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## The V. World Congress of the Communist International

### Including Speech of Comrade Lozovsky on the Trade Union Question

Moscow, 7. July 1924.

#### Lozovsky:

General questions first of all. A certain number of comrades have objections against the paragraph of my theses, which says that the general retreat has come to a standstill, and everyone of these comrades brings forward some example or other as a justification of this thesis.

When we say that the general retreat has come to a standstill and that there are partial struggles in the various countries and in various industries, defensive as well as offensive struggles, we simply mean that in 1924 the situation differs from the situation in 1922 or 1923. In 1924 we witnessed big economic conflicts in Great Britain, which even had results. We saw the same thing happen in France in the beginning of 1924. We can say the same of Czecho-Slovakia, etc. This shows that the retreat is not general, that the capitalist offensive has been arrested and that the new situation has arisen. There are partial retreats, defensive strikes and a certain recrudescence of activity.

The question which gave rise to very lively discussion is the question of unity. Is it or is it not necessary to alter the Communist International's slogan "Capture of Trade Unions?"

Schultze made a speech which is not in keeping with his thesis. He does much more than he says. He is preparing the ground and then he comes and tells us that we should organise those who left. He forgot to tell us that it is due to his and his friends' propaganda during many months that the workers have become alarmed and disgusted with the old trade unions and that he and his followers dangled before the eyes of the workers the perspective of new trade unions—industrial trade unions, etc.

One should say the truth. There is in the German Communist Party a strong workers' movement against trade unions, and there is nothing strange in this. But what is strange is the fact that there are communists at the head of the trade union movement who, instead of studying this phenomenon and

combatting it, invent a theory to justify this instinctive disgust and this passivity of the workers.

To begin with, Schultze quoted, and very much to the purpose, a number of resolutions of the Berlin Federation, and also others declaring that trade unions should be abandoned as quickly as possible. But he forgot all about the resolution of the Frankfurt Congress, which says that the Party will not allow its members to carry on an individual policy in the Unions.

In the theory which he has propounded here there is nothing communistic, and very much that is anarchistic.

He prophesied that if the Congress does not accept his point of view the Communist International will disorganise itself. It has always been the case that the Parties and groups which did not follow the directions of the Communist International caused their own destruction by beginning to oppose the Communist International.

Kucher and Dunne are right when they say that Schultze is not German, but an international type. Yes, workers who leave their unions, who seek palliatives to remedy the diseases of the Labour Movement, who believe to be able to solve the great problem of the capture of the masses by leaving the trade unions, all this is an international phenomenon. If we oppose ourselves to Schultze, it is not only because he and his friends disorganise the trade-union movement in Germany, but because there are Schultzes everywhere, who act in the same manner.

The explanation for this international phenomenon is the magnitude of the task before us and our parties lack of training and political education.

Schultze also said that his attitude is Losovsky's fault. It is due to an article written by Losovsky that he was led astray. Ruth Fischer also discovered that the father of secession was Losovsky.

It is very good tactics to attack others when one is compelled to defend oneself, but one must distort facts. My articles were published in the German, French and other press. These articles can be produced and then it will be seen that in January, when the idea of secession was so strong in the movement



and in the German Party, I attacked it as passivity tactics which would lead us to a debacle, as impressionist tactics which cannot solve a single question, but allow our reformist enemies full freedom of action in the trade-union movement.

There is also another thing which Ruth Fischer invented. She said here twice already that it was I who proposed the Central Secession, as she calls it. It would appear that I proposed to convene a Congress at which I would cut the trade-union movement in 54 pieces with a big knife. This legend is pure fiction. Instead of recognising her mistakes, Ruth Fischer says: "It is Losovsky's fault. And Herzog says: No, it is also the fault of Zinoviev. It would appear that it is we who compelled our comrades to leave the trade-unions."

We know very well what took place at the Frankfurt Congress. I was delegated to it by the Communist International and Herzog was also present. He must be aware that Zinoviev's letter against secession created great confusion at the Congress and that the comrades of the Left refused to publish it for several weeks. We had to fight against those who called themselves the extreme Left, and when I added to the proposed resolution a paragraph saying that all traitors must be expelled from the trade-union movement, I was told: No, this must not be, for if we say that the traitors must be expelled, this means that we must remain inside. This paragraph was left out, in order not to offend the extreme left.

Thus the fathers of the error are our comrades of the German Party, and not the Communist International nor the Red Trade-Union International.

When we say: The capture of the trade-unions, it is self-evident that we mean the masses. This is clear to everyone. But whenever comrades want to adopt other tactics, they begin by saying that this question is not quite clear.

We do not want only the German Communist Party to be against secession, but we want it even to work for unity.

The present situation cannot last: twenty thousand Communist Berlin workers had left their trade unions, and there are unions such as the metal workers' union in which we had a majority at the last elections, and in which we are reduced now to 25%. Wherever Communists desert the trade-unions, social democrats arrive in full force.

Is this a Leninist Bolshevik tactic? No, it is anything you like except Bolshevism.

What is in fact the reason of this tendency to form small trade-unions? A comrade from the Ruhr or from Hamburg put it very well at Frankfurt: When social democrats expel workers, secession does not take place but when they happen to expel five or six communist bureaucrats, the latter endeavour to form a small trade union to go on with their work. A number of officials of the metal workers' union demanded secession in January. Well, these bureaucrats, these officials, who were members of the Communist Party, have left the latter and have joined the social democratic party. These are very significant facts.

You beat Schumacher. Well and good. There is in Berlin an organisation which goes by the name of: "Organisation of German Industries Metal Section". Who founded this organisation? Again a former official of the Berlin metal workers union. He is unemployed, he was dismissed and he started this little business of his own.

It is not enough to say: We are against secession. Communists who left the trade-unions must go back to them.

I will now deal with the question which was discussed here, but with which I did not deal,—international unity.

Do you know who defends the Red Trade Union International against the Communist International and against the Red Trade Union International itself? It is no other but Schultz. He says: You, Losovsky, and you, Zinoviev, are liquidators. You are intent on destroying our work the Red Trade Union International which we founded together.

He wants to create the impression that the Russian Trade-Union, the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International are deceiving the Congress, and are manoeuvring against the reformists, but also against the Congress itself.

Is the Amsterdam International the same as it was twelve months ago? There are some comrades who say: Yes, even in Great Britain there are bureaucratic trade unionists who sign anti-communist resolutions.

This is certainly so, but it would be a mistake to judge the trade-union movement by its leaders. Communist tactics consist in recognising any change within the masses in spite of the caricature of such change presented to us by either left or

right leaders. Well, if we take the trouble to examine from this viewpoint what is going on in the Amsterdam Trade-Union movement, and in Great Britain, we shall have to say with down-to-earth realism: a change has taken place because we in 1924 confronted with the phenomenon that the General Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain has been elected by communist votes, and received on the strength of the program of the Red Trade Union International 227 votes, while those who were against it received only 200 votes etc. There was also the conference of the South West miners, which has 200,000 members, and which a fortnight ago carried a resolution for adherence to the Red Trade Union International.

I am always asking myself how will the proposals which we intend to approach the Amsterdamers influence workers, what influence will they have throughout all countries, will they help us to mobilise the masses and to attract them to our side?

The question of pourparlers with X or Z is a secondary question.

The main question, which interests us is as follows: these proposals which we are on the point of making, enable us to draw to our side fresh millions of workers?

Shall we be able to permeate the reformist trade-unions? Will it be possible for us even at the price of hobnobbing with Jouhaux and Co, to influence the working class?

When Schultz defends the Red Trade Union International against me, I can say: I also worked a little for the Red Trade Union International and I have not the least intention to liquidate it. On the contrary, I think that we will liquidate Amsterdam International, in fact I am convinced of this. If I think that I am indulging in dreams, I will quote you the words of the democrats. This is what the "Vorwärts" says:

"Efforts are made to form nuclei in the Amsterdam Trade Union International, and to use the British Trade-Union and International Secretariats against it. The Moscowite strategy will soon realise that they are very much mistaken."

We shall see who will be very much mistaken. But I think that the "Vorwärts" sees much clearer than certain communist leaders. For what is in fact the danger of our proposals to the Amsterdamers. It is not a unity manoeuvre, to quote comrade Ruzsicki's clumsy expression. But an ardent desire for unity (applause).

We are for unity because it enables us to extend our communist field of action.

Our proposals have greatly alarmed the social-democratic press.

And it is again the "Vorwärts" which says:

"Such is the attitude of these united front fellows, who is their method to approach those of our comrades whose policy consists in their hankering for united front with Losovsky and Co."

Unfortunately, the views of the "Vorwärts" are shared by some communist leaders.

We have before us a resolution of the Amsterdam International: "The Congress instructs its bureau to enter into parlers with the Russian trade unions, with the object of coming to an agreement on the basis of the programme and the statutes of the Amsterdam International."

To a political proposal, one must give a political answer. To a proposal made quite openly through the world press, the International working class movement must give a political answer for the whole international working class movement.

There are three possible answers. The first answer would be—to send all these people to the devil. I should really like to know which comrades would favour such a solution. To do so by what was said here, I think that Bordiga would be of no use, and also Schultz and some others. But if we were to give such an answer, we would play into the hands of our adversaries.

There is another possibility. There is the proposal that the Russian trade unions enter the Amsterdam International, that they recognise its programme, that the Red Trade Union International be dissolved and unity re-established. This is a solution, I believe that we are all against this solution, because the Russian trade unions are an integral part of the international revolutionary trade union movement. They cannot have their own, differing from those of the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International.

There is also a third possibility. Against a proposal which tends to disorganise the international trade union movement

lead astray the working masses, we bring forward the proposal of an international unity congress with proportional representation. We answer by a unity proposal.

We were always for unity and we are for it still. We are for the kind of unity proposed to us by Amsterdam, who wants to detach the Russian trade unions from the Red Trade Union International and from the revolutionary movement. We are for the unity of the entire international trade union movement.

Ruth Fischer said: But your proposal comes very suddenly. We must prepare the masses. Do not take the vote: We are going to prepare the masses first.

But I should like to know how you will be able to prepare the masses if you have not a decision of this Congress to do so?

If at this Congress or in the Executive we do not pass a clear resolution, if the Profintern Congress does not respond to an unambiguous resolution, the confusion in the minds of the delegates will be a thousand times greater than before. That is why I reject the proposal of adjournment. I am for preparation. I am in favour of organising meetings and general meetings in factories and workshops. But for this purpose, let us first put our vote on what we want to do. Otherwise preparation will be done in Germany in one fashion and in Belgium in another fashion.

Does it not strike you that the same arguments were brought forward in connection with the United Front. They said that time: But surely we cannot sit down at the same table with these bandits, this means the organic fusion of the party, etc. etc. All this stuff was pure invention. The Communist International must take council. The tactics must be changed when circumstances demand it. If we stand still, we will never be able to beat our enemies.

They are elastic and pliable, they change their methods and are always on the look out for new organisational possibilities. The Communist International, as a true leader of the revolution, must be able to change its methods, for if one does not do that one is liable to break one's head.

This is the crux of Leninism. Lenin always knew when it was time for a change of tactics and methods. If you take the twenty years of our Party's existence, and the seven years of revolution, you will realise through what dangerous phases we have passed scatheless because of the elasticity of Bolshevism.

You say that you cannot sit down at the same table with Jouhaux. We do not sit down at the same table with him "for the sake of his beautiful eyes", but because there are millions of workers who follow him and because there are tens of millions of workers who are neither with us nor with him.

That is why we must find an opportune moment for issuing a new slogan, for placing before the working class the problem of world unity and for not allowing the reformists to have the monopoly of the fight for unity, for we know that it is they who pick up the trade-union movement and endeavour to break up the revolution. (Loud applause.)

## Riasanov:

read the following resolution:

"The Fifth Congress of the Communist International welcomes the decisions of the Thirteenth Party Congress of the Russian Communist Party on the necessity of publishing as far as possible all the works and letters of Marx and Engels in a historico-critical commentary. Only an edition of this kind will be a worthy memorial to the founders of scientific communism, by making a thorough study of the history of the theory and practice of revolutionary Marxism possible for large sections of the proletariat.

The Congress deems it necessary also to publish, in addition to this international edition of all the works of these authors, an edition of selected works by Marx and Engels for the proletariat, which must be taken in hand immediately under the supervision of the Communist International. All such editions must contain, beside Marx and Engels' works which are of international importance, also their works dealing with questions of particular interest for the proletariat of the respective country.

The Congress invites all the Parties adhering to the Communist International, as well as individual members, to supply the Marx-Engels Institute of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union with material bearing on the life and activity of Marx and Engels, thereby giving valuable assistance to the Institute. Only with the active collaboration of all communist parties will it be possible to do justice to such a tre-

mendous task as the publication of the collected works and letters of Marx and Engels, and the preparation of all the necessary material for their scientific biography in connection with the history of socialism and of the labour movement of the 19th century."

Just a few words in justification of this resolution. The discussion on the programme as well as the interesting discussion in the German Commission on Rosa Luxemburg's accumulation theory have shown how necessary a thorough study of Marxism is for the young communist generation. We already are running the risk of having in our midst people who know Luxemburgism and Leninism from beginning to end, but who have not the least notion of the a.b.c. of Marxism. This was shown by the discussions. A few short extracts from the works of Marx and Engels will show you how much there is yet to be learned in the school of revolutionary Marxism.

One of the most difficult questions is the link between the peasantry and the proletariat, the question how to make the dictatorship of the proletariat understandable and acceptable to the peasantry. This question was already raised in its entirety by Marx in the following splendid passage: "If we succeed in moving the peasant masses to a coalition with the proletariat, the proletarian revolution will have obtained a choir without which its solo would become a swan's song in all the peasant nations."

A great deal has been said about the Marxism of 1848 and 1849 being much more revolutionary than the Marxism after the '49 revolution. I have read such statements even in Communist periodicals. It is for this reason that it is essential to show that the teachings of the revolutionary communism of Marx and Engels were elaborated much more distinctly and more thoroughly on the basis of the experience of the revolutionary years 1848—49. Marx's classical definition of the dictatorship of the proletariat appeared after the events of '49,—in 1850.

Unfortunately, the present young generation is unable to study because it has not the necessary groundwork for such study. One could say that the old generation too had no such groundwork to go upon. I will give you a few examples. My old Party friend Mehring published the pre-1849 works of Marx and Engels. But this edition was also far from complete. Suffice it to say that until the publication of the "Communist Manifesto" he was not able to represent German ideology as was done by Marx and Engels who dealt with the most reactionary as well as with the most revolutionary digressions of the bourgeoisie. After considerable trouble I have at last succeeded in getting these manuscripts. We have now photographic facsimiles of all unpublished manuscripts by Engels and Marx. In addition to the manuscript on German ideology, we have a number of manuscripts written by Engels in the beginning of the eighties of the last century, as a supplement of his Anti-Duehring. These manuscripts were hidden in the true sense of the word, for I have ascertained that no one knew of them except Bernstein.

In examining even printed documents, we find that these documents, especially after 1883 were always subject to the censorship of the Party Committee. All of you know that in his introduction to Marx's "Class Struggle in France", Engels expressed his opinion on the possibility of barricade fights after the revolution of 1848—49. Bernstein and all others have always asserted that Engels was an opportunist in his later period. I was lucky enough to find the original, and you will presently see what was struck out in it.

"Does this mean that in future street fighting will not take an important part in our struggle? Not at all. It only means that since 1848 conditions are much less favourable for civilian fighters, and much more favourable for the military. Thus, in future, street fights can only be victorious provided these unfavourable conditions are counter-balanced by something else. Therefore, they will be of less frequent occurrence in the beginning of a great revolution than in its later stages. They will also have to be carried on with larger forces. But if this is the case, these forces will probably prefer, as in the French revolution and on September 4 and October 31, 1870 in Paris, open attack to passive barricade tactics."

The manner in which the case was put to us previously was nothing less than a renunciation of violent revolution, of barricade fighting.

Just one more point. Among Engels' most important work after the death of Marx is the publication of the Second and Third Volumes of "Capital". Only those who had something to do with the manuscripts of Marx and Engels can fully appreciate



the colossal work done by Engels in his old age in addition to his other work for the International. But we suspected long ago that this was by no means all.

And if I tell you that the well-known theories on surplus value are taken from a manuscript which is twice as big, you will understand how many more interesting contributions there are to the question as to who is right, Luxemburg or, let us say Bukharin. To understand theoretically all the laws of capitalist development, it is most important for us to have all the investigations of Marx, who was the first of all the scientific political economists to make an attempt to explain the entire productive process of their society, which they were unable to understand. From this viewpoint, it is most important that we should publish now in this complete edition of Marx and Engels, as a third part, all the manuscripts of Marx without abbreviations and revision, just as Marx gave them himself. For instance, those who have not read or have not understood the book "Herr Vogt", will never be able to understand Marx's role in 1860-61 when he prepared the entire Lassalle movement.

Our main task consists in publishing a complete and technically perfect edition in a couple of thousand copies for all big libraries. But we have also another task before us which is not less important. We can hardly expect that an edition of 50 volumes (and there will be hardly less) is within the reach of everyone. We must make a selection of the works of Marx and Engels for every country. This selection will contain all the most important works of Marx and Engels describing all the phases of their development. The first part, the general part must be in the edition for all countries. Then comes the second part, adapted to the national requirements of the various countries.

## Report of Clara Zetkin on the Intellectual Question

### Clara Zetkin:

The intellectual question stares at us to-day from tens of thousands of hungry eyes. The crisis of the intellectuals is at the same time the crisis of brain work in bourgeois society. It proclaims that bourgeois society can no longer be the protector and developer of its own culture. And thus the intellectual question ceases to be only a question of the intellectual or of bourgeois society and becomes a problem of the proletariat, for it is the historic mission of the proletariat to develop all the forces of production and culture beyond the limits set them by bourgeois society.

The crisis of cultural life and of the intellectual, show that very great tension still exists between the already highly developed classes for the undermining and dissolution of bourgeois society and the process of the creating anew of communist production and culture.

The social contradiction between brain and manual labour, between intellectuals and proletariat, is rooted in the fact that brainwork cannot be supplanted by the machine and that in order to develop brain workers a long period of training is necessary. But the social contradiction which thus arises in the attitude of the intellectuals to the proletariat on the one hand, and the bourgeoisie on the other, becomes negligible when faced by the deciding factor, the contradiction between ownership and serfdom, between capital and labour. The intellectuals live in the society of capitalist commodity production. They are subject to all its laws, and are either transformed from free men of the professions into sellers, just as the small capitalists, or they appear in the market as sellers of their own commodity,—labour power. Marx pointed out in the Communist Manifesto very clearly that the intellectuals, the scientists and the artists are to-day nothing but sellers of goods. And this fact determines the situation where the intellectual in reality is allied with the proletariat through his opposition to capital, and separated by an irreconcilable contradiction from the bourgeoisie by his role as a small seller of goods or a seller of the commodity Labour power. The historical interests of the intellectuals require them to fight alongside the proletariat for the overthrow of bourgeois production and bourgeois class rule.

We see however that this is generally not the case; that in reality the intellectuals feel themselves firmly bound to bourgeois society. This is explained by the historical development of the intel-

In the course of the last few years, I have been able to add considerably to our collection of Marx and Engels' manuscripts, and I shall be very grateful if every member of the Party (and not only the Party) will help us in this work. My request to all Parties is that you send everything (for even what seems uninteresting to you is interesting for us) connected with Marx and Engels to the Marx-Engels Institute through the Communist Party.

And there is one thing which I want to impress particularly on the minds of my dear German comrades: that proletarian science differs from bourgeois science in one respect: bourgeois scientists believe that there is nothing higher than their archaic economic research work. They fail to understand that great and very radical change is taking place in social conditions that the development of the class struggle is producing new viewpoints and is developing new ideas. They fail to understand the best way to come to an understanding of the whole trend of capitalist society is—to bury it once and for all. The case is different with proletarian scientists. When there is quiet and they respites they retire to their rooms and study. And in periods of armed fighting they know perfectly well that if the bourgeoisie is overthrown and the dictatorship of the proletariat is established science will have the best opportunity for development. I wish you luck in your revolutionary work, but there is one thing which you must bear in mind—without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice.

(Loud and prolonged applause.)

The resolution moved by comrade Riasanov was carried unanimously.

lectuals from a particular social class. They are most closely bound up with the development of capitalist production and with the development of bourgeois class society. The bourgeoisie would not have been able to develop production beyond the limits of the feudal system without the most extensive and decisive collaboration of the intellectuals. But the bourgeoisie also require the intellectuals for other purposes. It was only through their aid that it was possible to transform the entire ideological super-structure of feudal society into that of bourgeois society. The bourgeoisie intellectuals were the pioneers and leaders at the head of the reformist and revolutionary movements through which feudal society was transformed into bourgeois society. The importance of the intellectuals for the development of capitalist economy grew with the development of the bourgeoisie through capitalist production and with the consolidation of its dominant position within feudal society, and its rise in revolutionary struggle to a position of the ruling social class. The bourgeoisie rewarded the intellectuals however not according to their historic importance but only in so far as they directly produced surplus value for the bourgeoisie. The intellectuals did not do that but performed other social functions, and were considered unproductive workers, idle parasites. Only after the surplus value exorted by the bourgeoisie to the proletariat had grown to an extraordinary figure did the bourgeoisie permit itself the luxury of throwing crumbs of riches to the unproductive section of the intellectuals who were not directly in the service of production. The intellectuals however, did not draw the necessary conclusion from this arrogant contempt. They considered themselves rather not separated from the bourgeoisie but a part of the bourgeoisie itself. They lived under the hallucination that they as free professional men represented a free science, free art and free culture. None of the intellectuals occupied a position of preference in bourgeois society when measured by the standard of life of the working class and because of this, felt themselves independent of the proletariat. But the class interest of the bourgeoisie in profit accumulation was absolutely incompatible with a position of preference of the brain workers. In accordance with the historical nature of the bourgeoisie as a ruling class, it has always attempted to destroy this position. And it broke it by bringing about equilibrium between the supply of and demand for brain workers. As the intellectuals' situation grew worse an intellectual problem arose. It was a Gorgon head for bourgeois society. It was announced that bourgeois society was no longer able to

intellectuals such a social position as was compatible with their occupation and station. A characteristic mass symptom was the flight of the intellectuals against the higher educational and professional occupation of women. The fear of the appearance of women in the higher professions showed that bourgeois society is no longer able to give the intellectuals an income nor so to arrange family condition that women were assured a living, and on the other hand the intellectuals were afraid, because of the competition, to extend higher education and professional occupations for women.

But another characteristic, mass phenomena appeared as a result of the development of an intellectual problem in bourgeois society. Since about the eighties of the 19th century we see the rise of social reformers of all kinds—socialist clergymen, single taxers, etc.—a sort of epidemic in fact.

Common to all of them is the fact that they suddenly discover the social question, the giant figure of the fighting proletariat beginning a revolutionary movement. Their unstable position between the two great classes of society causes them to appear as preachers of class reconciliation.

They reject the class struggle and of course the revolution and expect the greatest results from the working of reason in the hands of the exploiting bourgeoisie, as well as in the proletariat which begins to express unknown desires. These reformist tendencies manifest themselves in Germany as pulpit socialism. In France we see the bourgeoisie-radical parties decorating themselves more or less with social demands. In England the reformist movement is classically manifested in the Fabian Society, in the so-called constructive socialism, as in large degree represented by the labour party. A straight line of development leads from the social reformers to imperialism. An expression of Cecil Rhodes, the well known British imperialist, is characteristic of imperialism: "imperialism or revolution." That is exactly the situation. When the bourgeois reformists thought they could carry out their reforms without touching profits or affecting the rule of the bourgeoisie, they were compelled to seek an economic basis for the reform in the mother country in the exploitation of the colonial and semi colonial peoples. But their anxiety concerning their own existence also made them champions of imperialism. They found no occupation within the fatherland and the colonies offered them a basis for the assurance of their means of life. Thus we find that imperialism finds its champions among the intellectuals. As protagonists of the imperialist policy they put through the deception and swindling of the masses which enabled the competitive armaments of all so-called civilised nations. They obtained the perilous mass psychosis under which war could be carried on for years. It is a historical nemesis that there is scarcely a class more heavily hit by the effect of world war than the intellectuals.

The bloodily desperate condition of the intellectuals is an international phenomenon. Of course, it is most desperate in many because there the effects of the war on all participating nations are intensified by the effects of the defeat. But nothing is more false than to attribute the misery of the intellectuals to the fate of a defeated nation. The same phenomena are seen in victorious France. There the incomes of the intellectuals have fallen heavily, in a large number of cases under the income of the highly skilled worker.

The same symptoms of the intellectual crisis are present in the richest and greatest country of the world, the United States, of course in a milder form and under other conditions. It appears the weakest in England, although the number of new poor has there also greatly increased. Precisely in England we see the support which capitalist economy receives from the exploitation of colonial countries.

Comrades: The intellectual crisis led to a new phenomenon, to the entrance of the intellectuals into the political arena. At present we are witnessing in all capitalist countries the entrance of the petty-bourgeoisie and the intellectuals into the political arena to an extent hitherto unprecedented. The most political expression of the intellectual population as a mass phenomenon is fascism. In all countries the intellectuals are not only the proponents of fascism but are also the leaders of its ideology. The ideology of fascism is only a combination of imperialist ideals mixed with various national and racial ingredients.

Alongside fascism, the political activity of the intellectuals has also produced another phenomenon, which is also a mass phenomenon. This is bourgeois pacifism. Bourgeois pacifism is just as much a successor of the social reform movement of the intellectuals as fascism with the single difference

that it is not based on the social force of a section of the population in process of pauperisation, but that it is principally supported by certain sections of the bourgeoisie, those outside the big trusts: the smaller manufacturers of finished goods, industrialists, small commercial capital, etc., then by State officials and intellectuals of all sorts.

The effects of the intellectual crisis are of the greatest historical importance for brain work in bourgeois society. Everywhere research is decreasing and this of course impedes the training of intellectuals in universities, engineering schools and other institutions of hired learning.

The bourgeoisie as the ruling class already feels its position so shaken that it to-day places much more confidence in police clubs and machine guns than in professors' achievements in the field of the cultural sciences. As long as the bourgeoisie was a rising, a revolutionary class it strived to set down the sense of its historical existence in an all inclusive world philosophy. To-day we find that bourgeois science is no longer able to afford philosophy higher development. The bourgeoisie has no longer a unified world philosophy through which it could justify its existence as the leader of higher culture.

We see the same development in art. It is no longer the artistic expression of great community feeling and experience, but has become a good capitalist line of business. Art has changed from one of popular education to a method of bourgeois profit exploitation. The artistic employer exploits the artist just as unscrupulously as the factory owner the worker. A characteristic symptom of the decay of art is the fact that pornography in painting, song, poetry and prose is in all countries one of the most prosperous lines of business. The war, the most monumental experience of recent time, is another symptom showing how little art is bound up with life, how little it possesses community feeling. And this tremendous experience led to no creation of art of monumental dimensions. There is only one historical document of really world historical importance, not in the field of art or science but in the field of politics. The only great monument of the war in which an irrefragable community feeling is expressed is the Russian revolution. This speaks volumes, firstly on the decay of bourgeois culture, and then on the will to create culture borne by the communist idea which points from the sorrowful present to the future. Especially characteristic for the decay of bourgeois culture is the disintegration in a field which really should unite science and art: education. Bourgeois society absolutely opposes the putting into practice of the progress made in pedagogy. Education is coloured by the class differences between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The Communist International appears to the suffering intellectuals as the great tribune of the people which represents the interest of all exploited classes with all its energy. The Communist Parties come to the intellectuals with the realisation of the importance which the intellectuals may have as allies of the proletariat in the fight for power. An alliance which we should not over-estimate, for the entire psychological attitude and class situation of the intellectuals tell us that the intellectuals will never be champions of the revolution as they were for the bourgeoisie. But nevertheless we must not under-estimate their alliance. The drawing of large masses of intellectuals as our allies into the fight for power will render impossible all such organisations as the "Technische Nothilfe" (Emergency Technical Aid) in Germany etc. The intellectuals can be of tremendous importance for the disruption of the capitalist State.

But comrades, we as communists must see still further. We must estimate and seek, in the fight for power, to obtain, among the allies of to-day the allies which we will have in the intellectuals after the conquest of power. After the conquest of power it will be of the greatest importance for the further development of production to have a sufficient number of scientific and technical forces at our command. The great role which our assistants from the ranks of the intelligentsia can play for us, the revolutionary proletariat, will be especially manifest in such countries, relatively poor in natural riches, as Germany, or in agrarian and peasant countries blockaded and isolated by surrounding capitalist States. The dissolution of bourgeois ideology and its supplanting by the Communist camp take place only on the level of bourgeois ideology itself. And the communist ideology as the basis, the active and formative force in the ideological superstructure, can only develop, can become the ruling force, can supplant bourgeois ideology only in continual struggle with the latter.



Therefore the great importance we must attach to the development of communist ideology after the conquest of power. The Third International has here a problem to solve which the Second International neglected in the most disgraceful manner. The Second International renounced an extensive discussion with bourgeois ideology. It declared extensive regions of cultural life neutral. Above all it refused to fight it out with bourgeois ideology in the religious field; it declared religion a private matter. This became fatal for it, due to the fact that the bourgeois ideology forced its way into its own ranks through a thousand little crevices and deprived it of the ideological strength which would have become revolutionary activity. It also thus deprived itself of the force which would have attracted those sections of the intellectuals which through their professional or cultural interests had got into sharpest opposition to bourgeois ideology and it finally prevented socialism or communism as a world or social philosophy from becoming a formative force in the life of the individual and the life of the masses.

The collapse however at the outbreak of the war was the capitulation of socialist ideology to bourgeois ideology. And the entire history of reformism since then is only a confirmation of the fact that the Second International has refused to overcome and supplant bourgeois ideology by the communist or socialist ideology of the revolutionary proletariat.

Comrades, here must the clear sighted activity of the Communist International commence. It must not calmly look on at the crisis of cultural life of bourgeois culture with its hands folded on its lap. It must give this crisis a positive, instead of a negative content. In the supplanting of bourgeois by communist ideology the intellectuals will be very valuable allies. This knowledge leads us to begin trying to attract them as allies for the fight for the proletarian revolution. When we attempt to win them over, our first and fundamental rule must be to give all of them communism, as a revolutionary fighting ideology of the proletariat as well as a creative ideology of construction. We must make it clear to them that the communists must at first be destroyers in order to be able to become creative. We must also make ourselves loyal representatives of their demands in the sense that the class rule of the bourgeoisie is not able to relieve the misery of the intellectuals nor to solve the crisis of brain labour. We must decisively reject any caste or guild policy. Such a policy would be sharply contradicted by the spirit of communism which seeks the overcoming of all caste lines.

We must exploit all social contradictions manifested in the camp of the intellectuals, and in their attitude to the national question show them that this question can only be solved as a part of the international revolutionary class struggle.

But every communist must decisively refuse to let the Communist Party be flooded with intellectuals. Only those intellectuals should be admitted who have really proved their mettle, of whom we can be certain that they have already destroyed all the social distinctions in their mind which to-day still separate them from the proletariat. Therefore for the intellectuals to enter the Party, no policy of incense or admiration but also no policy of the horny fist. What is here said of the period before the conquest of power is even more true than the period thereafter.

During the fight for the conquest of power the proletariat will again and again learn what a vacillating ally the intellectual is. We must reckon with that and must not be disappointed if, whenever it seems likely that the class rule of the proletariat will be overthrown, the intellectuals desert the camp of the revolution. The difficult transition period will not reveal the intellectuals as heroes of their ideals, but rather as practical politicians. But comrades, we must in spite all this not forget

### Thirtieth Session

## Report of Comrade Platnitsky on the Organisation Question

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International instructed the Executive Committee to collect all the decisions of the Third and Fourth Congresses which supplement the statutes of the Communist International adopted at the Second Congress. The Orgbureau of the Executive Committee of the Communist International adopted at its Enlarged Session draft statutes which

that a corps of intellectuals will grow up who with clear eyes stand with the communists. These intellectuals will render very valuable services, not only in that they will fight us, but they will help us in our constructive work, they will serve as examples for large numbers of intellectuals.

In the Munich Soviet Republic, at first many intellectuals took part with noisy prominence, but after it had been bloodily crushed they deserted in herds or even went over to the enemy.

In Soviet Russia the dictatorship was the first decisive cutting of the Gordian knot of the intellectual crisis. A large number of the intellectuals came from the petty bourgeoisie. The intellectuals supplied therefore the leader in the fight against tsarism. A number of the intellectuals even went further, they no longer wanted the bourgeois revolution; their goal was the social revolution. The social revolutionary, the mensheviks, were for a time the champions of the social revolution until the point where the social revolution became a reality. The majority of the intellectuals then went over to the camp of the counter-revolution. The intellectuals sabotaged the revolution. They were the agents of the counter-revolution at home and abroad. They forced the Soviet Government to proceed with extreme vigilance against the guilty individuals. It is a matter of course that the period immediately following the conquest of power by the proletariat and the attitude of the proletariat to the intellectuals was strongly affected. Then in addition there was the suspicion that a ruling class could develop out of the intellectuals. This explains why deviations from the correct communist line were to be found in the attitude of the Russian proletariat to the Russian intelligentsia. The intellectual policy of the Soviet Government is conscious of the fact that a caste division between proletariat and intellectuals is uncommunist. It is not its purpose to create new castes but to overcome all castes and classes. The enrolment of the intellectuals in communist work will solve a number of problems. Thus for instance the question of social value and the solution of the problem of hand and brain work.

In my opinion the education policy of the socialist Soviet Republic is wholly correct in so far as it places emphasis on the general raising of the level of popular culture. Popular education is the strong and healthy basis for occupational training. It is the assurance of the fact that there will no longer be between hand and brain workers the difference between the educated and uneducated and, it will also create the basis on which the masses of the people will receive science and art and then turn into the creators of science and art. It will to a large degree contribute to the wiping out of the difference between hand and brain workers.

We know very well that the Union of Socialist Republics must pay a heavy price for the fact that the proletarian dictatorship is here acting as a teacher showing the road to the revolutionary proletariat of other countries. It will first be possible here in the Soviet Republic to do that which bourgeois society with all its culture was not able to achieve, namely to unite the empire of the Galatian and of Caesar in a synthesis to fuse the cultural values of antiquity with the cultural values of Christianity in a higher culture, of the culture of communism. Here will the man of the future grow up who will neither bear the mark of an intellectual type nor that of a proletarian, but will be nothing but a harmonic physically and intellectually developed man.

The most frightful conditions of life, force the intellectuals to ally themselves with the revolutionary proletariat. We as communists have through our realisation of the process of history already obtained in advance the freedom which communist society will realise. We will therefore answer, resolute and to the point, "we will."

Prolonged stormy applause.

the Organisation Commission of the Fifth Congress accepted as a basis. After thorough discussion, the Organisation Commission adopted unanimously with slight amendments the statutes published in the Inprecorr. No. 32. Of the statutes adopted at the Second Congress only three paragraphs have been retained, 2, 3 and 10: To the latter the following addition is made:

country can have more than one Communist Party adhering to the Communist International.

The eighth paragraph of the old statutes on trade unions, and the 14th paragraph on Party representatives in the Executive Committee were eliminated, as the Fourth Congress established new relations between the Comintern and the Profintern: formerly trade unions participated in the Congresses of the Communist International, at present trade unions adhering to the Profintern, participate in Profintern Congresses, while a Committee of Action has been formed as a link between the Comintern and the Profintern.

The Fourth Congress also abolished Party representation in the Executive of the Comintern. In lieu of it, it was decided to elect the Executive Committee at the Congress itself. This decision was put into practice already at the Fourth Congress. The same will be done at the Fifth Congress. Paragraphs, 1, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 22, 23, 33, 34, and 35 of the new statutes have been altered and revised on the basis of the paragraphs of the old statutes. Paragraphs 4, 5, 6, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31 and 32 have been entirely re-drafted. The 21 conditions for the admission of Parties into the Communist International, the theses of the Second Congress on the role of the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution and the organisational decisions of the Third and Fourth Congresses serve as material for the elaboration of the above mentioned 19 paragraphs.

The Organisation Commission resolved to retain the introduction to the old statutes adopted at the Second Congress as understood, notwithstanding the fact that much of the contents of the introduction is more suitable for the Comintern program than for the statutes. But this introduction shows clearly to everyone that the Communist International is the lawful heir of the glorious First International which was under the direct guidance of Marx and Engels. The first part of the introduction consists of extracts from the statutes of the First International, and the other paragraphs, which I will quote later, show that the Second International betrayed the precepts of the First International, and that the Communist International has proved to be the only organisation which continues and is determined to accomplish the work begun by the First International. "The Second International, which was established in 1889 in Paris and undertook to continue the work of the First International, but in 1914, at the beginning of the world slaughter, it collapsed. The Second International perished, undermined by opportunism and overthrown by the treachery of its leaders who went over to the side of the bourgeoisie. The Third Communist International, founded in March 1919 in the capital of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, declared before the whole world its determination to continue and accomplish the task initiated by the International Worker's Association."

I now come to the paragraphs of the new statutes. The first paragraph of the old statutes says: "The New International Worker's Association has been established for the organisation of the joint action of proletarians of all countries working for the aim: the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship and an International Soviet Republic; the complete abolition of classes and the realisation of socialism, which is the first step towards the communist social order."

The Organisation Commission decided that it would be correct if the New International Worker's Association included not the proletarians of various countries, but the Communist Parties of various countries into one proletarian party, there are Communist Parties in all the most important countries of the world, and the Communist International has certainly become a world Communist Party.

At the Second Congress, when the introduction to the old statutes was adopted it was said: "As a matter of fact, the Communist International must be the one world Communist Party whose Sections are the Parties working in every country." It was said: "Then the Communist International must become a world Party"; and during this short period four-fifths of this program has been fulfilled.

In the discussions on comrade Zinoviev's report on the activity and tactics of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, much was said on the capture of the leadership of the working class by the Communist Parties and on the work among the poorer sections of the peasant population. The Organisation Commission deemed it necessary to insert into the statutes at this point that the Communist International "fights for the

capture of the majority of the working class and of large sections of the peasantry for the principles and aims of communism." Thus, the first paragraph of the statutes, which we propose to-day, differs from the formulation of the first paragraph in the old statutes by the above mentioned alterations.

As I have said already, the 4th, 5th, and 6th paragraphs are new paragraphs. I should like to deal with them a little more fully. In the old statutes there was no indication as to who could be a member of the Communist Party and of the Comintern. Every Party endeavoured to settle this question itself and for itself, which led to confusion. The Organisational Commission adopted as it stood the famous formula of the first point of the statutes proposed by comrade Lenin at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party,—that "anyone accepting the programme and statutes of the Communist Party and of the Comintern can be a member of the Party", etc.

As this Congress has agreed on the bolshevisation of Communist Parties, we consider that the foundation of the bolshevisation of the Party is Party nuclei in factories, workshops, etc. Therefore we say in paragraph 5 that: "the basis of Party organisation and its foundation are the nuclei in the various enterprises which all Party members working in these enterprises must join."

The Organisation Commission found it necessary to give a clearer definition of the structure of Party organisations. Therefore the 6th paragraph of the present statutes deals with the construction of the Comintern and of the Communist Parties on the basis of democratic centralism and gives a definition of democratic centralism. The 6th paragraph declares emphatically that the decisions of Party organs must be carried out by all Party members, and that questions may be discussed only prior to the decisions of the Party organs concerned. As many Communist Parties are illegal, it was not enough to state that organs are elected. Therefore, separate provisions were made for these illegal Parties in the last paragraph of the 6th point of the Statutes.

These three points must be inserted into the statutes of all Communist Parties adhering to the Communist International.

In accordance with the old statutes, the Congresses were held annually. The Organisation Commission proposes for this period to convene Congresses once every two years. Point 7 of the statutes also stipulates that it is the business of the Congresses to decide the number of decisive votes for each Section for participation in the Congress, this number depending on the membership of the respective Parties and on the importance of the respective countries. Since the Second Congress many legal Parties have become illegal, which has reduced the membership of these Parties. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to determine at every Congress the number of votes and of mandates for each Party.

A new section on Enlarged Plenums was introduced into the statutes (article 26). The practice of convening an Enlarged Executive Committee of the Comintern attended by representatives of all Parties adhering to the Comintern, was only introduced after the Third Congress. It became evident that these enlarged plenums could get through a larger amount of work than the Congresses. Moreover, it is easier to convene them, and they are sufficiently authoritative being attended by the representatives of all Parties. Plenums are convened for the decision of very urgent questions of the Comintern. In accordance with the statutes, enlarged plenums must be henceforth convened every 6 months.

New arrangements have also been made in connection with the International Control Commission. The Fourth Congress resolved to commission two Sections—the French and the German—to form a Control Commission. But this Commission has not met once during the whole period between the Fourth and the Fifth Congress. But such an organ is very much needed, and therefore we have inserted paragraph 27, which defines the functions of the International Control Commission and suggests that this Commission be elected at the Congress.

According to paragraph 13 of the old statutes, the most important political correspondence between the various Parties adhering to the Comintern must be conducted through the Executive Committee. Exceptions can be made in very urgent cases. But paragraph 30 of the present statutes says: "Sections adhering to the Communist International, especially Sections of adjoining countries, must keep up close organisational relations among each other. Such relations can be established by means



of mutual representation at conferences and congresses, and also by an exchange of leading forces. Copies of the reports of the above mentioned representatives must be sent to the Communist International, and the exchange of representatives must have the sanction of the latter. Moreover, sections such as those of the Balkan and Scandinavian countries, which have common political aims, can be formed with the sanction of the Executive Committee of the Communist International into federations working under the control of the E.C.C.I."

According to paragraph 31 all Sections must make regular contributions to the Communist International. It was resolved at the Fourth Congress that Party Congresses of the Sections can take place only after the world congress. Paragraph 32 of the statutes gives the Sections the right to convene congresses at any time with the sanction of the E.C.C.I. Paragraph 35 declares that communists cannot leave their respective countries without the permission of their Central Committee, and that new arrivals (with the permission of the Central Committee) must be received into the ranks of the Communist Party of the country to which they have come. On the other hand, those who arrive without the permission of the Central Committee of the Party must not be received into the Communist Party of the country to which they have come.

I will now deal with the amendments which were introduced into the Commission. The Italian comrades proposed to eliminate from the first paragraph the words: "that the Communist International fights for the capture of the majority of the working class" and to put instead: "the Communist International fights for the capture of large masses of the working class". Only the Italian comrades voted for this amendment.

They also introduced the following amendment to paragraph 4: "Party members are accepted on individual application to the Party." This amendment was also negated, because if those, who wish to enter the Party, comply with paragraph 4, it does not matter in the least if they come individually or collectively into the Party.

To paragraph 6, which deals with democratic centralism, the Italian comrades proposed an amendment prohibiting the organisation within the Party of a fraction with its own press and organisation. In principle, the organisation commission was not against this amendment. But on the one hand it is not in keeping with this paragraph, and on the other hand—one of the points of the tactical resolution laid before the Fifth Congress, deals with this point very clearly and definitely.

To paragraph 7, which deals with the number of votes to which each Communist Party is entitled at the Congress, the Italian comrades proposed to introduce the following change into the wording: "Every Party receives as many votes at the Congress as it has paying members." For this amendment too only the Italian Comrades voted. If this amendment had been accepted, the following situation could arise at the Congress: Our Estonian comrades for instance would have more representatives and votes at the Congress than Yugo-Slavia, while there is no similarity between the political importance of Yugo-Slavia and Estonia. When the Yugo-Slavian Party was driven underground, it lost a considerable number of its members, but its political importance remained the same.

The Italian comrades proposed to eliminate the whole of article 17 of the said statutes, which deals with the inclusion into the Comintern of Parties and organisations with consultative votes as sympathisers. The Italian comrades defended their proposal by asserting that there are no parties now which could be included into the Comintern as sympathisers. The organisation Commission did not agree with them. A left wing could be formed within the British Labour Party, it could secede from its party and would come very near to the Comintern. The left wing of the Koumingtang Party in China and a number of parties in colonial countries, which cannot be immediately included into the Comintern as full members, might become subsequently very good Communist Parties.

One Italian comrade made a proposal in his own name to the effect that the secretaries of the E.C.C.I. be elected only from the members of the E.C.C.I., and also a second proposal that the representatives of the E.C.C.I. must also be members of the E.C.C.I. Both amendments were negated on the ground that the E.C.C.I. is responsible for its representatives and that it is also responsible to the Congress for its work. Therefore the E.C.C.I. must have the right to elect as secretaries and representatives comrades whom it considers suitable for such posts.

I now come to the last amendment of the Italian comrades,—that no comrade who has been in the Party less than 2 years can be a member of the E.C.C.I. or a member of the Central Committee of any Communist Party. This proposal was also rejected by the Commission, for the Congresses of the Communist Parties are at liberty to decide themselves the duration of adherence to a Communist Party for election to the E.C.C.I. the latter is elected by the Congress, and the paragraph of the statutes is not binding for the Congress, as the statutes can be changed at every Congress. Although the amendments of the Italian comrades were negated, they declared that they would vote for the statutes.

To paragraph 8, which deals with the convocation of an emergency congress, the American delegation proposed the following alteration: "The congress can be convened on the proposal of one third of those present at the last Congress of the Comintern" instead of one half—as said in the statutes. This amendment was rejected.

I propose that these statutes be adopted unanimously. Rossi (Italy) read a declaration to the effect that the Comintern withdrew its amendments and voted for the statutes. He added a few explanatory remarks.

After a brief reply by Comrade Piatnitsky the Statutes were put to the vote and adopted unanimously.

### Comrade Schüller:

The Congress considered the bolshevisation of the party as the central point of discussion. But one of the most important factors in bolshevisation is the reorganisation of the party on the basis of the factory nuclei. This task was still greatly misunderstood after the Third Congress, and even after the Fourth Congress, before the decisions of the January Executive, and the Youth International and the German Party did anything in this respect. Our past experiences and especially the lessons of the revolutionary fights in Germany emphatically show that the reorganisation is a vital necessity for the Party. Without building up the party on factory nuclei we can have no Communist mass parties and no real militant party, and we will have to confront tremendous difficulties to conquer power.

It has often been assumed that it is possible to create the factory nuclei without essentially changing the former party structure. But this is fundamentally incorrect and means simply that the factory nuclei have not been made the basis of party organisation and that the old form of party structure has been retained.

In the Czech Party a wrong conception was developed about the transition to the new form of organisation. The Party believed that during a certain length of time, it was necessary to form fractions in the factories, and that after these had taken root, to transform them gradually into nuclei. Such a form of transition is impossible and unnecessary. Their experience shows that such loose fractions have no vitality, and that the reorganisation can be thoroughly effected only if the nuclei are given all the rights and duties of a party organisation as quickly as possible, i. e. the right of collecting dues, taking in new members, etc.

The resolution of the Executive in January plans to organise the party members who do not work in factories and street nuclei. On this question there were some misunderstandings in the various parties. The street nuclei were sometimes deemed to be an essential necessity; it is often said that the party organisation has two bases (factory nuclei and street nuclei); the street nuclei should consist not only of those comrades who do not work in factories, but also of the unemployed and of those comrades who are the only members in the factories, and finally, the street nuclei are sometimes considered to be the continuation of the former local groups. All this is incorrect and must be rejected. The question of the factory nuclei is an essential question, but the question of the street nuclei is not. It is our aim to develop the form of organisation which the Russian Party now has. In Russia the whole party consists actually and completely of factory nuclei, industrial nuclei, office, nuclei; and the small minority of members not included in these and who could not be organised at their place of work are taken into factory nuclei. In order to accomplish this the parties must strive to improve the social composition of their membership in such a way that they have a strong proletarian majority and to develop and strengthen their factory-nuclei organisation. It is important to use the street nuclei during the transition period in order to include the isolated members, who

not work in factories. But where these street nuclei exist, they are by no means the basis of party organisation, nor may they be placed on a par with the factory nuclei. The only basis of party organisation is the factory nuclei; the street nuclei are only a branch. We must concentrate our entire attention on building the nuclei in the factories and especially in the heavy industry.

Every party must undertake the reorganisation according to a definite plan and during a definite period of time. This must not last too long. From three to five months should be sufficient. At first the Party must concentrate its efforts on industrial districts; in these districts it must start with the most important localities and organisations. The principal work must be accomplished here, without, however, neglecting the work in other districts. In each city the work must begin with the strongest and most industrialised section. The reorganisation must be carried out from the bottom up. The nuclei will be established and affiliated to the local group in their district. The members must be transferred from the residence group to the factory group according to a definite plan, and will then pay dues in the nucleus. When this has been accomplished, the town, district, and local committees will be reconstructed on the basis of the January resolution of the Executive. Of course, the reorganisation will demand specially strenuous activity on the part of the Central Committee of the District Committees, and of other bodies. The Org-Bureau of each party, during the few months, must concentrate most of its energy on this in order to guide the reorganisation, to send out special instructions to the districts, etc. The E.C.C.I. on its part will carefully follow the work of the parties and guide it.

The Organisation Commission of the Congress proposes the well-known January-Resolution of the Executive be ended and submits another resolution, which was unanimously adopted by the Organisation Commission. Whatever is decided at this Congress in connection with the reorganisation, must not merely remain on paper, but must be put into effect with all our energy. No party may show the least signs of weakness, but must regard this reorganisation as its principal task. The sections of the C.I., like the Youth International, the German Party, and the French Party, which have already begun work of reorganisation, have already obtained significant and official results, the party has become more deeply rooted in the masses, it has greatly increased its influence among the workers, the militant character of the organisation has developed, membership has increased, etc. Complete reorganisation will multiply these benefits, and will result in a really proletarian party. When our European Parties and the American Party have been reorganised on the basis of factory nuclei, then we will have the first and one of the most important guarantees of the victory of the proletarian revolution.

Piatnitsky made a closing speech on Statutes of Comintern. It will be published later.

### Comrade Piatnitsky

Reported for the Mandate Commission as follows: Mandates were granted to 41 countries, comprising 336 mandates. The number of consultative votes distributed was as follows: The parties received 62 mandates; 9 organisations received 30; 6 individual comrades were granted and 70 mandates to delegates to the Comintern, making a total of 168 consultative votes.

Reporting on the strength of the communist parties, Comrade Piatnitsky gave the following figures:

### Membership of the Sections of the C. I.

PARTY	IV Congress		V Congress	
	Members	Candidates	Members	Candidates
R.S.F.S.R. . . . .	345,000	83,000	244,466	200,753
Ukraine . . . . .	40,705	12,035	39,147	37,556
White Russia . . . . .	2,890	600	6,433	3,605
Armenia . . . . .	2,244	2,490	1,875	2,442
Azerbaijan . . . . .	6,468	2,579	7,163	10,152
Georgia . . . . .	11,740	11,570	10,964	2,713
Germany . . . . .	266,200		350,000	(approx)

PARTY	IV Congress		V Congress	
	Members	Candidates	Members	Candidates
3. France . . . . .	78,828		50,000	5,000
4. Italy . . . . .	24,638		12,000	
5. Czechoslovakia . . . . .	170,000		130,000	
6. England . . . . .	5,116		3,000	
7. Ireland . . . . .	—		latest report 50	
8. Bulgaria . . . . .	40,000		(approx) illegal	
9. Yugoslavia . . . . .	illegal		illegal	
10. Rumania . . . . .	2,000		2,500	
11. Greece . . . . .	—		2,200	450
12. Turkey . . . . .	300		600	350
13. Poland . . . . .	10,000		5,000	
14. Finland . . . . .	—		illegal	
15. Estonia . . . . .	2,800		3,250	
16. Latvia . . . . .	1,500		1,000	
17. Lithuania . . . . .	—		illegal	
18. Sweden . . . . .	12,143		12,000	
19. Norway . . . . .	48,000		16,000	
	(before the split)		(C. P.)	
20. Denmark . . . . .	1,200		700	
21. Holland . . . . .	2,500		1,700	
22. Belgium . . . . .	517		590	
23. Switzerland . . . . .	5,200		4,000	
24. Austria . . . . .	16,000		—	
25. Hungary . . . . .	—		—	
26. Iceland . . . . .	450		450	
27. Spain . . . . .	5,000		5,000	
28. Portugal . . . . .	1,500		700	
29. United States . . . . .	8,000		(last report) dissolved	
United States . . . . .	Com. Party 12,000		27,000	
			sympathising Workers' Party	
30. Canada . . . . .	4,810		4,000	
31. Australia . . . . .	500		250	
32. South Africa . . . . .	200		400	
33. Mexico . . . . .	1,500		1,000	
34. Argentine . . . . .	3,500		3,500	
35. Chile . . . . .	2,000		2,000	
36. Uruguay . . . . .	2,000		600	
37. Brazil . . . . .	500		350	
	(legal)		(now illegal). The party must be taken into the C.I. by the V Congress	
38. Japan . . . . .	—		illegal	
39. China . . . . .	—		800	
40. Java . . . . .	—		2,000	
41. India . . . . .	—		illegal	
42. Korea . . . . .	—		illegal	
43. Persia . . . . .	1,000		600	
44. Mongolia . . . . .	—		4,000	
			sympath. party	
45. Egypt . . . . .	—		700	
46. Palestine . . . . .	—		100	
Youth International Communist Party of Central America . . . . .	760,000		850,000	
			50 not yet accepted	



## Distribution of Mandates.

Name of country	Decisive vote	Consultative vote	Delegate to Profintern	No. of votes granted by 3rd Congress	Mandates granted at Fifth Congress (Congress)
1. Austria . . . . .	3	—	3	20	—
2. Azerbaidjan . . . . .	2	2	—	10	—
3. America (sympathising) . . . . .	9	—	1	30	—
4. England . . . . .	10	—	—	30	—
5. Argentina . . . . .	1	—	—	5	—
6. Armenia . . . . .	1	1	—	5	—
7. White Russia . . . . .	2	—	—	—	5
8. Belgium . . . . .	1	—	—	20	—
9. Bulgaria . . . . .	3	1	—	30	—
10. Brazil . . . . .	1	—	—	—	5
11. Germany . . . . .	40	—	16	40	—
12. Holland . . . . .	2	1	—	20	—
13. Greece . . . . .	2	1	—	—	5
14. Georgia . . . . .	2	2	2	10	—
15. Denmark . . . . .	2	—	—	10	—
16. Egypt . . . . .	1	—	—	—	5
17. Y. C. I. . . . .	15	9	—	40	—
18. India . . . . .	2	—	—	—	10
19. Spain . . . . .	3	1	—	20	—
20. Italy . . . . .	18	—	7	40	—
21. Canada . . . . .	2	—	—	—	10
22. China . . . . .	2	2	—	—	10
23. Latvia . . . . .	2	—	—	20	—
24. Lithuania . . . . .	2	—	2	10	—
25. Mexico . . . . .	1	—	—	5	—
26. Norway . . . . .	8	—	—	30	—
27. Persia . . . . .	2	—	—	10	—
28. Poland . . . . .	14	3	1	30	—
29. Portugal . . . . .	1	—	—	—	5
30. Russia . . . . .	108	1	26	40	—
31. Rumania . . . . .	4	2	—	20	—
32. Ukraine . . . . .	9	1	—	30	—
33. Finland . . . . .	6	2	—	20	—
34. France . . . . .	22	6	6	40	—
35. Czechoslovakia . . . . .	20	—	3	40	—
36. Switzerland . . . . .	3	—	—	20	—
37. Sweden . . . . .	7	—	—	—	20
38. Yugoslavia . . . . .	5	—	1	30	—
39. Java . . . . .	2	—	—	—	10
40. Japan . . . . .	1	1	2	—	20
41. Esthonia . . . . .	2	1	—	10	—
42. Turkey . . . . .	2	1	—	10	—

The following motions of the Mandate Commission were put to the vote and carried unanimously:

I. The Fifth Congress instructs the E. C. C. I. to carry out a redivision of votes among the countries, and to present same for ratification by the sixth congress.

II. In the stenographic report, the statistical material according to country worked out by the Mandate Commission will be annexed to the report of the Mandate Commission.

<sup>1)</sup> The figures indicated in column 5 refer to the number of votes given at the Fifth Congress to countries which did not have decisive votes at previous congresses

## Thirty First Session Concluding Speech on the National Question

July 8th

Comrade **Kolarov** was in the chair.

The first point on the agenda: concluding speeches on the national question by Comrades Roy and Manuisky. Comrade Roy did not desire to speak; Comrade Manuisky took the floor.

Manuisky then presented the report of the National Colonial Commission, which submitted only one resolution on Central Europe, the other questions being left for the decision of the Enlarged Executive.

### Manuisky:

Some deviations were recorded by the Commission. As at the Second Congress, exaggerated the social movement of the colonies to the detriment of the national movement. He said that the year 1922 was characterised by the decomposition of national movement. We have nevertheless witnessed the success of this movement in Turkey and in Egypt. He goes so far as to say that the national movement had lost its character of a united front of all the classes of an oppressed country, that a new period was beginning, in which the class struggle was becoming transported into the colonies.

Let us grant that in India there has been a real development of the class struggle! But to generalise this to all the colonies would mean to lose sense of reality. In the last year in Tunis and Algiers we had altogether no more than 8 strikes involving 800 workers!

Roy wants to dissociate himself from the old error of Bukharin who recognises only the right of self-determination for the working class, and not for the nationalities. In reality he falls into a similar error, and even in an aggravated form because it is a question of the backward countries. He says, for instance, that in Central Africa the national movement has not even started. Under these conditions, how could he expect that the first stage of the struggle was terminated and that we were now entering upon a period similar to that of European countries where the class struggle exists?

In regard to the colonial question, Roy reflects a nihilism of Rosa Luxemburg. The truth is that a just proposal should be looked for between the social movement and the national movement. Can the right of self-determination be a contradiction to the interest of the revolution? Had Roy the question in this manner, one could discuss with him. To quote but one instance, after the October Revolution the Finns asked for their separation. To grant this separation meant to detach them from the Russian Revolution in order to hand over to a bourgeois State a territory that was won entirely by proletarians. Nevertheless the bolsheviks were in favour of separation, because it was a means of forming an agitation against the bourgeois solution of the national problem. The fact is that no general formulae can be given, concrete cases have to be decided upon according to the situation.

An error of equal gravity was found to have been committed by Kreibich. He thinks that the Czecho-Slovak Party should not permit the separation of the German territory from Czecho-Slovakia, on the plea that there was no separatist movement among the Germans. Even if that be true, the argument was unsound, because bolshevism always insists on the absolute right of nations to dispose of themselves. It was even urged before the Commission that the only thing that could be inscribed in the Czecho-Slovakian program was autonomy. This is nothing but a survival of the old bourgeois democracy.

To make things worse, Kreibich takes a left-wing position in his Party on the national question: the rest of his Party have refused autonomy even to Slovakia. This constitutes a share of nationalism which must be firmly combatted. We must be unanimously opposed by bourgeois opinion, but must have the courage to face it, because it is the only way to win a Communist Party.

The same was done by Varsky, who asserted in the sub-Commission that nowhere in Poland was there a Communist German majority. But we know that in Upper Silesia, in districts like Kattowitz, only 4,000 out of 27,000 voters declared

for Poland! Two-thirds of the population of Upper Silesia, despite of the dictatorship of the armies of the Entente, have declared themselves for Germany. The Polish comrades should have the proper view of the Upper Silesian problem, as well as the case of Lithuania. They have recognised the right of the Russian and Ukrainian populations to unite with the Soviet Republic. They should now take one more step.

In regard to the controversial questions, I propose that a commission be appointed, comprising Bukharin, Manuisky, Manus, Petrov, Treint, Roy, Kaizan, Katayama, Stalin, Parova, and Brique, to prepare definite theses on the national question.

## Report of the Political Commission

### Comrade Pepper (America):

The Commission accepted Comrade Varga's theses as a basis; after a thorough discussion, it made important changes, then it unanimously adopted these theses with their amendments.

There were differences of opinion in only four questions. The German Delegation desired a clearer characterisation of the German situation. We can say that on essential points the theses for Germany are now entirely concrete and correct.

The second question which we discussed was whether we are justified in saying that a unified capitalist world economy no longer exists. After a lengthy discussion we decided that Comrade Varga's conception is correct, but we put the amendment still more clearly: we pointed out at the same time an entirely new counter-tendency manifested by the new imperialist advance of Amerika and Great Britain.

The third and most important question was whether the theses sufficiently expressed the revolutionary perspective. It is the opinion of the whole commission that we would have expressed ourselves a little more concretely on some points than was done in the original draft of the theses.

The last question that we discussed was the question of whether it had taken place since the Third World Congress—had the situation become more acute or had it remained the same. We decided that the decay of capitalist world economy in certain imperialist countries had increased considerably. I wish to state that Comrade Varga's theses served as an excellent basis for the conception on the whole economic world-situation. But we also state that the efforts of certain German comrades contributed in many ways in formulating the theses more concretely and clearly, and especially in presenting the revolutionary perspective more concretely and sharply.

It seems that the well known criticism of Comrade Boris was the only criticism of the theses formulated by Comrade Varga. The German Delegation, and which represent the unanimous opinion of this whole Political Commission, from Comrade Varga and the comrades of the German Delegation. These theses show that there is nothing in common between the conceptions of the German Delegation and of Comrade Boris. Why did I mention this? Many comrades reproach the German comrades with the lack of sense and nonsense of Comrade Boris. We ought not to identify ourselves with the German comrades with this nonsense. The German comrades accept these theses as a basis. Not only did we accept these theses unanimously but they helped to formulate them.

The theses proposed by the political commission on the economic world situation were unanimously accepted by the congress.

### Comrade Bukharin:

The work the Program Commission has accomplished is as follows. The program commission, the special sub-commission, the smaller commissions, have adopted certain amendments. These amendments on the whole are of a secondary nature.

The majority of the delegations were in agreement of our program. But it must still be improved in style. Therefore, I propose that the following resolution be adopted:

All the resolutions adopted in the concluding session will be published in a special number of "Inprecorr".

### Zinoviev:

I deem it necessary to place the following explanation on record.

In my concluding speech, I quoted a passage from the speech of Comrade Zetkin on the Workers' and Peasants' Government. Comrade Zetkin has shown me a corrected copy of her speech and I realise that the uncorrected copy which I used at that time was not complete. After examining the corrected speech I realise that the differences of opinion between Comrade Clara and myself on this point are much less significant than I had imagined.

1. "The Congress adopts the draft prepared by the Program Commission as the basis for the discussion in the sections.

2. An Editing Commission will undertake to edit the draft in accordance with the decisions of the Commission.

3. The Congress determines that a permanent Program Commission be set up by the Executive, which will, as quickly as possible, publish the draft and the necessary explanatory material, to lead the international discussion and to evaluate it.

4. The Congress will assume the task of formulating the final draft."

Thus we propose that two Commissions be formed; one which has, as quickly as possible, to put the draft into the proper style I believe that the Commission can be elected immediately by the Congress. We propose the following as nominees:

The two co-authors of the basic work—Bukharin and Thalheimer, and the representative of the German Delegation.

With regard to the second and more permanent commission, I believe that it should be elected by the Enlarged Executive.

I close in the hope that before the next Congress meets, all the sections will have stated their standpoint in connection with the draft. We now have a basis for consideration and all the sections must carry on a live discussion on this question.

Both of Comrade Bukharin's proposals were unanimously adopted.

### Thälmann (Germany):

Comrades, the Political Commission must adopt a standpoint towards two guiding principles in the question of tactics, one of which was proposed by the Russian Party and the other by Bordiga. The Sub-Commission, which decided to admit the guiding principles in the draft of the Russian Party as a basis for discussion of the question of tactics, declares that on various points, which played a part in the discussion, the theses of the Russian Party closely approached the theses proposed by Bordiga. In estimating the international situation; in the discussion of the problems of power; the principles for the creation of communist parties, the united front, the workers' government; partial demands; the bolshevisation of the parties; and the concrete tasks of the most important sections of the C. I.—in all these, even to the consideration of special questions, there existed a general, harmonious opinion. If, in Comrade Bordiga's theses there were some differences on the question of the rejection of the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government by the Italian Left, we can still say that on various points, especially in the discussion on the tactics of the united front, members holding even the most diverse views, showed themselves in full agreement.

Certain differences may have arisen, but we tried to improve the draft so that there has been an improvement effected at least over the theses on tactics of the Fourth Congress; a clear formulation of the tactics of the united front has been obtained; it was clearly stated that the workers' and peasants' government is an agitational slogan for the dictatorship of the proletariat and that in estimating the role of the communist party in the revolution we are facing important tasks even though in various countries the tempo will not be so rapid as we hope.



**Bordiga:**

The Italian left, although not in agreement with it will vote for Zinoviev's plan because it is an advance on the resolution of the Fourth Congress. Moreover, the reservations are only concerned with certain formulae connected with the united front, the workers' government and a few secondary questions. The condemnation of "ultra-left" digressions does not by any means concern opposition, which have the genuine support of the Italian left.

**Manuilsky:**

The Italian Commission arrived at a unanimous decision on a program of action for the Italian Communist Party. This program was rejected by the Italian left.

The International must issue a declaration to the working class to show it the absolute necessity of fusion between the Communist Party and the pro-Third International fraction of the maximalist party.

The International must also condemn in very strong terms the refusal of the left to enter into the leading organs of the Communist Party. This document will be elaborated and voted upon by the Enlarged Executive. The tendency which calls itself a left tendency is in reality a tendency of abstention from action, and must be criticised as a tendency inimical to the interests of the revolution. According to the unanimous decision of the Commission, the solution of the Italian crisis will depend mainly on the attitude of the left.

I hope that we will arrive not at a submission pro-forma, but at sincere determination to put into practice the resolutions which were passed.

**Ercoli:**

The centre of the Italian Communist Party agrees with the political programme elaborated by the Italian Commission. But it is of the opinion that the capture of the socialist masses should be no longer conducted on the field on which the actions of the International have hitherto taken place, but on the field imposed by the political crisis with which we are faced to-day. The centre also demands that the Congress should vote for the inclusion of the pro-Third Internationalists into the Political Bureau of the Party.

**Comrade Ruth Fischer**

reported for the English Commission. I must state that the English Commission succeeded in drafting a comprehensive resolution on the tactics with regard to the labour government and the practical tasks in connection with the labour party which we hope will not remain a scrap of paper but will be a real beginning in the progress of good work in England. With regard to the work in England itself a separate passage has been inserted in the paragraph dealing with Germany, France, and Czecho-Slovakia. We are all convinced that the British movement is of the greatest importance to the Communist International and we all hope that the attention which the Communist International has given to the British movement will contribute to a revolutionary mass-communist movement commencing in England.

The resolution of the English Commission was carried unanimously.

**Comrade Kolarov:**

The Agrarian Commission unanimously adopted the draft resolution.

We must add only the following amendment to paragraph 5.

"Communist Parties must pay special attention to the organisation of agricultural labourers."

The Russian Commission\*) has also unanimously accepted the draft resolution, with some slight alterations in the wording.

\*) The Presidium of the Congress decided to send Comrade Trotzky the following letter:

Moscow, 28th June 1924.

To Comrade Trotzky:

Dear Comrade,

I enclose herewith a copy of the decision of the World Congress regarding the discussion in the Russian question and

**Stanislavski (Polen):**

In the name of the Polish, French, English, American, Russian, and Balkan Delegations I propose the following solution:

"The Fifth Congress of the Communist International endorses the thesis on the trade union question proposed by Comrade Lozovsky. The Congress transfers these theses for drafting to a commission composed of comrades Lozovsky, Radetsky, Samov, Dunne, Kohn, one English, one Polish, Italian, and one Balkan comrade whom the respective delegations will appoint.

The Fifth Congress transfers to the Enlarged Executive the fourth section of the thesis, questions dealt with at the Vienna Congress of the International Trade-Union Federation with the instruction to examine the question thoroughly and draw up the required instructions."

Then came the following resolution:

"The Fifth Congress of the Communist International declares that the position of comrade Shumacher and other comrades on the trade-union question and their activity in the union movement run contrary to the decisions of the Communist International. The Fifth Congress condemns as harmful to the revolution such a position and activity which leads to abandoning the trade unions by demanding the splitting-up of the union movement in Germany. The Fifth Congress calls upon those who have left the unions to return and generally calls upon the workers to join the unions. The Fifth Congress asserts that the trade unions are the rallying ground of all the exploited which the communists must conduct their educational and pagandist activity. The abandonment of the trade unions implies desertion from the revolution and co-operation with the enemy of the proletariat."

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

**Comrade Thälmann**

reporting on the Youth Commission:

The draft resolution of the Youth Commission especially with the active work of the youth in the army and military organisations, with the practical preparation for

request you, in the name of the Presidium, to let me know whether you consider it necessary to speak on this question in the discussion. You are of course aware of the great interest the question has aroused and still continues to arouse among sections of the Comintern. Whatever position the leading Russian comrades may adopt, it is their duty to place before the Congress in all its aspects, this question, which is so engrossing the attention of the first party of the Comintern.

Please let me have your answer latest by 10 o'clock Monday morning, before the opening of the discussion.

With fraternal greetings

The Presidium

(signed) Kolarov.

To this letter Comrade Trotzky gave the following reply: Moscow, 29th June 1924

To Comrade Kolarov,

Dear Comrade,

I was not able to reply immediately to your letter, as I am at present out of town: This is the only possible means by which I can in so short a time complete the Manifesto which I have to draw up on behalf of the Presidium of the Congress.

As regards the question you address to me in the name of the Presidium, whether I would not like to take part in the debate on the Russian question, I should be glad if you would communicate the following to the Presidium:

The 13th Conference of the C.P.R. has already adopted definite decisions with regard to the questions which form the subject of the discussion in our party. The discussion has been brought to an end. So far as I know, none of the members of the C.P.R. have appealed to the V. Congress with regard to the decisions of the 13th Party Conference. It follows therefore that no one has disputed their validity, which is binding for all party members. Under these circumstances to reopen at the V. World Congress the discussion upon the questions which have already been settled by the 13th Party Conference, would mean to create unnecessary difficulties for the harmonious work of our party.

With fraternal greetings

L. Trotzky.

in connection with civil war, and with the work in connection with the factory nuclei. It became clear that in the course of the Communist Party has not yet realised the necessity of supporting the youth in their stand on anti-militarism. In the Party opposed the youth because the youth wished the Party to live up to the decisions of the World Congress. In Czecho-Slovakia the Party did not realise that the factory-nuclei were indispensable to the proletarian revolution. The youth, on the other hand, who wanted to do factory nuclei work, were left out of the lurch by the older members. The Youth Commission declares that the Congress declare that the parties must show interest in the practical work of the youth—for preparation of an armed uprising.

**Comrade Gebhardt:**

The German delegation makes the following declaration in point 4 of the Trade-Union Resolution:

The German delegation considers the time inopportune for steps which have been suggested. The German delegation is of the opinion that the masses must be widely prepared and enlightened on this question before the success of these steps could be guaranteed. Nevertheless the German delegation agrees to submit this question to the Enlarged Executive, hoping that it will take due consideration of the standpoint of the German delegation and that the proposal will be carried out by the Executive on the basis of real conviction, and not of mere discipline.

The German delegation most categorically repudiates any attempt to interpret this declaration as a sign of divergence of principle in the respective conceptions of the Russian and German Parties in the question of trade unionism and trade-union unity.

The German delegation will fight with all emphasis for communist activity in the trade unions of Germany.

After the declaration by Comrade Gebhardt, the Chairman of the German delegation voted on the draft theses of the Youth Commission. The draft was adopted unanimously.

Bukharin and Thälmann were appointed to deliver greetings to the Third Congress of the R.I.L.U. at its opening session.

**Comrade Zkhakaia:**

On behalf of the Georgian comrades, protested against the actions of the Georgian mensheviks Jordania and Tchaidze that Soviet power in Georgia would be overthrown by an armed intervention. He branded the Georgian mensheviks as the agents of imperialist capital, who were paid by the imperialists for their campaign of vilification against the Soviet Government. He reminded the fact that the Georgian mensheviks had retarded the revolutionary movement, not only during the last seven years, but also throughout the revolutionary struggle, and that they had fled the country, carrying off with them a vast amount of money and valuables, which they are now using for financing anti-bolshevist committee abroad. Zkhakaia concluded by calling to the Communist International and to all comrades to support in this protest.

**Comrade Plestkovsky:**

a draft resolution of the Red Aid Commission. The draft was adopted unanimously.

**Resolution on International Red Aid.**

Already the Fourth Congress took cognisance of the danger to the I.R.A., recognising the timeliness of the under-lying and the need for its further development. Since then the international counter-revolution became stronger and was accompanied by unparalleled acts of violence perpetrated upon the masses of workers and peasants. Proletarian organisations, trade unions, labour papers, clubs, co-operatives, etc. are constantly being persecuted by world capitalism and its hireling-bands of fascists. The most active fighters for the cause of the proletarian revolution are done to death without trial or investigation. They are imprisoned in their thousands, on the least suspicion of sympathy with the revolutionary movement and communism. The I.R.A. is in the majority of cases subjected to the worst of ill treatment and torture. Tortures in the course of the investigation have become of daily occurrence in the most "democratic" bourgeois States. The prison system consists of relentless physical and moral suppression of the individuality of the

prisoner. Bourgeois justice has everywhere been converted into man-hunting, while even the elements of bourgeois justice are trampled under foot.

This unleashing of the counter-revolution contributes to the extermination of "democratic" illusions among the workers and peasants throughout the world, serving the purpose of strengthening the international solidarity of the workers. This growth of international proletarian solidarity finds its best expression in the rapid development and in the successful activity of the International Red Aid (I.R.A.).

The I.R.A. is a non-party organisation, whose task is to render material, moral, and legal support to the imprisoned revolutionary fighters, their families, and children, as well as the families of the fallen fighters. The I.R.A. unites large masses of workers, peasants, and employers, without distinction of party affiliation, all those who suffer from capitalist exploitation and national oppression and who are striving towards the victory of labour over capital.

Thus the I.R.A. in developing its activities, becomes one of the most important weapons of the united front, because by concrete activity it constantly organises new forces for international solidarity, and it draws them directly into the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. Furthermore, the tremendous political significance of the I.R.A. should be pointed out as that of an organisation which works in the rear of the proletarian army, which is always present in the fights of the working class, in the advance as well as in the retreat. The I.R.A. surrounds the revolutionary fighters with an atmosphere of comradely feelings, and thus sustains their courage and their readiness to go on with the fight.

The Fifth Congress of the Comintern takes the further development and strengthening of the I.R.A. as essential, and an appeal is made to all the communist parties and organisations affiliated to the Comintern to comply with the following decision:

1. Communist Parties must in every way support the I.R.A. and promote the forming of organisations, sections, and branches of I.R.A. in their respective countries, while urging their members to take active part and to pledge and pay regular contributions to the I.R.A.

2. The Party press must devote the greatest attention to the agitation and propaganda for aid to revolutionary fighters.

3. The Fifth Congress confirms the decision of the Executive of the Comintern in regard to proclaiming the 18th of March (the day of the Paris Commune) as the day of I.R.A., and calls upon all the Communist Parties and organisations affiliated to the Comintern to do their share for the successful carrying-out of this day and of all other campaign days of the revolutionary movement. Attention to the I.R.A. must be given in all party campaigns.

The Congress, in summing up the work accomplished by the I.R.A., records with particular satisfaction the particularly fruitful activity of the I.R.A. in the Soviet Union.

**Comrade Bukharin**

(On behalf of the Norwegian Commission.)

We know that after the split in the Norwegian Party, the great fights in Norway ended in the total bankruptcy of the Tranmaelites. Among the Tranmael followers a strong current is noticeable for a return to the Comintern. Apart from the leaders of this Party there are fairly sound proletarian elements which will fight their way back to the Comintern in spite of the resistance of their leaders. The social democratic and partly syndicalist orientation of such leaders as Tranmael was unmasked during the great fights which occurred in the Norwegian labour movement. Our Party, notwithstanding the defeats sustained by the movement as a whole, has acquired great prestige. Our Party is young, but it has already shown its ability to hold its own in real fights. The situation is such that we must make use of the present state of affairs to continue along the line of winning sympathies of even greater masses of Norwegian workers.

On behalf of the Russian, German, and French delegation, I submit to the Fifth World Congress the following resolution:

**Resolution on the Norwegian Question.**

The anti-communist attitude of the present leaders of the Norwegian Labour Party has prevented this Party from affiliating with the Communist International. The Fifth Congress is aware of the fact that in this Party there are honest revolu-



tionary proletarian elements who wish and must adhere to the Comintern.

The Fifth World Congress instructs the Executive to do everything possible to win the real proletarian, revolutionary elements of this Party for the Communist International.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

### Comrade Stewart (England):

Under the government of Zaghlou Pasha in Egypt in the month of March of this year, eleven of our communist comrades were arrested and have been held in prison since that date. They are charged under a whole variety of statutes, eleven in number, with criminal intentions to upset the government of Egypt, etc. I will read you only one sentence from the charges:

"They demanded the overthrow of the king as the basis of the constitution and replacing it with a communist society, declaring that the best results will ensue from the realisation of their intentions. With this purpose they formed a party called the 'Egyptian Communist Party, Section of the Communist International', whose conditions they accepted. The party acts according to the instructions of the International which are directed towards overthrowing the king and the confiscation of private property by threats and force. They carried on all forms of propaganda among the workers, small farmers, etc. thus perpetrating crimes punishable according to statutes."

We wish that the Fifth Congress shall endorse the protest of the Egyptian Communist Party, but we desire that very much more than a mere endorsement of that protest should ensue. We desire that the sections of the Communist International shall make the question of the arrest and continued imprisonment of our comrades a real live issue, and that in all of the countries wherever it is possible not only to make petitions, but to stage demonstrations against the Egyptian consulates.

In the name of the Presidium, I ask that the Congress of the Communist International adopt this resolution and take the necessary steps to see that the resolution is carried out throughout the world.

### Comrade Vasilyev (Ukraine):

In the name of the Communist Party of West Ukraine I want to make the following explanations:

"In using the word 'autonomy' in the theses on the national question we used it in the same way as it was used at our suggestion in the final text of the Resolution and by Comrade Manuisky in his report in the name of the Commission.

In regard to autonomy in the sense of negation under the leadership of the Polish Central Committee, we have always been and still are opposed to such an autonomy. There were no differences of opinion in this question between Comrade Manuisky and ourselves; but, the meaning of the resolution was cleared up.

Our policy in the organisation question was clearly stated in the resolution of the Second Party Congress of the Communist Party of Poland and of the Fifth Conference of the Communist Party of West Ukraine. This policy was endorsed by the Commission in the resolutions on the national and colonial question. It is unfortunate that Comrade Manuisky had entirely misrepresented the situation here when he said that in the Commission there was a conflict of opinions between himself and us.

## Concluding Speech by Comrade Zinoviev

Comrades, permit me to quote from an article by the President of the Second International, M. Vandervelde that I came across the other day entitled: "Two Bright Pictures." Vandervelde wrote about the coincidence that in August 1914 the 10th Congress of the Second International had been convened at Vienna, and now after ten years a conference of the Bureau of the International was again held at Vienna. Vandervelde draws attention to two bright pictures. One of them represents the Second International as it was composed in 1914. He points out that this bright picture contains: one chief of State, President Ebert of Germany; three former or present premiers (MacDonald of England, Stauning of Denmark, and Branting of Sweden) and seven ex-members of various governments: Guesde of France, Nemetz of Czechoslovakia, Skaret of Austria, Kautsky of Germany (who was also a minister once), Vandervelde and so on.

Comrade Manuisky blames us because the masses workers and peasants of West Ukraine and of our Communist Party, which is a reflection of the state of mind of the masses desire immediate union with Soviet Ukraine.

We believe that these efforts to release ourselves from a capitalist state as soon as possible and to join the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics are praise-worthy efforts. We are proud of the attitude of our workers and peasants, and hope that all the fraternal parties will be able to develop the same attitude among their masses—then the victory of the world revolution will be certain."

After the reports of the Commissions, the Congress proceeded to the elections:

**Comrade Zinoviev was unanimously elected as chairman of the executive amid stormy applause which lasted for several minutes.**

The newly-elected Executive consists of the following comrades:

Belgium: **Jaquemotte.**  
Bulgaria: **Kolarov;** candidate: Dimitrov.  
China: **Tchen Du Siu.**  
Germany: **Geschke, Schlecht, Rosenberg;** candidates: Robert, Ruth Fischer, Thälmann.  
Great Britain: **Pollit, MacManus;** candidates: Stewart Gallacher.  
Finland and other Border States: **Kausinen;** candidate: Miykevitch.  
France: **Semard, Treint, Sellier;** candidates: Guy Ternaux, Suzanne Giraud, Doriot.  
Holland: **Wynkoop.**  
India: **Roy.**  
Ireland: Candidate: Larkin.  
Italy: **Bordiga, Ercoli;** candidates: Marco, Rienzi, Maffei.  
Japan: **Katayama.**  
Java: **Samanen.**  
Youth International: **Vuyovitch, Schüller, Hessen.**  
Yugoslavia: **Boschkovits, Marinowits;** candidate: Simic.  
Latin America: **Penelon.**  
Norway: **Schefflo;** candidate: Hansen.  
Austria: **Fiala.**  
Poland: **Grzegorzewski;** candidates: Bogutski, Nedobit.  
Rumania: **Christesco.**  
Sweden: **Höglund, Chilbam;** candidate: Samuelson.  
Spain: **Perex, Solis.**  
Czechoslovakia: **Neurath, Smeral, Muna;** candidates: Vercik, Dobrowolny, Sapotocki.  
Ukraine: **Manuisky, Frunze.**  
U.S.S.R.: **Zinoviev, Bukharin, Stalin, Kamenev, Rykov;** candidates: Sokolnikov, Trotsky, Losovsky, Piatnitsky.  
United States: 2 comrades; candidate: Dunne.  
Personal: **Clara Zetkin;** candidate: Bela Kun.  
The seat of the Executive: Moscow.

After the elections, the representatives of a great number of delegations from the workers of Moscow, Leningrad, and other districts, as well as from the peasantry from various regions of the Soviet Union greeted the Congress and presented banners and symbolic gifts to the delegations of the German, French, British, American, Indian, and Italian proletariat.

Amid stormy applause, Comrade Zinoviev mounted the tribune.

Of all these members of the Bureau in 1914, the present Bureau of the International, besides Vandervelde, contains Soukhanov of Czechoslovakia, Sakysow of Bulgaria and Troelstra of Holland. The second bright picture represents the members of the Amsterdam Congress of 1904. Next to Plekhanov we see Katayama who later on became a Japanese Communist and a member of the Executive of the Communist International.

I believe comrades, that in our Communist International we shall rejoice in gazing at different bright pictures of our history from those recalled by Vandervelde. It seems to me that the shortest cut towards becoming a chief of State, a minister of any bourgeois government is through the ranks of the Executive of the Second International.

Comrades, I believe that the sentimental side of our history is not to be underestimated. To-day in this hall I

any old workers from Russia, Germany, and other countries, who have probably passed through many a severe struggle and who could not suppress a tear at to-day's scene of fraternisation. I believe comrades, that these delegations from the various factories, from the various branches of industry, from the various quarters of the city, and from the different centres of the labour movement have met to-day by no mere chance. This is the very nature of the Third International, such as it is and should be. Each scene of fraternisation, and such sentiments, are simply possible in the Second International. It is the Third International as we know it and have longed for and wished it to be. It is the simplest workers—I believe he was even a non-party worker—said to-day (I regret that he spoke in Russian and not everyone understood him): "Follow in the footsteps of Lenin; let us be welded together the bolshevist party so that it now represents a solid block."

I believe, comrades, that at this Congress, regardless of the defects and short-comings it was our desire to become, solidly welded, and I believe we have welded our International. We have been taught by Lenin, and as the interests of the working class require it to be. And this, comrades, I believe to be the most important. It is not a great misfortune if we commit a mistake or another, this we shall put right presently. The experiences of the international labour movement will help us put things right. The most important fact is that our International is not like the Second International, "a body without soul" as Max Adler described it. The most important thing is that we are becoming welded together that we put our soul in to work, and that we speak to the very soul of the fighting working-class, such as it is, with all its weak and strong points. This is the most important fact. And I believe, comrades, that we have honestly exerted our efforts in this direction.

Another of the non-party comrades in a few words summed up the feelings of the Russian working-class. He said: "The Russian workers used to be in a very difficult position; they had to fight with our revolvers against the heaviest guns in the most difficult situations; we now watch with the utmost attention the fighting working class throughout the world. When we find our mates in other countries gaining the upper hand over the bourgeoisie even for a short while, we are overwhelmed with joy. Whenever we see the reverse, the bourgeoisie on top, the Russian workers sink their heads; but we are firmly and profoundly convinced that the final victory will be yours and ours in the long run." Could a simpler and more telling expression be found to voice the real feelings of the international solidarity which animate the Russian working-class, the best elements of the working class throughout the world, than the one that was used by this simple non-party worker? Before I believe, comrades, that these unforgettable moments of our Congress constitute an important part of our work, not so important that the theses, because theses are nothing but sheets of paper if bereft of soul, if we are not solidly welded together, if the sparks of Leninism (as another worker expressed himself here) do not glow in our breasts, if they do not kindle that which is best and most upright and revolutionary in the working class throughout the world.

What are the net results of our Congress? I believe, the most important fact is that we have come together after eighteen months of most ruthless reaction. We all felt that our forces had been broken, that our forces had grown.

Secondly, our work, was the work of crystalising our ideas, particularly the tactics of the united front, coupled with the urging of all opportunist deviations. This is an important achievement. We have cleaned our weapons, and we should keep them clean by applying the tactics of communism in a manner that will ensure the ultimate victory.

Our third achievement was the attitude taken by the Comintern towards the phase of so-called **democratic pacifism.** We had to visualise the international situation, so that we should not rush blindly to the battle-field, so that our leadership, the brain of the working class, might fulfil its historic mission.

Our fourth and most important achievement is the **bolshevisation** of the Party. This was the express slogan of the Fifth World Congress. It is the slogan which is going to be of supreme importance for many months, nay for many years to come. To be sure, we are all possessed of the good-will to become real bolshevist parties, but we are at times affronted with tremendous difficulties. There are such wide differences in the respective traditions of the labour movement in the different countries. Opportunism is still deeply rooted in some sections of our movement: I mean the survivals of bourgeois ideology in our ranks. It is not a question of evil intention, but of the **milieu** in which we live. We live and breathe in the bourgeois society, hence the remnants of bourgeois ideology, that is, of opportunism.

The fifth feature was the **confirmation** of the slogan: "**To the masses**" It seems such a simple thing, it sounds so elementary, nevertheless it is one of the most important of all our past slogans. This slogan we have amplified into the slogan: "Into the masses, on the road towards the bolshevisation of the Party."

This was the most important message of this Congress. We must make this slogan clear to the workers throughout the world. According to statistics, 44% of the delegates to this Congress are simple workers. An International Congress represents the very cream of the Communist Party. And if at this International Communist Congress we have 44% workers (not to speak of the Russian delegation, in which the percentage would prove even higher), it is not quite enough, to be sure, nevertheless it accords a good indication of the political physiognomy of the Comintern. We must raise new leaders from among the masses. No one can lead the international working-class to victory better than the working class itself, than the best elements of the working class from the factories, who must be drawn into the leadership, with all their weaknesses, and for some time even with all their prejudices. We need the iron fist of the real workers as we know them, of the real class which has the historic mission of overthrowing the bourgeoisie.

This is the road on which we will continue our course. We shall insist on having the greatest possible number of real workers installed in the leadership of all the communist parties, so that a fresh breeze might blow into the central organisations of our parties, wherever that be necessary. We are growing in different ways. We grow through the youth organisations, as we have already said at this Congress; we grow through the Trade Union International; we shall now gain new forces through the Peasant's International, which is not a pure communist organisation, but gathers all the revolutionary elements of the peasantry.

Already we can concretely see the way in which we must gather our forces and concentrate them for the final onslaught on the bourgeoisie. We shall now grow through the youth organisations, through the Labour Union International, through the parties of the Far and Near East, through national groups which are still weak in numbers (but are of tremendous importance to us) and through the Peasants' International. These are the channels which converge into the great stream of the victorious proletarian revolution.

I would like to conclude by referring to the **demonstration week** on the 10th anniversary of the outbreak of the World War. We all want to be Leninists. The teaching of Leninism on the subject of war is an important part of the whole doctrine of Leninism. I am not going to give here an exposition of the doctrine, but you know that it has become an international current. It is now our first opportunity to show our earnest desire to become an International Leninist Party. We shall now measure the real successes of our parties by their achievements in the demonstration week against war and in their hostilities against the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary leaders of the social democratic parties. I trust that all of you, on returning to your several homes, will exert your utmost efforts to carry out these demonstrations on an international scale, so that they might be turned into one grand demonstration for the Communist International.



## First Session of the New Executive.

The newly-elected Executive held its first session on June 8 under the chairmanship of Comrade Zinoviev.

The following Vice-Chairmen of the Executive Committee were elected: **Comrade Bukharin, Semard** (France), **Thälmann** (Germany).

The following comrades were elected to the **Presidium**:

U. S. S. R.: **Bukharin, Stalin**; Candidates: Kamenev, Rykov, Sokolnikov.

Great Britain: **MacManus**; Candidate: Pollit.

Germany: **Thälmann, Geschke**; Candidates: Schlecht, Ruth Fischer.

Italy: **Ercoli**; Candidate: Rienzi.

Ukraine: **Manuilski**; Candidate: Frunse.

Czecho-Slovakia: **Smeral**; Candidates: Neurath, Muna.

France: **Semard**; Candidate: Treint.

Scandinavia: **Scheffo**; Candidate: Hansen.

Personal: **Kuusinen, Katayama, Kolarov, Vuyovita** (Youth); Candidates: Zetkin, Roy, Hessen (Youth), two American comrades.

The following were elected to the **Org-Bureau of the Executive Committee**.

1. **Kuusinen**; 2. **Geschke**; 3. **Piatniski**; 4. **Humbert-Droz**; 5. **Treint**; 6. **Schüller**; 7. **Bogucki**; 8. a **Czech comrade**; 9. **Dunne**; 10. an **Italian comrade**; 11. **Mitzkevitch-Kapsukas**; 12. **MacManus**; 13. **Bela Kun**; 14. **Petrov**.

The following were elected to the **Secretariat**.

1. **Kuusinen**; 2. **Geschke**; 3. **Piatniski**; 4. **Treint**; 5. **Humbert-Droz**; Candidates: **MacManus, Neurath**.

The **Budget-Commission** consist of the following: **Piatniski, Kuusinen, Geschke, Treint**, 1 **Czech comrade**, 1 **Italian comrade**, 1 **British comrade** (**MacManus**); Candidate: **Bogucki**.

The following will make up the **International Women's Secretariat**:

Central Secretary: **Clara Zetkin**; Secretaries: **Nikolayeva** (Russia); 1 German comrade, appointed by the Central Committee of the German Party; 1 comrade from the Eastern Division of the Women's Secretariat; **Hertha Sturm**.

The following were elected as editors of the **„Communist International“**:

**Kuusinen, Martinov and Petrov**.

The Secretariat was instructed to choose one more comrade and submit his name to the Presidium as candidate for editor.

The **Enlarged Executive** will hold its first meeting on June 12, with the following agenda:

1. Resolution on Leninism.
2. Question of the Organisation Commission.
  - a) Work of the Communist Parties Among the Workers.
  - b) Illegal Work.
  - c) Work in the Army.
  - d) International Red Aid.
  - e) Sport International.
3. The Revolutionary Movement in the East.
4. The Negro Question.
5. Propaganda Theses.
6. Resolution on Fascism.
7. Resolution on the Question of the Intellectuals.
8. Japanese Question.
9. Polish Question.
10. Bulgarian Question.
11. Austrian Question.
12. Swedish Question.
13. Italian Question.
14. Souvarine Question.
15. Trade-Union Question.
16. Swedish Party Congress.
18. Co-operative Question.

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## POLITICS

### General Dawes — the International Open-Shopper.

By **Harrison George** (Chicago).

European capitalism continues steadily to decline. Markets for products of American capitalism grow steadily fewer and smaller. Enormous stocks of manufactured goods have met a non-absorbent wall of no orders and are backing up, closing the factories and mills, throwing unemployed workers on to the labour market in rapidly rising hundreds of thousands.

More than this, four and a half billion dollars of gold, about half the gold of the entire world, lies in the vaults of the American banks, only partly in use, the balance an unassimilable surplus vainly seeking profitable investment. Concentration of commodities and of gold in one country, America, is bringing the crisis in world capitalism into the lives of the American workers. The backwash of the war has reached America.

The tendency is not new, but the degree of its operation is increasing. American capitalists, taking advantage of the growing army of unemployed, are beginning again to attack the wage and hour scale of the employed workers. A new Open Shop Drive is begun concurrently with the drive to establish in the seats of power — Coolidge, the strike-breaker, and Dawes, the Fascist champion of the "Open Shop".

The capitalist government of the United States has watched with increasing apprehension the machinations of European capitalist cliques. First, there were England and France demanding cancellation of the eleven milliard dollar war debts to America — refusing to discuss revision of the Versailles treaty which was wrecking America's market) until war debts were also discussed. By smooth work Morgan broke England away from France by obtaining a funding of the English debt. Gradually France is being forced to yield to American capitalism. The events of the London Conference are proving the dominant role of Yankee capital.

French occupation of the Ruhr and the forced marriage of German coal and French iron had created a menace to America's basis of power — steel production. Germany as a market for both England and America was being destroyed, the mark was sinking into its grave and the German masses were beginning to rebel. American capitalism has been forced to intervene in the reparations problem, forced to end its "splendid isolation". These are the reasons behind the famous "Dawes' Report". These are the reasons why America is actively participating at the London Conference. This is the reason for the selection of Owen D. Young to supervise the German slave pen.

### What Dawes Means.

Last October, when the German events gave the Allied brigands a fright, Secretary Hughes, answering Lord Curzon, voiced American apprehension by saying that "present conditions make it imperative that a suitable financial plan be evolved to prevent economic disaster in Europe, the consequences of which would be world-wide". And, later, he recommended to work out such a plan, "men of highest authority in finance, of experience and prestige and honour". Thus selected as the spokesman of American capitalism, there appears upon the stage the fabled savior of imperialist capitalism — Brigadier General Charles G. Dawes.

The famous Experts' Report on Reparations and its most prominent author — Dawes, have been heralded with such a fanfare of capitalist press publicity as the solution and the saviour, that it is a duty as well as a pleasure to point out the characteristics of both Dawes and his report.

### An Old Trick for Dawes.

Part of the Dawes' plan is, in effect, for American gold to be taken to Germany and held in a bank as a basis for German finance, remaining all the time under Allied — that is to say, American — control. It shall be German money but, at the same time, shall belong to American bankers...

From the loud cheers that greeted this item in the Dawes' Report, one might think it a new idea. But General Dawes had experience years ago — to be exact, 12 years ago.