our future programme.

We have dealt thoroughly with the Youth and Women problems. We have discussed the consumers co-operatives and every practical problem of our movement which forms the sum of the work of this Congress.

We have come to an important decision in regard to the Trade Union problem. We have united with the best elements in the Syndicalist movement of the world. Our understanding with the Syndicalists has nothing diplomatic about it, it is a frank and fraternal understanding, as befits Communists. Naturally, there are very important differences of opinion between us and our Syndicalist comrades who are not Communists although they claim this name. We differ with them on many theoretical and practical points. What we have done, however, openly, so that every worker may read it, is to form an alliance between revolutionists, an alliance between our International which claims to represent the true spirit of the working class, and a section of the working class which does not yet belong to us, but is ready to fight for Communism. This understanding with the Syndicalists is an important decision and a very important factor in the preparation of the International proletarian revolution.

To sum up: Look at the agrarian problem; the problem of winning over the peasants; look at the Oriental problem, the problem of winning over the oppressed peoples; look at the problem of winning over an important section of the working class which does not belong to us yet; look at the decisions of the workers government, the decisions to draw into our ranks the non-partisan, syndicalist, even Christian workers who are willing to fight against the bourgeoisie, that section of the Social-Democratic Party who are willing to fight on our side: all this gives you a picture of the methodical, practical, conscious, serious preparations of all factors required to bring about the victory of the proletarian revolution.

At the present moment we cannot adopt any direct resolutions to begin the offensive. The time is not ripe for this. But we have taken all the measures which enable us to call the working class to the offensive when the time has come.

In this respect, I believe that the Congress has accomplished a gigantic work. This Congress has been a great university for all of us. All of us have learned much. For the first time, we have made a thorough study of our affiliated Parties, we have become well acquainted with them. We know, not only the Central Committee of these Parties, but the Parties themselves, their weaknesses, their problems, their internal difficulties,

their aims, their spirit. This is an important result for the whole International working class movement.

In the Trade Union problem, we have emphasised once again, with special force, the slogan of unity of the Trade Unions because these times require it. We must defend as one man the slogan of Unity of the Trade Unions because the Amsterdamers are trying to split them. This does not mean that we must compromise our Communist principles. Far from it.

On the 11th of December, a peace Congress will open in the Hague called by the gentlemen of the Amsterdam International. They have been so good as to invite the Russian Trade Unions and the Russian consumers co-operatives. Of course they have not invited our Third International. They probably believe that we do not wish to fight against war or that our contribution to this struggle would be insignificant. We do not take this amiss. They have invited the Russian Trade Unions and the Russian consumers co-operatives. Our comrades have accepted the invitation. The Russian comrades have informed me that a member of our Executive, comrade Radek, has also left for the Hague as a representative of the Russian Trade Unions. If the gentlemen from Amsterdam do not give us the floor, which may well be expected from Social-Democrats, our comrades will take up the fight openly, and tell the Social Democrats openly to their face what is their due. That is, they will tell them: Well, gentlemen, if you wish to fight against war, you must give up the slogan of National defence. No one can fight against war who stands on the platform of national defence. If you wish to fight against war, you must recognise the necessity of propaganda in the army and conduct illegal work among the soldiers. If you are willing to proclaim the general strike against war, you must prepare it, you must first begin perhaps with a few one-day strikes against militarism, you must turn the army against war. For if we educate the Youth in bourgeois ideas for 20 years how can we in the 21st year say to them: Now we propose to the army to enter on a general strike.

This is what we will tell the gentlemen from Amsterdam to their faces. We will remind them that they have signed the Versailles Treaty, and that therefore they are responsible for the present situation. We will remind them that the Trade Union International in 1914 was the chief support of the belligerent bourgeois governments. We will tell them all this to their faces, we will not spare them.

However, comrades, in spite of all this, we will fight for Trade Union unity at any price so that the eve of the revolution may not find us unprepared. We must prevent the destruction of this single real mass organization of the proletariat, this essential weapon in the class war for emancipation; we must preserve the unity of the Trade Unions at all costs.

This, in general, is the significance of our resolutions. We have made no flourishes. We have now to begin a relentless work of preparation in every Party, we must cleanse the Party of every doubtful element. It may not seem very important that here and there some bourgeois journalist has been expelled from our Party. No, comrades, this is no small matter; it means that the preparatory work of purification demanded by the Congress has begun. This is a prosaic and not always very pleasant task. But to prepare a real struggle, we must cleanse the Parties, test every member of our organizations so that we are sure of possessing a real Communist Party ready to play its historical role at the given time. We have adopted organisational resolutions of the greatest importance; we have dissolved all federalist elements in our Party. We hope that a debate on the election of the Executive will not take place again at our Fifth Congress. We may disagree as to whether this or that comrade belongs to the Executive. We have a right to declare who has our confidence and who does not have it; but such a situation as the present, when blocs of two or three delegates demanded a representative in the Executive, and based their claims on nationalist grounds must never happen again. I hope that we have seen such a spectacle for the last time. We are a unified world party. That is why we must have a unified Central Executive. The members of this Executive may come from the Balkans, from Japan, from Germany, from Russia. We take the best proletarian forces of the movement wherever they exist. We will combat all federalist tendencies and insist upon a strict discipline.

A few more words on the question of discipline. Sometimes comrades declare that they are disciplined because they carry out the decisions with which they agree. This is no discipline; discipline first begins when one has to carry out the decision with which one is not in agreement. (A voice—Quite true!) We demand of those minorities who do not quite accept this or that decision referring to them that they submit to discipline. There is no question of discipline when one agrees—it is conviction. The international discipline begins from the moment

when one has to carry out that which doesn't quite please him.

I believe that the reorganisation of the Executive is of great importance.

It is not only a measure of organisation, but a political measure of great importance,—a measure which means that we shall become a world Party and shall really practise international discipline in all cases. In our resolution we emphasised what we have already said in the Third Congress. We have simply repeated it. We said: "Every big strike, every sporadic revolt, every important parliamentary, crisis, may, under certain conditions, become the starting point for a great revolutionary movement, and even for a revolution itself. In this resolution we weighed and considered every word before we finally decided upon its insertion. This clause is absolutely correct and can be scientifically proven. No-one can say how much longer the period of stability will last or how much longer the offensive of capitalism will continue. No one can say when the moment will come when our defensive will proceed to an attack. But it is clear that we must no longer think in decades, but in single years.

And just as, from the point of view of time, we no longer deal with decades but with years, so, from the point of view of the dimensions of the revolution, it is no longer a question of single parties, but of the world situation. That is the present position. We must however state frankly that one should not be too optimistic. Our immediate principal task is to win over the masses of the workers to us so that we may have power. The most widely extended work is needed for this, and this means the Communist International. In another couple of years we shall have a good solid basis of Communist Parties and then we shall be in a position to fear nothing.

The five years of the Russian Revolution have not been in vain. The greatest pride of the Russian workers and peasants lies in their ability to say: "In spite of all, you may see that in my own country I have been able to do something to arouse the workers of other countries and to organise them."

Therefore, as I have said, in another couple of years we shall have time to breathe. We may see already that the preparatory work has been accomplished. In every country we have a Communist Party; and this has real historical importance. The creation of a strong nucleus of a Communist Party in a distant country has now more historical importance than the Versailles Treaty, than the Lausanne Conference, or than the so-called World Conferences with which the great diplomats are playing. The creation of the nucleus of a Communist Party in India for example is, from the historical point of view, a much more important matter than all these conferences.

Therefore, comrades, to work! We are going through hard times. We have shown in our resolution that Fascism advances on an international scale. This means that hundreds and thousands of our best fighters will be imprisoned and killed by the bourgeoisie and by the social patriots who are hand in glove with the White Guards. We shall have to go through hard times. But that which has already been, has not been in vain. The bourgeoisie, together with the Second and Two and a Half Internationals, has done its utmost to conquer us. But they have not succeeded. In the United Front we have found the tactical key to the whole situation.

We shall send an open letter to the Second International and to the Amsterdam International. They will decline as the social patriots have declined. To-day I read an article in the "Populaire" the central organ of the French social patriots. When our French comrades called upon them to reply, they answered: "How can we make a United Front with you? Just see by the following quotations what Lenin wrote about us." And then follow amiable remarks of Lenin about the French social-patriots. Then, they say, "Now see what Trotsky wrote about us." And then follow a number of still better quotations. Then come a number of my little things. I have also treated them to several compliments. They collect all this together and say: "We can form no United Front with you." Perhaps the Second International will do the same. They probably think that we are going to coddle them, that we shall forget their crimes against the working class, and that we shall cease flagellating them before the eyes of the working class: Never! Our principal task in the near future will be continually to remind the Second International of this. The Amsterdam International is an International of traitors, because it is the tool of the bourgeoisie. But, above everything, we must have the United Front with all those workers who are for the fight against the bourgeoisie.

In this sense, comrades, we finish our work; and we are convinced that the Fourth World Congress has rendered important services to all the 62 parties which are affiliated with us. To our tasks, comrades! And we wish you the greatest success in all those struggles which we have to accomplish, the difficulties which we have to overcome. You will take home with you the news that the Communist International is now greatly strengthe-

ned through many concrete decisions; that it has thoroughly studied all its plans and done its utmost in the present difficult situation. You will bring them the tidings that we stand as united as ever; that the Party has entered upon a period of the rallying of all truly revolutionary forces; in short, that we have begun to be a real united world party of Communism. Therefore let the tyrants, the bourgeoisie and their White and Yellow Internationals, tremble. The future belongs to us: Long live the World Party of Communism:

(Loud and prolonged applause. The Kremlin Military Academy Band plays the "International". All present rise and join in singing. This is followed by the singing of the "Carmagnole" and "Bandiera Rossa" (Red Flag) by the Italian and French comrades.)

Kolaroff:

I ask you to authorise me to thank our Russian comrades in the name of all the foreign delegations, and I ask you to permit me to do it in the language of the Russian comrades.

(Continues in Russian.)

Dear Russian Comrades: On behalf of all the foreign delegations it is my pleasant duty at this, the IV World Congress, to render in your person the warm thanks to the Russian Communist Party and to the entire Russian proletariat and Russian peasantry for the fraternal hospitality you have given to us, foreign delegates.

You have provided for the World Congress all the possible accommodation for the regular and quiet conduct of its extensive and tiring labours. It seems to me that we have prolonged our work and thus abused this hospitality, but we hope for your indulgence.

You have enabled us, the foreign delegates, to become convinced of the indescribable enthusiasm and the inexhaustible energy awakened in the Russian proletariat by the Great Revolution, and to see with our own eyes how the Russian toiling people, in spite of the tremendous internal difficulties and the dangers menacing it on all hands from the imperialist states, yet relying upon its own forces and upon the growing sympathies of the workers and the oppressed nations of the entire world, is stolidly labouring to create its own Soviet State and Communist society.

By your direct and energetic participation in the labours of the congress you have enriched its deliberations by the vast experience of the Russian revolution and by your Marxian thinking which is incisive like a sharp blade. All the discussions at the Congress went on under the spiritual guidance of the great proletarian Revolution and its leaders.

Besides this, you have surrounded us by an atmosphere of fraternal affection and warm sympathy. We knew beforehand of

the generous and, loving nature of the Russian people, but this time we became convinced that the revolution has been favourable in the highest degree to the development of all the ideas and virtues upon which the solidarity of the world's toilers is being erected.

We shall be able to repay your fraternal reception only if we will continue with courage and determination on that road which was opened by the October Revolution, by waging a vigorous revolutionary fight for the overthrow of the domination of world capital.

Once more, comrades, we tender you our warmest thanks.
Long live the Russian Communist Party!
Long live the toilers of Russia!

(Prolonged cheers.)

Chairman Neurath: The Presidium has resolved that at this moment it is the duty of all delegates to understand all languages, and for this reason there are to be no translations (laughter).

The bureau above all, extends its best thanks to the technical staff for their industrious and valuable work.

On behalf of the Presidium and, I may say, on behalf of all the delegates, we give our best thanks to the Russian workers for their hearty reception which they have given us both at Petrograd and Moscow. The emissaries of the international class-conscious proletariat can meet and work quietly here in Russia, discussing and studying the most important problems of the workers' movement, only here in Russia, where the Russian peasants and workers are the unchallenged masters of the soil. We gladly came here in order to adopt the most important decisions and to prepare for those struggles which will lead to the final and decisive conflict between capital and labor. We further declare to the Russian workers and peasants, that we deem it our primary duty to work and to carry out the decisions of the Congress so as to bring about a situation, when we shall not only receive your hospitality, but shall also be in a position to return the hospitality in that country where we will overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish a proletarian dictatorship, in order to receive our Russian proletarian guests. It is in this sense that we cheer the Russian peasants and workers. Long live the Russian working class! Long live the brave Russian Communist Party! Long live the International proletariat! Long live the World Revolution! (Prolonged Cheers.)

I declare the IV. Congress of the III International closed.

(The "International" was sung by the entire assembly to the accompaniment of the orchestra, followed by the "Carmagnole". Ovarions were then given to the various prominent members of the Communist International.)