

with the bourgeoisie, and that the bureaucracy can no longer do exactly what it pleases. Not to be carried too far left by this move, the leaders, on the advice of the social democrats, are fastening themselves on to the social reformists in the trade unions and in the II. International. In May the Alliance had a conference with the Amsterdam Trade Unions Alliance, at which an "entente" was formed which has no other purpose than to make a close coalition with the Amsterdam trades union movement, under the protection of the II. International. In the present stage of the Co-operative International it is a matter of nothing else than that the Social Democrats declare the co-operative societies their domain, and that in the future we shall have in the co-operative societies the avowed instruments of the II. International and of the Amsterdamers, with the object of still more strongly fettering the masses, to hold them back from the revolutionary struggle.

The number of communis delegates in the Ghent Congress will, except for the Russian members, be very small. That is because the class-conscious elements have troubled themselves much too little about the co-operative societies and have allowed the bureaucracy there to do exactly what they wanted. But even there where there is a strong proletarian opposition in the societies, as in Germany, the bureaucracy prevented a democratic delegation system being carried out. Therefore the Congress will not be the meeting of democratically chosen delegates, which expresses the will of the 40 millions, but a gathering of the bureaucrats of the societies of all countries, who go to Ghent without the direct commission of the masses of the society.

In Ghent the question will be put as to whether the international society bureaucracy is to work still further in the future as the enemy of the working class but it will not be decided. To the complaints which are now being framed by the society leaders in England and Germany, that the communists within the societies wish to realise aims foreign to their purpose, which would stand in the way of the societies aims, and which would be un-co-operative, the millions of the communist masses organised in the alliance answer: The co-operative societies cannot attain their end, apart from the struggle of the working class, but only on the ground of the winning of political power by the proletariat. Therefore it is necessary to further and support the co-operative movement both directly and indirectly, by winning the co-operatives for the revolutionary class war. Should the Ghent congress decide against this proletarian policy, then the word is given anew to the proletarian and revolutionary members of the society at last to take the leadership into their own hands.

APPEALS

Appeal of the C. C. of the C. P. of Bulgaria.

To the Communist Parties and Labour Organisations of all Countries.

Comrades!

With the exception of a handful of capitalists, bankers, profiteers and exploiters, the whole of the Bulgarian people is against the Fascist regime in Bulgaria, on account of its anti-popular home and foreign policy, and of the awful repressions and bloody crimes, which it has committed during its time of government. This fact is easily comprehensible when one considers that the deeds of violence and terror of the Fascist government of Zankov have surpassed the cruelties of all known reactionary governments, even the terrible crimes of Italian Fascism; that in Bulgaria all rights and freedom have been taken from the workers and peasants, their organisations (parties, trade unions, co-operative societies) have been dissolved, and every attempt to set them up again, is sharply persecuted; that their newspapers are forbidden, no meetings are allowed, the prisons are crammed with workers and peasants, whose only

fault is that they are opposed to the unbearable Fascist regime; that all the opponents of the Zankov government are in danger of their lives, there are incessant political murders, organised by the secret terrorist organisations of the government, and finally, under the protection of this monstrous terror, the bands of capitalists, bankers and profiteers have subjected the whole working population to ruthless plundering.

The general discontent with the government of Zankov is also increased, because it is carrying on the old nationalist and conquering policy of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie against Macedonia and Thrace, and thereby forces the people into new and bloody conflicts with neighbouring states, and in particular with Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey.

The patience of the masses is exhausted. A general movement for the liquidation of the Fascist regime is arising throughout the country. This regime must inevitably fall, as it is impossible for a whole population to be lastingly bound by a band of capitalists, bankers and profiteers, who seized the power in the June coup d'état.

For this reason the Zankov government, completely isolated in the country, is making the greatest efforts to maintain the support of the neighbouring states and of the great capitalistic powers, by representing the present popular movement against the Fascist regime, as a "bolshieviat revolution" prepared by "agents of Moscow", although it is well known to everybody in the country that at the present moment it is not a question of a communist revolution, but of a popular, anti-fascist, mass movement, in which not only workers and peasants, but also the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria, a section of the reserve officers, and a great section of the intellectuals are taking part. At the same time the Zankov government is preparing new massacres of the followers of the Communist Party and of the Peasants' Union, which they justify to the outside world as the necessity for destroying the "bolshieviat revolution" alleged to be prepared for the autumn.

The C. C. of the C. P. of Bulgaria is in possession of exact information on the government's new plan, in accordance with which the latter intends to make mass arrests of communists and of left peasants' unioners in the second half of August, and of whom they will kill a part, as they did after the suppression of the rising of September with the thousands of fighters of the Communist Party — workers, peasants and intellectuals.

The C. C. of the C. P. B. considers it its duty to warn the proletariat, all defenders of popular rights, and all fighters against Fascism in the Balkans, in Europe and in all countries, and to tell them that the growing popular movement against the bloody Zankov government is exclusively directed towards the removal of the cruel Fascist regime, and the creation of a real popular government in the country, and that the lies which the Bulgarian government is spreading, according to which it is a "bolshieviat revolution" prepared by Moscow, only try to justify the new crimes of blood, which the government is preparing for the masses of the people, to maintain its shaking, threatened power.

The C. C. of the C. P. B. is sending an urgent appeal to all Communist Parties as well as to all workers' and peasants' organisations and to all sincere friends of the rights of the people, to raise their voices against the new deeds of murder and violence prepared by the Zankov government against the working masses in Bulgaria, and to use all their influence to prevent this new crime of Bulgarian Fascism.

The working population of Bulgaria needs the most intensive support of international proletariat to free itself from unprecedented slavery and complete extinction. It is convinced that this cry of the martyrs for support will find a hearing, and that with the help of this support, it will soon succeed in breaking the chain of barbaric Fascism, and win again for ever the lost freedom.

Sofia, August 1924.

The Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Bulgaria.

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Theses and Resolutions

adopted by the V. World Congress of the Communist International.

Resolution on the Report of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Fifth Congress of the Comintern approves of the activity as a whole of the Executive since the Fourth Congress and asserts that the correct and firm leadership of the Executive has contributed substantially to the report that the Communist International, during this stage of the fiercest attacks of capitalism, struggling for its dictatorship has proceeded almost everywhere with increased strength.

In this period of one and a half years the capitalist offensive, which was earlier began, has developed in most capitalist countries into fierce attacks upon the revolutionary proletariat, as in Bulgaria, Italy, Germany, Poland, Finland, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Spain, Japan, India. Even in France repressive measures against workers on strike and many imprisonments of Communists have been the order of the day. In Czechoslovakia special laws have been passed against communists, in Austria blood was shed by fascists, and in Norway brutal attacks by police upon the workers on strike were made while class injustice was intensified and a White Guard organisation formed.

These violent attacks have inflicted severe losses on the Communist movement, and the manner in which the movement has met these attacks was not altogether free from serious mistakes and back-slidings. In no country, however, was the power of capitalism able to break up the organisation of the Communist leaders of the fight, or to cut their connection with the masses. Not even in Italy has the systematic uprooting of communism been able to achieve the slightest damage to its influence on the masses—not even in the parliamentary elections. In Bulgaria, after the most bloody defeat of the workers and peasants, defending themselves under communist leadership, the masses again rallied to the banner of the Communist Party in the elections. After the heavy defeat of the revolutionary movement in Germany, and a consequent dangerous internal crisis, and after the most brutal persecution from without, the Communist Party of Germany quickly rallied its ranks, set up a firm leadership, and by brilliant victory at the elections, polling three and three-quarter million votes demonstrated that its revolutionary force is greater

and stronger than ever before. The electoral victories in France and Czechoslovakia similarly showed the decisive growth of the influence of communism on the masses.

During these great class conflicts, the Executive Committee undertook a series of steps destined to be of decisive importance for the correct direction of the Sections of the Communist International. The Congress points out in particular the following cases:

1. The Executive rightly indicated at the International conferences in Essen and Frankfurt in the early months of 1923, the practical tasks of intensified revolutionary preparation arising from the occupation of the Ruhr, for the European proletariat and particularly for the Communist Parties of Germany and France.

2. When the rising revolutionary mass movement in August indicated the approach of a favourable situation for a decisive struggle for power in Germany, the Executive demanded that the German Party immediately set itself to the unqualified task of conquering power, assured it of all possible help to this end, and mobilised a number of other sections to support the German Revolution to the utmost of their power.

3. After the surrender in October, which took place almost without a struggle—circumstances rendered possible by the treachery of the social-democratic leaders and by the failure of the Communist Party leadership—it became both proper and necessary for the Executive—its attention being called by the strong leftist movement in the German Party, and supported by the German leftists—severely to criticise the opportunistic attitude of the German Party leadership, and above all, the distortion of the united front shown in the Saxon government experiment. The Executive determined to profit from its political and organisational consequences by an increased and relentless fight against opportunism. It had also become aware of the strong Left tendency in the German Party, by which it was supported in its decision.

4. The Executive—in accord with the views of the leftists—had already criticised the opportunist digressions at the Leipzig Conference of the German Communist Party;

made two attempts before October to get a representative of the left opposition included in the new Central Committee that was formed at Leipzig. Then the Executive brought about a union of the left and centre for the campaign against the right wing and gave over the leadership to this bloc, trusting that the masses of the party membership would confirm and approve of this elimination of the politically bankrupt right wing, and so it happened. This resolute action of the Executive helped the German Communist Party to recover, as well as to overcome the menace of a split arising from the dissensions within the Party, and it also arrested the growth of the German Party crisis which threatened to become a crisis of the whole International, on account of the panic which overtook the unsteady elements in some places.

Credit is due, not only to the German Party, but also to the German working class for demanding the ruthless expulsion of vacillating "right" deviations and finding strength enough within itself, with the support of the International, to overcome such severe crises without losing heart or weakening its fighting capacity.

5. In view of the danger of the "right" aberrations, which were revealed in the application of the tactics of the united front to a far larger extent than could be anticipated, the Executive rejected as an opportunistic interpretation any attempt to construe the tactics of the united front into anything more than a revolutionary method of agitation and mobilisation of the masses, as well as any attempt to make use of the slogan of "workers' and peasants' government" — not for the agitation in favour of the proletarian dictatorship, but for a coalition with the bourgeois democracy. At the same time the Executive, as against the opportunistic view of the social democracy stated the true character of social democracy as the left wing of the bourgeoisie.

6. On the basis of the lessons of the events in Germany, in relation to the development of Party organisation, the Executive has taken energetic steps, in Germany and elsewhere, for the building up of factory nuclei as the foundation of Party organisation. These steps have already led in some countries to a noteworthy beginning of the factory nucleus system.

7. With regard to the short-sighted opportunistic passivity, which showed itself in the conduct of the Bulgarian Party leadership with regard to the June coup d'Etat, the Executive sought immediately, by open and very penetrating criticism of the Party to set it on the path of serious preparation for armed struggle in the event of the prospective attack of the counter-revolution. The Party leadership failed to reach a sufficient understanding with the point of view of the Executive. Only after the experience of defeat was this point of view taken into its platform, and on its basis the Party again closed its ranks, and freed itself from the decaying right wing.

8. Similarly, through the influence of the Executive and with the support of the majority of the Central Committee, the French Party was freed from the greater part of ballast of opportunism and became consolidated. This process in Norway took place under the greatest difficulties, for there the Communists were a badly organised minority in the opportunist "Labour Party" and had to carry on difficult fractional struggles, and were thereby continually exposed to the danger of being expelled by the ruthless anti-communist party leadership. After the opposition of the opportunistic leaders of the Norwegian Labour Party to the resolutions of the Comintern had developed into open systematic sabotage, and after the October defeat in Germany, into blatant desertion, it was impossible to allow this behaviour in the name of communism to continue.

Although it had been foreseen that if the Norwegian Labour Party broke with the Communist International, a section of the excellent proletarians who comprised it would follow the anti-communist leaders, it was necessary for the Executive, to demand of the Party Congress of the Norwegian Labour Party a clear decision for or against loyal co-operation with the International. This led to a split in the Party, and to the foundation of an independent Communist Party in Norway. Within six months the Norwegian Communist Party by its activities, and above all as a result of the influential part it played in all the great workers' struggles, had won for itself the prestige of a revolutionary mass party.

The echo of the attack made by the Norwegian opportunist of the Comintern, which made itself heard in Sweden, and

helped to produce a panic-stricken mood, was definitely quietened by the Executive.

9. The Polish party, with the active sympathy of the Executive of the Comintern, at its Second Party Congress in 1923 adopted the decisions which provided for the bolshevisation of the Party and consolidated its power and influence. But the Party Centre did not show true revolutionary activity in a practical form, and this was especially the case in the period of the mass struggles in October. In the Russian and German discussions the Polish Central Committee supported the Right Wing and tried to suppress all Left criticism in its own ranks.

10. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has not been free from opportunistic mistakes and deviations, and these manifested themselves, for instance, in the way in which the decisions of the Fourth Congress with regard to the united front and the labour government were interpreted. Opportunistic vacillation and confusion were also shown in the attitude of the Party to the Russian and German questions. It is true that the Party has shown increased activity in some fields, but it has not understood how to unite parliamentary action with mass action of the proletariat or how to prepare the proletariat for the ensuing revolutionary battle in a suitable way.

11. The mass movements in Hungary show the situation to be ripe for the organising and building up of a Communist Party. It is for the Hungarian communists to carry out the organising of the Party, and for the furtherance of this work to speed the liquidation of the factional fights.

12. Deviations to the right were also shown by the English and the American Parties in their treatment of the united front and of the relation of the Communist Party to the leaders of the Labour Party (especially with regard to the so-called "Third Party"). The Executive was able to persuade the English and American comrades of the necessity for a revision of their conceptions; and new and peculiar problems of the revolutionary movement in Anglo-Saxon countries were several times very thoroughly considered by the Executive and will in the future demand still more attention from leaders of the International.

13. The Executive has also assisted in overcoming deviations of the extreme left. In the section of the Italian Party there is still a tendency to an un-Marxian dogmatism which refuses on principle to take account of the concrete fact of the situation when laying down the rules of tactics, and in this way greatly hinders the capacity of the Party for active manoeuvring. If the Italian Communist Party wishes to solve the problem of becoming a mass party, it must take its stand uncompromisingly on the foundation of the tactics laid down by the Comintern. The union of the Third Internationalists with the Italian Communist Party has solved the problem which had been the cause of differences of opinion between the Italian Party and the Comintern. But even after this solution the Italian Party must go forward actively in dealing with the question of capturing those masses of workers who today still belong to the Italian Social Democratic Party.

14. In trade union work progress towards the unification and intensification of the work was made in several countries (above all in France) and some striking successes were won (for instance in England.) In Germany last winter the result of the anti-trade union temper of reformist and bureaucratic trade union leaders was to produce a wholesale exit of communists and sympathisers from the trade unions. As the German Communist Party did not put up a determined opposition to this dangerous error for some time, the Executive intervened against it in a most decided way and later on the decisions of the Frankfurt Party Congress, energetically supported by the Executive, ordered an end to be made of this catastrophic action and produced a total change of feeling in favour of revolutionary work among the trade unions.

15. Propaganda among the semi-proletarian and petty bourgeois middle classes was constantly encouraged among the different sections in order that the ground be cut away from fascism. The German Communist Party has had striking success in this direction, but the Italian Party has had no success at all.

16. The Executive has impressed upon all sections the great importance of a steady and active agitation towards winning over the masses of the poorer peasantry for

support of the proletarian revolution. With this end in view the slogan of the "workers' government" has been extended and made into the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government. The formation of the Peasants' International, which has shown itself to be a most important development, occurred with the active help of the Executive. There is no doubt that the development of an independent communist agrarian policy must be one of the most important tasks for almost all sections of the International in the near future.

17. On the National Question the Executive has had frequent occasion to remind many sections for whom this question is one of the greatest importance, that they were not carrying out the decisions of the Second Congress satisfactorily. One of the fundamental principles of Leninism is, that communists should resolutely and constantly fight for self-determination, rights of nationalities (secession and the formation of independent states), and this has not been applied by all the sections of the Communist International in the desired manner.

18. In addition to winning the support of the peasant masses and of the oppressed national minorities, the Executive Committee, in its instructions, always emphasised the necessity for winning over the revolutionary movements for emancipation of the colonial peoples and for all peoples of the East so as to make them the allies of the revolutionary proletariat of the capitalist countries. This requires not only the extension of the direct contact between the Executive and the national emancipation movements of the Orient, but also very close contact between the sections in the imperialist countries with the colonies of those countries, and, in the first place, a constant struggle against the imperialist colonial policy of the bourgeoisie in every country. In this respect the activities are everywhere still very weak.

As regards work in the army, the Executive, in conjunction with the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International, has been able to perform some excellent practical preparatory work (the Ruhr). However, the sections which had to fight against the strongest imperialist powers, too often forgot the teachings of Lenin regarding the fight against war, the Executive had frequently to call them to order.

This line of Leninist strategy, tactics and organisation pursued by the Executive, this and no other must continue to serve as the guiding line of the Communist International in the future. The bolshevisation of the Communist Party is to be pursued in exact accordance with the behest of Lenin, attention

being paid, however, to the concrete circumstances in each country. The beginnings of this process already exist. The party leaderships, the organisations, and the individual members in many sections are beginning to display increasing, if slowly increasing activity. In case after case the best parties are beginning to show the revolutionary initiative, the determined energy and striking capacity, the shrewd ability to manoeuvre, and the conscious iron discipline of a truly revolutionary fighting organisation.

These beginnings of bolshevisation must be steadily, systematically, indefatigably and consciously developed. The consciousness of the Communist Party and the Communist International as the leaders of the revolution must become part of the blood of every party organisation and of every individual member, so that out of this consciousness of a communist fighting fraternity, may arise the iron faith which will fuse the party into a bolshevik organisation and the International into a victorious World Party.

At present much is still wanting for the development of the Communist International into a real world party. The Congress reminds the sections of their duty to assist collectively with greater energy than hitherto, by sharing in the solution of international questions, by regular information and correspondence, and by their members in the Executive in the further development of the leadership of the Communist International.

Experience has proved that it is often impossible to hold the national party congresses after the world Congress. The Congress, therefore, abolishes the resolution which provides for this. All national party congresses (ordinary or extraordinary) can, however, be held only in agreement with the Executive Committee.

The Congress instructs the Executive to demand a more iron discipline than hitherto from every section and from every party leader. The Congress notes that in certain cases the Executive, in order to spare the prestige of well deserving comrades, did not act sufficiently energetically against breaches of discipline. The Congress empowers the Executive to act with greater decision, if it becomes necessary, and not to shrink from adopting even the most extreme measures.

In every country and in every Communist organisation we must work to fuse the Communist International into a single world party.

With this resolution, the Communist International goes forward to the next stage of the struggle, richer in the will to fight and confident of victory.

Theses on Tactics.

I. The International Situation.

1. The "Democratic-Pacifist" Period.

The chief thing that strikes the eye when reviewing the present international political situation, is the beginning of the democratic-pacifist period. That such a zig-zag should take place in bourgeois policy, was foretold by the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International, which met at the moment when the world bourgeois reaction had reached its culminating point.

The changes observed in the policy of the world bourgeoisie, are marked by the following features.

In Great Britain a so-called Labour Government, headed by leaders of the Second International, is in power.

In France the so-called Left Bloc was victorious at the elections, and the French "Socialist" party, one of the leading parties of the Second International, is in fact a component part of the present French Government.

In Germany we see, in connection with the propaganda for the Experts' Report, a tendency to strengthen the democratic-pacifist illusions and the Social Democrats who are the spokesmen of this policy. At the same time a contrary move is noticeable. The ruling class, with the help of the S. D. P., is pursuing a more determined and brutal policy of exploitation than hitherto employed in suppressing the Revolution, with the purpose of carrying out the dictates of the Experts' Report. The German Social Democrats will continue to remain in one form or another one of the ruling parties of the German bourgeoisie exercising the bourgeois dictatorship against the proletariat.

In America the victory of that wing of imperialism which is condescending to intervene in European affairs and prepared to lend its support to the Experts' Report. The growing movement in favour of the formation of a "Third" (petty-bourgeois) party also indicates some change towards a "democratic-pacifist" period in America politics.

In Japan the "democratic" bourgeoisie are coming into power and preparing to replace the feudal party at the helm of government. The recent change of government in Japan is also interpreted as a triumph of "democracy" and pacifism.

In Denmark a so-called Labour Government is in power, headed by one of the most prominent representatives of the Second International. In Belgium the forthcoming elections may bring into power the leaders of the Belgian "Labour Party", who, in fact, are already ministers without portfolios. In Austria the Social Democrats obtained a great victory at the elections and are in fact one of the bulwarks of the bourgeois régime. In Czechoslovakia, in Poland, and partially in the Balkan countries, we find a reflection of the change which is taking place in Britain, France, etc.

2. The True Meaning of the Transitional Phase of International Policy.

As a matter of fact, what is now taking place, is far from representing the beginning of the stabilization of the capitalist "order" on the basis of "democracy" and peace. This is preparing for a fresh betrayal of the people.

The "democratic-pacifist" era has not and cannot lead to a reduction of armaments; on the contrary the increase of arma-

ments is continuing at a furious pace. The intrigues of secret diplomacy are flourishing as never before. The "democrats" of each country are preparing more or less openly for irreconcilable imperialist conflicts with their "fraternal" democracies.

The fundamental conflict between the Japanese and American imperialism has by no means been liquidated. The moving force of the conflict, which must inevitably lead to a fresh outbreak of imperialist war, is continuing to function automatically.

The conflict of interests between the imperialist cliques of England and France is not avoided by the victory of "democracy" in one or the other country. Only the form is changed, not the essence.

The plunder of the colonies and the semi-colonial countries remains without question the prerequisite for "progress" and "civilisation".

3. The Experts' Report.

The Experts' Report is the bible of contemporary "pacifism" and "democracy". As a matter of fact this document is directed towards the spoliation of the workers of Germany and is an attempt on the part of the imperialists and the states which yesterday were still hostile toward each other, to arrange their differences at the expense of the workers of the other countries.

The occupation of the Ruhr did not lead to the results desired by the French imperialists. The attempt at more open plundering failed. The only way of "solving" the reparations problem, is a more protracted plundering, covered by democratic pacifist phrases.

This is the course being adopted at present by the Entente imperialists supported by the more interested sections of the German bourgeoisie and the German Social Democrats who serve it.

The Experts' Report with which all the international counter-revolutionary Social Democrats have associated themselves, is in fact the most shameful document of the present day. It is a blow not only on the cheek of the workers of Germany, but of the workers of a number of other countries. The support given to the Experts' Report by the Social Democrats is just as much a betrayal of the workers as the support given to the imperialist war, since the Experts' Report is a continuation of the war by other means.

The Experts' Report, even if it is begun to be put into force, will by no means put an end to the conflict of interests between the various groups of world imperialism. The more it is attempted to reconcile these interests on paper, with all the greater force will they shortly burst forth again.

4. International Situation of the U. S. S. R.

The only country which is consistently conducting a policy of peace is the U. S. S. R., the first country where the Proletarian Revolution has triumphed and, surrounded by bourgeois enemies on all sides, is firmly and heroically conducting a policy of real peace. Recently the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has succeeded in consolidating its international position to a large extent. The increased well-being within the country, the support received from all that is honest and conscientious among the international working class, and the bold policy of the Soviet Government, have resulted in the de jure recognition of the U. S. S. R. by certain of the larger states of the world.

However, it is by no means impossible that even this "democratic-pacifist" era may be marked by new difficulties for the first proletarian state. There can be no doubt that the renegade sections of the "democrats" are working to create an international united front against the U. S. S. R., in order to force the victorious proletarian revolution to its knees and compel it to pay old debts in a manner analogous with the decisions of the experts, or by some other way.

It should not be forgotten that the "democratic-pacifist" period is one of the last phases of capitalism. The more difficult and contradictory becomes the position of the international bourgeoisie, the more probable will a direct military adventure against the U. S. S. R. become. The participation of the Social Democrats in the present "democratic" governments only increases the danger of such military adventure. The counter-revolutionary leaders of the Social Democrats in their boundless hatred of the Soviet power, will be more ready to embark on the military adventure than certain confessed bourgeois.

The working class of the whole world must be prepared against the international reaction now working under the sign

of "democratic" pacifism succeeding in creating such a united front against the U. S. S. R. The workers of the world will obstinately fight against such a policy of the ruling classes and will exert every effort to break this chain before it is fastened.

5. The International Policy of the Social Democrats.

The counter-revolutionary international Social Democrats who were obliged in August 1914 to cast aside the mask and openly support the bourgeoisies of "their" countries, are now continuing the same foreign policy, but in a more concealed form. In every country where the Social Democrats represent any considerable force, they are, as formerly, supporting their "own" imperialists masking this treacherous policy by phrases concerning democracy and pacifism. There is not the least doubt that these very leaders of the Social Democrats are now the most enthusiastic advocates of the policy (a) of the Experts' Report and (b) of preparing for the fresh isolation of the U. S. S. R. and even of a direct attack of international capitalism against the first Proletarian Revolution in the world. At the same time, in order to overcome the watchfulness of the masses, the leaders of the counter-revolutionary Social Democrats at their congresses utter lying phrases regarding the fight against war by means of a general strike.

A division of labor has been effected between the political leaders of the bourgeoisie and the leaders of the counter-revolutionary Social Democrats. The former create the illusion of a "democratic-pacifist" period, the latter exert every effort in order to increase the "democratic-pacifist" illusion among the masses.

II. Problem of Power.

1. The Decay of the Bourgeois Order.

The bourgeois order has preserved its existence for a period in spite of the fact that the world imperialist war towards its end called forth a tremendous outburst of elemental discontent among the masses. The forces of the international proletariat proved to be insufficiently organized; the parties of the international proletarian revolution proved to be not strong enough, and as a result the victory of the proletarian revolution at the end of imperialist war proved impossible. But the first world imperialist war nevertheless produced a profound upheaval. The consequences of the war will be felt for many years to come; its social and political consequences have still not fully revealed themselves.

The imperialist peace treaties and the occupation of the Ruhr were only a continuation of the war with other weapons; they were not a means of healing the wounds caused by the war. The consequences of the war have not been overcome, nor can they ever be by capitalist methods.

In any case, as a result of the first imperialist world war the capitalist system was torn and shaken both economically and politically. The symptoms of the instability of capitalism still sometimes reveal themselves much more clearly in the political field than in the economic. The rapid and continuous changes of governments in a number of countries is one of these symptoms. In many countries the problem of power is more acute than it ever was before the imperialist war.

2. The Two Lines of Policy of the World Bourgeoisie.

During the last few years since the imperialist war and partly prior to the war, two lines of policy of the world bourgeoisie have defined themselves: an openly reactionary policy and a democratic reformist policy. The best embodiment of the first policy was Poincaré, and of the second, Lloyd George.

During the Period of the ripening of the revolutionary crises, the appearance of these two lines of policy among the leaders of the world bourgeoisie was not accidental. When the earth begins to tremble under one's feet, when the "normal" times of the stable domination of the bourgeoisie are passing, when revolutionary events are moving on, and the power of the proletarian revolution is growing, two systems of policy are bound to appear among the leaders of the ruling class, one endeavouring to break up and crush the revolutionary forces before they grow strong, by an open and brutal attack upon them, and the other, a more far-sighted policy endeavouring by means of small concessions, by buying the leaders of the working class, in a word, by the methods of "democracy", pacifism and reformism to alter the relation of forces in favour of the bourgeoisie.

3. International Social Democracy and Fascism.

The bourgeoisie can no longer rule by the old methods. This is one of the slow but sure symptoms of the growth of the proletarian revolution. The bourgeoisie resorts to the services now of Fascism, now of social democracy. In either case the bourgeoisie strives to mask the capitalist character of its domination and to lend it more or less "popular" features. Both the Fascists (the first period of the power of Mussolini) and the Social Democrats (the first period of the power of Noske) when it is necessary, will serve the bourgeoisie as open fighting organizations, as armed bands, crushing the rising proletarian army of revolution.

And then with the help of Fascism and the Social Democrats, the bourgeoisie strives to secure a regrouping of social forces by creating the appearance of the political victory of the petty bourgeoisie and the participation of the "people" in the exercise of power.

4. The Social Democrats as the "Third" Party of the Bourgeoisie.

There has been a great deal of confusion in America over the question of the formation of a "third" party of the bourgeoisie (petty bourgeoisie). In Europe the Social Democratic parties have already become in a certain sense the "third" party of the bourgeoisie. This is especially striking in England, where in addition to the two classic bourgeois parties, which former peacefully relieved each other in the government, the so-called "Labour Party" has now become the governing factor, in actuality carrying on a policy very similar to that of a wing of the bourgeoisie. There is no doubt that the social-traitor leaders of the English Labour Party will for a number of years to come, in one combination or another, participate in this government of the English bourgeoisie.

It is also entirely clear that both in France and in England and in a number of other countries, the leaders of the Second International are playing the role of eligible bourgeois ministers, appearing in fact as the leaders of one of the groups of the "democratic" bourgeoisie.

The Social Democrats from the right wing of the labour movement are in a process of transition and more and more becoming converted into the left wing of the bourgeoisie, and, in places, into a wing of Fascism. This is the reason that it is historically incorrect to speak of the "victory of Fascism over Social Democracy." Fascism and Social Democracy (in so far as their leaders are concerned) are the right and left hands of modern capitalism, which has been somewhat weakened by the first imperialist war and in the first battles of the workers against capitalism.

5. The Social Democrats again in Power.

During and directly after the war, leaders of the Second International come into power in a number of countries. The drawing of the Social Democrats into participation in the government during the war may be attributed to the practical necessity of the imperialists to oppose the leaders of the workers of "their" country to the labour movement of other countries.

At the present time the bourgeoisie in a number of countries is drawing the Social Democrats a second time into the government. This is occurring in a "normal" period, when there is no war. It is precisely for this reason that this particular phenomenon demonstrates the instability of bourgeois dominion, and is proof of the fact that the present "normalcy" actually represents an extremely abnormal situation for the bourgeoisie, and is pregnant with severe crises for the bourgeoisie.

6. Between the White Terror and the "Labour Government".

Notwithstanding the apparent consolidation of the bourgeois regime, its power is waning more and more in actual fact. The situation is extremely unstable. Parliamentarism has outlived its time. It has become harder and harder for the bourgeoisie to establish any kind of a firm structure on the ruins of parliamentarism. The recent election results in France and Germany brought out this fact clearly. In the bourgeois parliaments of the two main countries of Europe, in Paris and Berlin, there is no secure majority. The bourgeoisie will inevitably jump from side to side, having recourse now to white terror, and now to the so-called labour government.

It is not improbable that in the next few years we shall see labour governments put in power not in one or two, but

in a large number of countries. These labour governments are the product of the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat for power, and vacillations in the ranks of the bourgeoisie, which are inevitable at the present period. Objectively these so-called Labour governments may appear a step forward in the sense that they demonstrate the progressive stages of the break up of the bourgeois structure, and the unsoundness of the policy of the ruling classes. In this sense even the present counter-revolutionary (liberal, as a matter of fact) government of MacDonald represents, objectively speaking, a historical progress.

But the task of the real supporters of the proletarian revolution, must consist not in extolling such a "labour" government, but in preparing the proletarian army for an unremitting revolutionary struggle, and with this army to try to leap quickly over the phase of the so-called labour government to the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

7. The Objective Meaning and the Probable Prospects of the Democratic-Pacifist Era.

The objective meaning of the present unique democratic-pacifist period is that the bourgeoisie can no longer rule according to its old methods. This period reflects the instability of the capitalist structure, its decline, which is beginning to develop in a descending curve.

The present democratic pacifist governments, like governments of an analogical type which may still be formed, not only are incapable of carrying on a really democratic and peaceful policy, but on the contrary, will themselves become Fascistic very quickly. The class struggle will by no means be stifled, but will burn all the more brightly in the bounds of these "democratic" and "pacifist" states. The change of regimes (Democracy-Fascism-Democracy) will all the more certainly undermine the foundations of tottering capitalism. From each such change the masses of the people and especially the proletarian masses, will emerge all the richer in political experience, and seasoned with a greater readiness for the struggle, while the bourgeoisie and its servants, the Social Democratic leaders, will emerge with weakened forces, demoralized, and with no confidence left in themselves or in their policy.

And thus the forces of the proletarian revolution will grow — until its decisive victory.

III. The Problem of Forming Mass Communist Parties as the Main Task of the Work of the Comintern.

1. Capitalist Crisis and the Subjective Factor.

The principal reason why the world bourgeoisie was not defeated at the end of the imperialist world-war, was that the most important countries had no Communist Parties capable of organizing revolution, or leading into the fight the masses which were rising against those who had caused the war. It is owing to this fact that capitalism was given a respite.

In a situation when capitalism can no longer exist without the support of Social Democracy, when the capitalist crisis became hopeless although prolonged, "the subjective factor, namely the stage of the organization of the proletarian ranks and of their communist vanguards (parties) becomes the most important question of the entire historical epoch."

2. The Slogan "To the Masses".

The slogan "To the masses" brought forward by the Third World Congress of the Comintern, remains in force. The successes achieved by the Comintern in the past are only initial successes. The various sections have as yet no definite successes to record. And if we do not go forward in the matter of capturing the masses, it can easily happen that we retrogress.

3. Capture of the Majority.

The formulae of the Third and Fourth Congresses on the question of the capture of the majority are:

"To obtain communist influence within the majority of the working class, and to bring the most effective sections of this class into the struggle."

It is more probable today than at the time of the Third Congress that the greatest crisis can arise as a result of a big

strike arising in the Colonies, a new war or even a parliamentary crisis. But just because of this, the "subjective" factor gains in importance; that is to say, the degree of self-consciousness, of the will to fight and of the organization of the workers under their advance guard.

To win over the majority of the workers in America and Europe, still remains the cardinal task of the Comintern.

In the Colonial and semi-colonial countries the tasks of the Comintern are of two-fold nature: 1. To create the kernel of a Communist Party which represents the interests of the proletariat as a whole, and 2. to support with all means at its disposal the nationalist-revolutionary movement which is fighting imperialism. It should become the leader in this movement and from within this nationalist tendency bring into prominence and advance social tendencies.

The Fifth World Congress of the Comintern endorses the formulae of the Third and Fourth Congresses. It declares erroneous the tendencies of the right which demands a preliminary capture of a statistical majority of the toiling masses and imagines that there cannot be a question of revolutionary actions until communists have not captured 99% of all the workers. The Fifth Congress of the Comintern further declares that the mistakes of the "ultra-left" are as reprehensible as the mistakes of the right. For the left which has not yet grasped the full meaning of the historic slogan "To the masses", has sometimes the notion that Communist Parties can be Parties of a proletarian terrorist minority, and imagines that Communist Parties, which have not become mass parties, can lead the masses into the fight at any time.

IV. Fundamental Pre-requisites of the Formation of Communist Mass Parties.

The pre-requisites are:

1. Organizational Construction of the Party on the Basis of Factory and Workshop Party Nuclei.

A considerable number of European Communist Parties are still faithful to the old Social-Democratic principles of organizational Party construction. This is a relic of the times when the Party was considered as an auxiliary electoral machine. There cannot be a question of forming a bonafide Communist mass Party, if this Party is not based on its Party nuclei in the industrial enterprises (this applies also to the youth and women's organizations etc.)

This is not an organizational, but a political question. No Communist Party will be able to lead into action the most important sections of the proletariat and to conquer the bourgeoisie, until it has established a firm basis in the factories and workshops, and until every big enterprise has become a stronghold of the Communist Party.

2. Correct Communist Work within Trade Unions.

The formation of communist fractions within trade unions (legally, if possible, and illegally, if it cannot be done otherwise) by deeds and not by words, systematic and stubborn fight for the capture of trade unions—a fight whose answer to the provocation of Social Democratic leaders to split and leave the trade unions is increased activity for trade union unity within them. This is one of the most important pre-requisites of the formation of bona-fide communist mass parties.

3. Linking up Factory and Workshop Committees.

The factory and workshop committees' movement is a new form for the organization of the proletariat. It will give rise to new truly revolutionary trade unions, and under favourable conditions will form the nucleus for the formation of Soviets of workers' deputies. A Communist Party which has not yet succeeded in initiating a bona-fide factory and workshop committees' movement in its country and in gaining influence in the already existing factory and workshop committees, cannot be considered as a bona-fide communist mass Party.

A correct solution of the tasks indicated in these points is the basic and elementary pre-requisite of the formation of communist mass Parties. Without a correct solution of these points, one cannot talk seriously about the other questions of communist policy.

4. Correct Policy of the Party with Relation to the Peasantry.

Not only in agrarian and semi-agrarian countries, but even in typically industrial States, the crisis which followed the first imperialist war made considerable sections of the peasantry more receptive for the revolutionary ideas of the communists than prior to the war. The proletariat cannot be victorious and cannot establish a Soviet social order, unless it carries on for years a policy of neutralization of some sections of the peasantry and of complete capture of the other sections. Communist Parties wishing to become revolutionary mass parties cannot rest content with theses on the peasant question, but must be able to establish a link between the proletarian vanguard and the most developed section of the peasantry.

This link (it has an enormous importance in connection with the armies which are mainly recruited among the peasantry) can be best formed through the workers. It is essential to make it a rule that revolutionary factory and workshop workers among whom communists have influence, send big delegations to the villages and collect the necessary means for it etc. Lack of attention to the peasant question is a relic of Social Democracy in our ranks. Communist Parties, which fail to carry on revolutionary work among the peasantry, cannot be considered as communist mass parties intent on the conquest of power. Of course our Parties must remain Marxist Workers' Parties, and not workers and peasants parties.

5. Correct Policy on the National Question.

As a result of the re-distribution of the world after the first imperialist war, in a number of countries oppression of nationalities increased and irredentism came into being. In a number of European countries, and especially in colonies and semi-colonies there is a great accumulation of inflammable material capable of exploding bourgeois domination. A correct communist policy in the national question, as laid down in the theses of the Second World Congress, is one of the most important component parts of the policy of the capture of the masses and of preparation of a victorious revolution. Nihilism in the national question, which is still a characteristic of some Communist Parties, is the weakest point of these parties which will never be able to do justice to their historic task, if they persist in this error.

V. Between Two Waves of the Proletarian Revolution.

In the course of the last 12 months there were signs of a new revolutionary wave. The beginning of revolutionary actions in Germany, the risings in Bulgaria and Poland and the big economic strikes in a number of countries go to prove that new revolutionary events are brewing.

It is generally the case that the period between two revolutions, or between two waves of revolutionary enthusiasm are pregnant with opportunistic deviations to the right, and with "ultra-left" deviations in the direction of passivity under the cloak of radical phraseology.

VI. Merciless Suppression of All Opportunist Right Wing Tendencies.

The period between the Fourth and Fifth congresses of the Communist International has shown that the opportunist tendencies in the communist movement are stronger than could have been expected. A number of the sections of the Comintern had grown out of the very heart of the Second International and had brought with them unsuppressed remnants of social democratic traditions. Right deviations can acquire a dangerous character, as our communist parties become mass organizations.

It became quite clear at the Fifth Congress that the representatives of right tendencies in the labour movements of some of the more important countries had attempted to completely distort the tactics of the united front and the workers and peasants' government into a close political alliance and organical coalition "of all workers' parties", or, in other words, a political union of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties. While the Communist International understood the tactics of the united front to have as its chief aim, the fight against the counter-revolutionary leaders of the Social Democratic Party and to free the Social Democratic workers from the influence of these traitors of the working class, the represent-

tatives of the right deviations tried to interpret them to mean a political union with the Social Democrats.

The Fifth Congress of the Communist International resolutely condemns this petty-bourgeois tendency; it categorically repudiates any distortion of the tactics of the united front which has appeared in some of the sections of the Communist International and states that it will fight mercilessly against this policy, which radically contradicts and rejects the decisions of the Comintern.

VII. Explanation of "Ultra-Left" Tendencies.

Bolshevism took form as a movement of the revolutionary proletariat of Russia, not only in the fight against menshevism and centrism, but also against "ultra-left" tendencies. As an international bolshevik organization, the Comintern has carried on a merciless struggle against right opportunism and "ultra-left" deviations that are often merely the reverse side of opportunism.

During the period from the Fourth to the Fifth Congresses these "ultra-left" tendencies were very dangerous in the question of action in reactionary trade unions. The movement that communists should leave the trade unions, is very dangerous for communism. If the Communist International does not again and again repel these tendencies that play into the hands of the counter-revolutionary Social Democratic leaders, who wish to rid themselves of Communists in the trade unions, then we shall never create really bolshevik parties.

"Ultra-left" tendencies have found expression also in the repudiation of tactical manoeuvres, as a matter of "principle". Often they signify that their followers do not understand the meaning of the tactics of the united front, that they do not desire to realize them in practice or they attempt to apply the tactics of the united front only to the economic and not the political field. Manoeuvring of course does not mean absence of principle.

In its merciless fight against opportunist tendencies the Communist International must explain systematically the falsity and danger of these "ultra-left" tendencies as being antagonistic to the idea of creating mass communist Parties capable of manoeuvring.

VIII. The Tactics of the United Front.

Despite great opportunistic errors and distortions of the tactics of the united front on the part of the rights, distortions that nearly caused the degeneration of some communist parties, despite all this, the application of these tactics on the whole has brought undoubted benefit and helped us to advance along the road to the conversion of several of our Comintern sections into mass parties.

At a time when the Communist Parties in a number of important countries are still in the minority, when the Social Democrats, as a result of certain historical circumstances, still lead a considerable mass of the proletariat, when the capitalist offensive is still continuing in one form or another, when the working class has not mobilized its forces sufficiently even to organize serious defensive fights, the tactics of the united front was and is correct and essential.

The experiences of the application of the united front, to which the Communist International has often referred, remain; it has been shown that a mere formula is not enough, that the parties of the Comintern in the present period very often do not know how to apply the tactics of the united front to themselves, with the result that these tactics run the danger of being transformed from a revolutionary bolshevik method to opportunist tactics and the source of revisionism.

The tactics of the united front is only a method for agitation and the revolutionary mobilization of the proletariat for considerable periods. All attempts to interpret these tactics as a political coalition with counter-revolutionary Social-Democratic parties, are opportunism and are repudiated by the Communist International.

The revolutionary united-front tactics can be correctly applied only when each section, fully conscious of the dangers of those tactics and without adopting mechanical formulae, sets itself the concrete tasks of winning the masses in the fight for definite daily aims and daily demands, organizing them, gathering them round itself, always keeping the revolution in

view, and with the aim of leading the decisive sections of the proletariat in the fights and thereby facilitating the passing over to the attack against the bourgeoisie.

1. It is necessary to apply the tactics of the united front from below at all times and places with the exception, perhaps, of those rare moments of decisive armed fighting, when the revolutionary worker communists have to conduct an armed fight against those groups of workers who, because of their ignorance, fight against us. But even in these exceptional cases, it is necessary to realize unity from below with those workmen who for the time being, still do not follow the lead of the communists. The experiences of the Russian revolution and the revolutionary warfare in Germany have shown that this is possible.

2. Unity from below in the rank and file and at the same time negotiations with the leaders—this is the method that will have to be applied very often in those countries where the Social Democrats are still strong. The negotiations between the leaders must not bind the communist independence of the party. The fundamental part of the tactics of the united front in these countries must be unity from below. All forms of negotiations (such as open letters, etc.) with the official organs of the Social Democrats must not become stereotyped. The most important thing is to prepare the minds of the workers including the Social Democratic workers and incline them towards a general action to fight, and only then turn to the official organs of the Social Democrats, so as to confront them with the fact that certain definite sentiments are present in the minds of the working class, and if they refuse to support the struggle, to disclose the treacherous character of the Social Democratic leaders.

Naturally the communist parties must strictly retain their independence and communist identity right through the negotiations. In order to do this all negotiations must be carried on openly and the communists must do all in their power to pin the workers' attention to these negotiations.

3. United front tactics from above alone is a method that the Communist International categorically and resolutely repudiates.

The application of the tactics of the united front from below has the greatest importance. It is unity that is realized under the leadership of the Communist Party between communist workers and Social Democratic and non-party workers in factories, mills, factory committees, trade unions on a small or large scale, in whole professions, in the whole country, etc.

Naturally, the application of the tactics of the united front may and must take different forms according to the concrete conditions prevailing in each given country during each definite period. If these tactics are applied wholesale and according to a stereotyped formula, they will lose all their significance and will even have the opposite effect.

In concretely defining the tactical methods, all the circumstances of the given country, its structure, the condition of the section, must be taken into consideration; stress must be laid upon the mobilization of the masses from below, the creation of fighting organs, and contact with the important sections of the toiling masses (proletariat, peasants and agricultural proletariat), which are to be drawn into the struggles.

The tactics of the united front were and remain a revolutionary and not a peaceful-evolutionary method. The tactics of the united front were and remain the tactics of revolutionary, strategical manoeuvring of the communist vanguard surrounded by enemies, in its fight with the treacherous leaders of the counter-revolutionary Social Democrats, and is not by any means an alliance with these leaders. The tactics of the united front were and remain the tactics of attracting the workers in the Social Democratic parties and the better part of the non-party workmen to our side and are not the tactics of lowering our aims to a level comprehensible to the latter.

IX. Workers' and Peasants' Government.

The slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' Government was understood and is now understood by the Comintern as a conclusion drawn from the tactics of the united front as outlined above. In the period just expired, the opportunist elements in the Comintern have endeavoured to distort the watchword of the Workers' and Peasants' Government by interpreting it as a government "within the frame work of bourgeois democracy", as a political alliance with Social Democracy.

The V World Congress of the Comintern categorically rejects such an interpretation. The watchword of the Workers' and Peasants' Government for the Comintern is translation into the

language of revolution, into the language of the masses of the watchword of "dictatorship of the proletariat." The formula Workers' and Peasants' Government has never been and can be nothing else than a method of agitation and mobilizing the masses for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois and the establishment of a soviet system. In order to create a real Labour or Workers' and Peasants' Government, it is necessary first of all to overthrow the bourgeoisie which today holds power everywhere except in the U.S.S.R. To overthrow the bourgeoisie and render it harmless, to suppress its resistance and create the real conditions precedent for a genuine Workers' and Peasants' Government, is possible only by means of the armed revolt of the proletariat, which leads the better part of the peasantry, — by the victory of the toilers in the civil war.

The watchword of the Workers' and Peasants' Government was and is the formula most easily understood by the masses of the toilers.

At the present time, when the leaders of the Social Democracy are more and more engaged in governmental combinations with the bourgeoisie and the broad masses of the workers which still follow the Social Democracy are sinking deeper into poverty, a situation is created which in many instances is particularly favourable for carrying out our tactics of the united front and the workers' and peasants' government.

If at the very period when official Social Democracy is becoming the "Third" government party of the bourgeoisie and the leaders of the Social Democracy are more and more becoming absorbed in governmental combinations with the bourgeoisie, we Communists by ably conducting the tactics of the united front will win over to our side considerable sections of the rank and file Social Democrats in the economic and subsequently in the political fight, we will by that have created the most favourable conditions for liquidating the influence of the counter-revolutionary Social Democracy and bring over to the side of communism considerable sections of the toilers.

The watchword of the Workers' and Peasants' Government under no circumstances must be understood by communists to mean parliamentary understandings and combinations with Social Democracy. On the contrary, parliamentary activity of the communists also must be directed towards exposing the counter-revolutionary role of Social Democracy and towards explaining to the widest sections of the toilers the false treacherous character of the so-called "labour governments" set up by the bourgeoisie which in fact are but liberal bourgeois governments.

X. Partial Demands.

The tactics of the Communist International not only do not exclude, but on the contrary pre-suppose the inclusion of partial demands in our agitation and policy. In this, however, it is necessary to have the following three circumstances in view.

a) The partial demands we put forward, must have practical bearing on life, i. e. they must be such as will be supported by the wide masses of the toilers.

b) These demands must proceed along the line of revolutionary development.

c) These demands must always be connected up with the ultimate aim; from the particular we must proceed to the general: from partial demands to the whole system of demands, the sum of which gives the social revolution.

While the reformists put forward partial demands as a substitute for Proletarian Revolution, communists put forward partial demands as a means towards the more successful preparation for Proletarian Revolution. All the agitation put up by communists for partial demands, closely links up each of these demands with the programme of the revolutionary overthrow, particularly in those countries where the crisis in the bourgeois system has arisen.

XI. Democratic Pacifist Illusions.

In this present international situation, the temporary rise of democratic pacifist illusions among certain sections of the toilers is inevitable. The leaders of Social Democracy are doing all they can to revive these illusions.

To combat these illusions, which to the communist is one of the most important tasks of the day, by no means excludes the application of the tactics of the united front (the attraction of wide sections of the Social Democratic workers to the economic struggle jointly with the communists and the advancement of

elementary political demands, which however, cannot be carried out by the present democratic and "labour governments"), may serve as the best means of overcoming democratic pacifist illusions.

The application of the tactics of the united front will proceed successfully only on one condition, viz. that democratic pacifist illusions do not penetrate into our own ranks, and that the communists will see the dangers connected with the application of the tactics of the united front and the watchword of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, which the Comintern has already frequently pointed out.

XII. The West and the East.

The Communist International is the organization of the world revolution. Nevertheless, owing to a number of circumstances, the attention of the Comintern has been too much concentrated on the West. It is necessary to devote far more attention than hitherto to work in the East in the broadest sense of the word. During the period just expired, in India, in Japan, in China and Turkey for the first time nuclei of the communist movement have been formed. In all these countries, an extensive economic struggle of the workers is commencing. The Comintern must devote greater attention to this movement, and at the same time give every support to the movement of all oppressed nationalities directed against imperialism, in the spirit of the resolutions of the Second World Congress, bearing in mind that this movement is one of the most important parts comprising the great movement for emancipation which alone can lead to the victory of the revolution, not only on a European, but on world scale.

XIII. Two Perspectives.

The epoch of international revolution has commenced. The rate of its developments as a whole or partially, the rate of development of revolutionary events in any particular continent or in any particular country, cannot be foretold with precision. The whole situation is such that two perspectives are open: a) a possible slow and prolonged development of the proletarian revolution and b) on the other hand, that the ground under capitalism has been mined to such an extent and that the contradictions of capitalism as a whole have developed so rapidly, that the solution in one country or another may come in the not distant future.

The Comintern must base its tactics upon the possibility of both perspectives. The manoeuvres of the Comintern must be so arranged as to be able rapidly to adapt oneself to the changing rate of development, and in any case even with a prolonged rate of development of events, to remain the irreconcilable mass Communist Party of proletarian revolution which attracts the masses and trains them for the revolutionary struggle.

XIV. The Bolshevization of the Party and the Formation of a Single World Communist Party.

The most important task in the present period of activity on the Comintern is to bolshevize the sections of the Comintern. Under no circumstances must this watchword be understood as the mechanical application of the experience of the Bolshevik Party in Russia to all the other parties. The special features of a really bolshevik party are as follows:

a) The Party must be really a mass party, i. e. while being a legal party, or if obliged to become illegal, it must maintain the closest and unseverable ties with the mass of the workers and serve as the expression of their needs and aspirations.

b) It must have the ability to manoeuvre, i. e. its tactics must not be dogmatic or sectarian; it must be able to resort to every strategical manoeuvre against the enemy, which will enable it to remain true to itself. It is one of the chief errors of our parties that they frequently fail to understand this.

c) It must essentially be a revolutionary and Marxist party, undeviatingly and in spite of all circumstances proceeding towards the goal and making every effort to bring nearer the hour of victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

d) It must be a centralized party, prohibiting factions, tendencies and groups. It must be a monolithic party hewn of one piece.

e) It must carry out a regular definite propaganda in the bourgeois army.

Bolshevizing the Party means the application to our sections what in Russian Bolshevism was and is international and of general application.

Only to the extent that the sections of the Comintern become really converted into Bolshevik Parties, will the Comintern indeed become a World Bolshevik party imbued with the ideas of Leninism.

XV. The Concrete Tasks of the Important Sections of the Comintern.

The tasks of these sections are as follows:

Great Britain.

In view of the present world situation, Great Britain and its possessions play the principal role, generally speaking, in all international questions; hence the Communist Party of Great Britain gains tremendously in importance. To train the Communist Party of Great Britain to fulfil its duties, is one of the most important tasks of the Communist International. In its attitude toward the Labour Government, the Communist Party of Great Britain has displayed certain ideological and tactical deviations. In the immediate future, the Communist Party of Great Britain must concentrate its strength on the following tasks:

a) To support and encourage the left wing of the Labour Party to such an extent that it will develop into a real revolutionary wing within the Labour Party; to carry on intensive work within the minority movements of the trade unions.

b) To oppose clearly and unambiguously the so-called "Labour Government" of MacDonald amongst the masses, by exposing its bourgeois-anti-labour character.

c) To lead the economic struggles in such a way, that the main strength is concentrated on the creation of organs of the united front from below (strike committees, factory councils), and to point out to the working masses the political significance of these economic struggles.

d) To carry out an active campaign for the creation of Committees of Action in the factories and trade unions, in order to exercise pressure on the so-called "Labour Government", to compel them to carry out that part of the programme of the so-called "Labour Government", which the latter has ignored, namely, the nationalization of the railways and mines, increase in the unemployment benefits, construction of workers' houses, etc. Only if the Communist Party of Great Britain, on the basis of daily needs of the working class, exposes the treachery of the Labour Government, and if it tries to lead the broad working masses into the fight on behalf of these aims, can it destroy the illusions of the working masses about the so-called Labour Government.

e) To lay special emphasis on the relations with the colonies, on the support of the national-revolutionary movement of the colonial countries, on the question of militarism and naval development, on disarmament, on the relations of Great Britain to Soviet Russia and to imperialist France, and on the Experts' Report.

f) To begin a particularly careful campaign for influencing the unemployed.

g) To direct its special attention to the internal development of the Party, to gaining new members from among the ranks of the workers, to the formation of factory nuclei, and further the Communist Party of Great Britain should devote its attention to the communist education of the members, to spread knowledge of the international labour movement.

France.

The congress marks with pleasure the considerable successes achieved by the Communist Party in France, which expelled from its ranks all the doubted elements and has become a real proletarian party. At the same time, however, the congress urges upon the fraternal French Party the immediate necessity for carrying out the following tasks:

a) To set up a real party apparatus without which the existence of a proletarian party is impossible.

b) To conduct serious party work in the industrial centres of the country apart from Paris—in the large industrial centres in which, as the recent elections have shown, the Socialists still have considerable influence. Paris undoubtedly is of great importance to the country, but there can be no thought of a

victory of the proletarian revolution, if the other important industrial centres are not won over.

c) To conduct serious work among the broad masses of the peasantry.

d) To conduct in the proper form the tactics of the united front. The French Socialist leaders have not dared openly to join the Herriot Government, but in fact represent a component part of that government. This demands a change in the methods of our agitation in the country, while it remains within the bounds of the tactics of the united front.

e) The Party must direct serious attention to the formation of party nuclei in the workshops and factories. Unless this is done, a mass communist party is impossible.

f) Work of recruiting new members of the Party from among the workers. The department of the Seine must aim to have in the near future not less than 25,000 members. A similar recruiting campaign must be commenced all over the country.

g) The Party must exert all efforts in order to create a mass shop committees movement in the country.

h) The Party must abandon the survivals of right wing moods and merge the whole Party organization under the banner of the Comintern; create a real, workable, sound nucleus in the centre. Whatever friction may exist between the left and the former centre must cease. The whole Party must become a single Comintern Left.

i) It is necessary to strengthen the international connections of the French Party; particularly must it establish constant connection with the German Communist Party.

Heavy French industry gains increasingly in importance in respect of imperialist intrigues, and internal political conditions. The Communist Party of France must intensify its fight against heavy industry and join with the German Communist Party in the fight against the Experts' Report.

j) It is necessary to accelerate the entry into the Party of the mature communist elements in the United Confederation of Labour which have not yet joined it.

k) The leaders of the United Confederation of Labour must take up a more definite position in the fight against Anarchism and the vulgar syndicalism of the old school. In this struggle there can be no place for the incorrect theory of the neutrality of the Confederation on radical questions affecting communism.

l) It must not be forgotten for a moment, that in spite of the successes obtained by the French Communist Party and the United Confederation of Labour, neither the Party nor revolutionary trade unions have properly won over the masses, nor have consolidated their influence organizationally and thus have not yet become the genuine vanguard of the French proletariat.

m) The watchword of the Workers' and Peasants' Government remains particularly appropriate to present-day France. The agitation for this watchword in the spirit of the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, must become the axis of the agitation of the Communist Party of France.

Germany.

The main perspective of the German revolution remains as it was defined by the Executive Committee of the Comintern in the Autumn of 1923. It is not impossible that the victory of "democratic pacifism" in England and France for a time will give a certain amount of strength to the German bourgeoisie and the German Social-Democracy. "Democratic pacifist" illusions will ricochet from France and England to Germany. It is not impossible that the British Government of MacDonald and the French government of Herriot will raise the parliamentary weight of the German Social Democracy and for a time even place it in the saddle. All this makes the political situation in Germany more complicated and creates the possibility of a more prolonged development. Nevertheless, the international position of the bourgeoisie and the German Social Democracy remains hopeless in spite of their readiness thrice to betray the interests of the "fatherland" and bless the findings of the Experts. The internal crisis may rapidly become acute. This is evidenced by the class conflicts that have arisen in recent times.

The persecution of the communists will undoubtedly become intensified. The Party must be prepared for another period of illegality. It is necessary at all costs to obtain firm leadership of the Party also for the illegal period. The fact that a section of the leaders of the Party is absolutely illegal and is subjected

to the danger, in the event of arrest, of being sentenced to 10 years hard labour, and the other section, absolutely legal, continues to count on its parliamentary immunity, to a large extent will hamper the work of the Central Committee, and in the event of the period of illegality arriving, will facilitate the task of the government in breaking up the communist centre. From this certain organizational conclusions must be drawn.

The crisis in the Party in the main has been overcome. However, in order completely to overcome the crisis, and render the rise of fresh dangers impossible, the present Central Committee of the Party must be able:

a) To resist with an iron hand all tendencies to abandon the Social Democratic trade unions, to compel every member of the Party conscientiously to carry out the tactics of the Comintern and the Frankfurt Party Congress on the question of trade unions, resolutely and energetically proceed to organize the party on the basis of factory nuclei. This will be of tremendous advantage to the Party, if it has to go underground.

b) Resolutely and relentlessly to fight the tendencies which attempt to smuggle theoretical revisionism and menshevik digressions into the party under the mask of radicalism.

c) Firmly and energetically to carry out the policy on the peasant question.

d) The same thing on national question.

e) In parliamentary work to unite the communist irreconcilability on questions of principle and vigour with business-like conduct.

f) To devote considerably greater attention than hitherto to shop committee movement.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern as well as all the fraternal sections must render unlimited support to the present Central Committee of the German Party. If this is done, the Party will easily be able to contend against right wing deviations which have done enormous harm and which in some places may still revive.

Theses on the World Economic Situation.

I. Period of Crises or Revival of Capitalism.

1. Between the Third Congress, which adopted the last theses on the world situation, and the Fifth Congress, the bourgeoisie has succeeded almost everywhere in conducting successfully its offensive against the proletariat. The concessions which the bourgeoisie in agreement with the social-democratic leaders had made unconditionally after the end of the war in order to calm the revolutionary masses, have been withdrawn with the open or tacit consent of the trade union leaders. The standard of living of the proletariat has everywhere been depressed. The eight-hour day has been actually abrogated in most countries. The unlimited rule of capitalism has been re-established in the factories.

2. The bourgeois plan of campaign varied in the different countries. Where the prestige of the opportunist workers' leaders still stands high with the mass of the proletariat, where the masses are still under the delusion that they can improve their conditions under capitalism by the conventional peaceful means, strikes, parliamentary democracy, the usual methods of bourgeois dictatorship, disguised under the pretence of democracy, were employed: lockouts, various laws, decrees, etc. The long duration of the period of unemployment and the effect of inflation, exhausted the funds of the trade unions. The old method of separate peaceful struggles conducted by individual trade unions, failed absolutely in face of the powerful organisation which the capitalist employers put up against them; they failed, even when the bureaucratic trade union leaders honestly desired to fight. In many countries, such as England, Denmark, Australia, and Germany, the bourgeoisie has gone so far as to completely or partially entrust the government to the labour leaders, in order that the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie may be carried out by the leaders of the "revolutionary" labour parties.

3. Where the working class movement had already developed a revolutionary form so that the influence of the social democratic leaders — these agents of the bourgeoisie, as Lenin so aptly called them — was not enough to hold down the workers, the bourgeoisie turned to the weapon of Terror, in the form of military coups as in Bulgaria and Spain, by utilising

Czechoslovakia.

The right wing tendencies which in Germany developed to their logical conclusion and for that reason completely revealed their bankruptcy, have existed and exist also in the Czechoslovak Party. The reason why these tendencies have not become utterly bankrupt, as they have in Germany is that the tempo of political life in Czechoslovakia is not so rapid. The Comintern exists precisely for the purpose of enabling the sections to learn from the mistakes committed by other sections and not to repeat them. In this case, this lesson must be learned by the Czechoslovak Party. Composed on the whole of excellent proletarian elements, nevertheless the Czechoslovak Party has not yet managed to become a real Bolshevik Party. It is necessary:

a) Above all to correct the theoretical policy of the Party.

b) To recognize the errors in the decisions of the Prague Party Congress and the recent conference at Brünn.

c) To make the whole Party conscious that it is not enough to win the masses; they must be led into the revolutionary partial struggles; to prepare ideologically and organizationally for the leadership of the final struggle.

d) To fight the Right tendencies in the carrying out of the tactics of the united front and energetically to advocate and put into effect the resolutions of the Fifth World Congress.

e) To display greater activity among the peasantry.

f) To draw up a national program and to strengthen the national policy of the party in the clear spirit of Leninism.

g) The parliamentary activity of the Party to be carried on in the revolutionary parliamentary sense.

h) The activity of the Central Committee must be more vigorous, the leadership more persistent, tense and energetic.

i) To bring the Central Committee fresh forces from the best workers.

j) To meet the justified demands of the Fifth Congress and especially of the Youth Movement in a comradely spirit and without prejudice.

the bitterness of the middle class (whom they themselves had ruined) against the proletariat — e. g. Fascism in Italy — or by the combined use of both these weapons as in Germany. In the last resort, Fascism and social democracy are both the tools of the ruling classes against the revolutionary proletariat. The Bulgarian social democrats, for instance, entered against the revolutionary proletariat and the poorer peasants. In other countries, Italy, Germany, U. S. A., the social democrats seemingly fought against Fascism but actually they were working together with it, against the revolutionary proletariat — e. g. D'Arragona with Mussolini in Italy, the "Big Coalition" in Prussia, Gompers and the American League in the U. S. A.

4. The temporary victory of the bourgeoisie over the revolutionary proletariat, the tide of prosperity in the U. S. A., the decrease of unemployment in England, the temporary stabilisation of the German, Austrian, and Polish currencies, give the prize fighters of the bourgeoisie, the social democrats, the opportunity of announcing that the crisis of capitalism has been overcome, that a new stage has been entered upon. Hence the warlike revolutionary methods recommended by Communist Parties are wrong because the status of the proletariat can be raised by peaceful methods. But a more thorough examination of the economic development of the last three years, together with the present position of world capitalism, shows that the fundamental conception of the Third Congress of the Communist International, in expressing its belief that capitalist economy was involved in a period of permanent crisis, has proved correct. The successes of the capitalist offensive are far from being great enough to relieve the crisis for which the proletariat has to pay, and that is why every attempt to improve the position of the proletariat by peaceful means is bound to fail.

II. The Period of Crisis. Disintegration of World Economy. No Uniform Situation.

5. Under "normal" capitalism the production of goods in capitalistic countries increases every ten years by a much higher percentage than the increase of population. The production of

the most prosperous year of the post-war period, of the best trading year in the leading capitalist State, the U. S. A., the year 1923 — barely reaches the level of the pre-war period. In the industries most vital to modern capitalism, the steel and iron industries, the level of pre-war production has not yet been reached. But it is chiefly in the former centre of capitalistic economy, Europe, that production remains far below the pre-war level. The machinery of production which was so widely extended during the war, lies for the most part in a state of collapse. The building trade, the typical form of accumulation in real property, is at a standstill throughout Europe.

6. Unemployment, taking all the capitalist countries together, is just as great as it was three years ago. If it has decreased in some countries it has increased in others. The question is no longer one of an "industrial reserve army", in the old sense of the word, but of an army of permanently unemployed which is not absorbed even when trade starts on the up-grade.

7. There is no longer a unified capitalist world economy. Soviet Russia, comprising a sixth part of the world, has finally abandoned capitalism. Individual capitalist countries, right down to the petty States of Balkanised Europe, are protecting themselves from each other by systems of high customs duties, limitation of exports and imports, etc. The whole basis of capitalist economy is fundamentally disturbed. A large number of countries are permanently consuming more than they produce. Hence gold can no longer perform the function of a world currency. Gold flows in an unbroken stream into the U. S. A. The gold reserve of the European States has diminished to such an extent that to re-establish the gold currency would seem to be impossible for merely technical grounds. In the place of gold, paper money has been introduced and its value fluctuates to an unlimited extent. There is no longer a free flow of loan capital in and out of capitalist countries. In England the rate of interest stands at three per cent, in Germany at fifty per cent. In the place of the comparatively secure and well-defined relations of normal capitalism we find universal insecurity. Instead of production and calculation there is merely gambling and speculation.

8. The best example of the irregular curve of this rise and fall is to be found in the isolated wave of prosperity which the U. S. A. recently experience. The first sign of the improvement became evident about the middle of 1921. This improvement then steadily continued until it reached its zenith in April 1923. From then onwards there was a slow decline, interrupted by temporary improvements, until the turning point was at last reached in April, 1924. The upward movement in America has undoubtedly reached its end — the crisis has come.

This wave of prosperity in the U. S. A. was real. Production rose far above its pre-war level. At the high-water mark there was practically no unemployment. A strongly marked accumulation of real property took place, for example, in the extraordinary activity of the building trade, and the fabulous increase of automobiles, etc.

9. But this wave of prosperity was limited throughout the period entirely to the U. S. A., although some of the neighbouring English colonies derived some small benefit from it. It was entirely based upon the capacity of the home market for expansion; the carrying out of building operations neglected during the war; the renewal of railway stock, etc., played an important part in it. This trade prosperity had no relation to the conditions in other capitalist countries. The export trade in fact declined. The capacity for expansion shown by the home market was so great at the height of the wave that in the spring of 1923 the U. S. A. for four consecutive months was able to show a complete balance of imports and exports. But the increased importation of European goods and the lack of American competition in the world markets did not suffice to draw Europe into the tide of prosperity.

III. The Special Crisis in Western Europe.

10. The tide of prosperity enjoyed by the U. S. A. left practically no trace in the rest of Europe. The influence of the slump period in Europe was so strong that it completely obliterated any effects American prosperity may have had. The reason for this lay in the special crisis in which the industrial countries of Europe were involved.

The main causes of this crisis lay in the industrialisation of those countries which formerly had been engaged in exporting

raw material and food and in importing manufactured goods; and in the mutual blockade of each other conducted by the various States in order to secure their home markets for their own trade. The result is that the manufacturing countries of Europe can find no market for their export trade, and thus a permanent lack of markets and a permanent condition of unemployment are produced. Unemployment, again, prevents the expansion of the home market. And so the economy of Europe drags itself round in the vicious circle of a perpetual period of crises.

11. England is the country with the smallest agricultural resources and more than any other country depends upon the export of manufactured goods in order to import the necessary raw materials and food. Hence, the period of crisis manifests itself in this country in the form of an obstinate slump in the export trade: textiles, machinery, shipbuilding, etc. The official figures of unemployment although they have been dropping for some time, are still over a million. Actually this number should have several hundred thousands added to it. Unemployment is specially concentrated in the export trade. The efforts of the English bourgeoisie and their high rate of taxation have indeed made it possible to balance the budget and to retrieve the position held formerly by the English gold sovereign throughout the world, but political-economic methods of this kind have not sufficed to overcome the crisis in the export trade. Even the reduction of wages in these branches of industry to a level far below that of the pre-war period has not altered the position. The improvement in 1923 is mainly due to the decrease in the output of the heavy industries of Germany, France, and Belgium, owing to the occupation of the Ruhr.

12. France suffered less than the other European industrialised countries during this crisis. It possessed one outlet for its production which was all its own, namely, the restoration of the devastated areas. France suffered a great loss of man-power during the war, and with its rapidly decreasing population it cannot easily make up this deficiency. For this reason there is hardly any unemployment in France to speak of. On the contrary, foreign workmen can get employment there. But as a matter of fact the restoration of the devastated areas was carried out at the expense of those classes of the population which had been practically expropriated by the constant increase in the national debt and the consequent fall of the franc to a fifth of its nominal value. This proves that French economy is in a very unsatisfactory condition; its basis is not strong enough to carry the ambitious political superstructure which is being imposed upon it.

13. Germany, during this period, has had a whole series of special crises of its own. The slump in production of 1921 was followed by the first stabilisation crisis of the spring of 1922; this again was followed by a new curve of inflation. The occupation of the Ruhr brought the most important industrial area to a standstill. The artificial stabilisation of the mark in the spring of 1923 combined with the resistance to the Ruhr occupation were only of short duration. It was followed by the catastrophic slump in the mark which however showed no signs of having reached its lowest point. When it had become impossible to exploit further the middle classes for the benefit of the heavy industries, owing to the substitution of a gold standard of calculation, for calculation on the basis of the inflated mark, while the proletariat were making a determined stand against further wage reductions, stabilisation followed, after the abandonment of resistance in the Ruhr, by the creation of the Rentenbank. The stabilisation was itself the cause of another violent crisis, which the capitalists did everything they could to intensify. They utilised the defeat of the proletariat in October in order to make their own position more secure: they closed down whole industries and locked out thousands of workers — by the end of the year more than half the working class was unemployed or working short time. They compensated themselves for the gains which they could no longer draw from inflation by increasing the hours of work and lowering wages.

The attempt to build up German production again on a capitalistic basis with stable defences, at the expense of the proletariat, appeared in the early months of 1924 to have been successful. The portion of value which had hitherto been devoted to reparation payments, that is, which had been voted from the bigger bourgeoisie as one of the profits of and then to a great extent sent abroad, now, as a result of the stabilisation fell to the petty bourgeois, the civil

the workman, etc. This brought a temporary improvement in the buying capacity of the population — increased production followed. Unemployment showed a marked decrease. But this improvement is greatly diminished and permanently endangered by other conditions: the diminished buying capacity of agriculture, the obstacles to the export trade, the fierce economic battles which have to be fought out in every branch of production, and the heavy burdens which the Experts' Commission is scheming to lay upon the country. Lack of credit and desperate lack of capital, the collapse of big undertakings, all bear witness to the extreme weakness of German economy.

14. The other European Countries which depend on the export of certain industries (Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Poland) share in this industrial crisis to the extent of their export needs.

IV. The Agrarian Crisis.

15. The critical period manifests itself further by an agrarian crisis which extends to all parts of the world. The price of agricultural produce has dropped tremendously in relation to the price of industrial products, as compared with the pre-war period ("the scissors"). The agriculturists are unable to pay the high rents, the interest on their mortgage-loans, and the taxes. Millions of them are compelled to quit their occupation and to earn their livelihood as wage-workers. The drop in prices is most pronounced on grains, less so on dairy produce, while raw textile fibres command high prices. The agrarian crisis is most acute in the United States and in some of the British colonies. But it has also hit European agriculture, particularly in those countries which maintained protective agrarian tariffs before the war: Germany, Czechoslovakia, Italy and France.

16. Properly speaking, the "scissors" are not due to absolute over-production. Although the world's population, notwithstanding the world war, has greatly increased in the last ten years, the area of cultivation and the total output of agricultural products are much less than in pre-war times.

The "scissors" are due, first of all, to the general crisis of capitalism itself. The continued prevalence of severe unemployment in the industrial countries, and the low real-wages of the European workers, reduce the consumption of foodstuffs. (For instance, in Germany the consumption of bread per head of the population has dropped from 239 kg in 1913 to about 150 kg in 1923; that of meat from 46 to 25 kg). On the other hand, the concentration of capital in monopolistic trusts and combines is proceeding to a greater degree than ever before, which prevents the cutting of prices of industrial products to obviate the "scissors". The "scissors" reduce the purchasing capacity of the agricultural population in their own country, and in the oversea agrarian colonies. Thus the agrarian crisis has the redundant effect of intensifying the crisis in the industrial countries of Europe.

V. The Crisis of Economic Policy.

Self-sufficing or economic inter-dependence; protection and free trade; inflation and deflation; interallied debts.

17. Capitalism has proved unable to solve any of the big international economic problems.

All countries — with the exception of England — are striving towards the widest possible economic self-sufficiency, — to emancipate themselves from economic dependence upon other countries. High customs tariffs, export and import embargoes, hinder the international exchange of commodities; the independent countries as well as the British colonies (even India) are contemplating the protection of their new-born industries by means of tariffs. The small States of the Balkanised Europe are obstructing each other. In addition to the economic interests of the bourgeoisie, a leading factor in this connection is the preparations for the next war: every State is anxious to secure the largest possible part of its war requirements, in the widest sense, within the boundaries of its own State.

18. England has so far been the exception. The attempt of the British Imperial Conference to unite all the colonies and create a self-sufficient British Empire by means of so-called "imperial" tariffs failed largely on account of the opposition of the colonies, who did not dare to hand over their new-born industries to England. But the principal reason for the

failure of this plan was the necessity in this connection to introduce customs duties on foodstuffs, which in their turn would cause an increase of prices and of wages, and a consequent reduction of the competitive power of English industry in the world market. Thus the English bourgeoisie for the time being clings firmly to free trade, while the British Empire is drawing rapidly towards its collapse on account of the steady progress of colonial separation, and of the revolutionary movement among the oppressed peoples of the colonies.

19. The bourgeoisie has proved unable to overcome the currency chaos. It may seem as though some of the European States — Germany, Poland and Austria — after a depreciation unparalleled in the world's history, have managed to stabilise their currency at this low level, even if this stabilisation has still a very weak economic foundation. But on the other hand, there has been a recent manifestation of the depreciation of currencies that were hitherto relatively stable — Japan, Spain, Norway, Denmark, Brazil. The French franc has dropped 50% in the course of one month. The pound sterling which early in this period reached within 3 to 4% of its gold parity, has again dropped to 10% below. All attempts to establish international note banks for the restoration of a world currency have failed on account of the clash of interests among the classes within the different countries, as well as among the respective bourgeoisies.

20. The different elements of the bourgeoisie cannot agree upon a uniform line of currency policy. Theoretically the whole world agrees that a stabilisation of all currencies at their present levels would be favourable to capitalism. But the bourgeoisie of the countries with high currency look with envy and fear at the bourgeoisie of those countries, chiefly of Germany, which was enabled by the extreme depreciation of its currency to dispose of its old State and private debts, where the large bourgeoisie got rich by the expropriation of the middle classes, and which does not have to maintain a "non-productive" class of stockholders at the cost of real values. Influential circles of the large bourgeoisie in England and France are at work, either openly or covertly, trying to bring about an inflation in order to be able to compete with Germany on even terms.

21. The problem of the inter-allied debts is still unsolved. England alone has started paying the interest and capital on its debts to the United States. But experience has shown that this solution is equally detrimental to England and to the United States. It increases quite uselessly the gold fund of the United States, decreases England's ability to purchase American goods, and hinders the stabilisation of its currency. The mutual cancellation of debts is rendered impossible by the profound imperialist antagonism among the powers of the Entente.

VI. The Reparation Crisis and International Conflict.

The Case of Soviet Russia.

The reparation crisis is still unsolved. The attempt to squeeze reparations out of Germany in foreign values without regard to the influence of such payments upon the value of the mark, led to the collapse of the German exchange, shook the capitalist system in Germany to its foundation and placed before Germany the alternatives of a proletarian dictatorship or of a nationalist militarist reaction.

22. The political opposition of the great imperialist powers, France, England, and the United States, and also the sharp conflicts of the various social classes within these states have hindered right up to the present time every attempt to deal with the reparations question.

23. The plan of the heavy industrial and militaristic circles in France was to unite the territories of the left bank of the Rhine and the Ruhr economically and politically with France; to separate South Germany from North Germany, to bring Germany thus dismembered, into the French system of continental hegemony, to secure for French heavy industry the necessary coal and coke and at the same time to secure a market for German iron.

This solution would in fact have made Germany a French colony. The military predominance of France over England which consists in the better equipment of France in the most decisive classes of weapons (submarines, and aeroplanes) could be made secure by the incorporation of the Ruhr and its great chemical works. The forcible and completely unjustifiable

occupation of the Ruhr was the attempt to realise this imperialist programme.

24. The momentary military predominance of France made it impossible for England to oppose the militaristic plans of the former by force. It contented itself with supporting Germany openly and secretly in the passive resistance of the latter towards France, in the hope that both sides would be so weakened economically in the struggle that they would both have to submit to the demands of England.

25. England fears the economic reconstruction of Germany just as much as the military predominance of France. Reduction of the burden of reparations to an amount which the German bourgeoisie could easily bear, would enable that bourgeoisie, freed from debt through inflation, to enter into a most devastating competition with English industry which is staggering under the burden of a national debt amounting to 7,500,000,000 pounds. England's most formidable rival in the markets in the days before the war would arise again. The economic meaning, for England, of the world war would be destroyed. Therefore, the policy of England is in no way directed towards freeing Germany from the burden of reparations but is directed towards the economic enslavement of Germany, and at the same time to preventing the incorporation of Germany, into the French imperialist system.

26. Owing to the boom prevailing in the U. S. A., the bourgeoisie of that country has no inducement to involve itself in European affairs. The fact, that in spite of the chaotic situation in Europe, a boom could develop, was a strong argument for isolation from "sick" Europe. A section of the industrial bourgeoisie did intervene in order to take part in the solution of the reparations question, that is, to share in the plundering of the German working class. This part of the industrial bourgeoisie wished to avoid the contact of immigrants with the industrial working class — corrupted by Gompers and Company — for fear of communist infection. Therefore, the European, and in particular the German working class, was to be exploited not in America itself, as immigrants, but in Germany. Bank capital, above all the Morgan interest, also took part, in order to grant a large loan and at the same time secure a control over the German iron industry. Finally, there are the farmers who hope for a rise in the cost of food as a result of a recovery of Germany and all Europe. With the end of the boom and the necessity to find a world market for the goods which will become superfluous inside the country, the interest of the American bourgeoisie in Europe and the increase of a share in the plundering of Germany appears to them more desirable.

27. The Ruhr struggle ended with the capitulation of Germany after the German bourgeoisie, instead of making sacrifices, made use of passive resistance for its own enrichment and for the plundering of the state coffers. The great industries of the Ruhr and their Rhineland were compelled by France to bear heavy taxations (Micum agreement). Poincaré at least obtained thereby productive pledges.

But France showed itself too weak to consolidate this victory. The rapid fall of the franc in the early months of 1924 forced France to seek for help of English and American bankers. It had to abandon the hope of the French solution of the reparation problem and of the dismemberment of Germany, and to resort to a new international solution suitable to the interests of England and America. The victory of the left bloc in the elections shows that the French petty bourgeoisie and peasants seek not an imperialist policy of force but an elevation of the value of the franc.

28. The Experts' Report is an attempt by the bourgeoisie of the imperialist powers to reach a common solution of the reparation problem. The report strikes Germany out of the list of independent states and puts it financially and economically under the yoke of the Entente bourgeoisie.

The method of payment of reparations contained therein is intended to save the mark from a fresh collapse and thus to protect Europe from a proletarian revolution. The French iron industry is to receive its necessary fuel. The control of credit, taxation, finance, and trade is on the other hand intended to protect the Western European industrial countries from the possibility that Germany may recover its pre-war productivity and enter into serious competition with the Entente countries on the world's markets.

The reparations question is absolutely insoluble. The Entente is unable to find a way in which, without damaging its own

economic system, it can squeeze reparations out of Germany. It contents itself with bludgeoning Germany.

Instead of the conquest of new markets for increased productive capacity which is a characteristic of rising capitalism, we see here the clear endeavour to restrict by force the production of one of the greatest capitalist countries.

29. The economic and political position of the Union of Soviet Republics has in the last few years become in a high degree secure. With the chronic export market crises prevailing in the industries of Europe, the Russian export market acquires a special importance. This and the political antagonisms between the imperialist powers forces one State after another to resume economic and diplomatic relations with Russia. The attempts in Genoa and at the Hague to establish a capitalist united front were shattered by the conflicts between the imperialist powers.

The increasing economic and financial subordination of Europe to English and American influence despite the tendency towards mutual economic obstruction; the successful resistance which the Soviet Republics have hitherto made to every attempt to change the Soviet and convert it into a colony of the capitalist Entente, make a new attempt on the part of the capitalist powers to overcome the Soviet Republics by war, probable.

The English and American bourgeois classes would be inclined—if a temporary solution of the reparations problem could be found—to entrust this task to the German bourgeoisie. The French bourgeoisie, however, fear very strongly the army of Germany. This hinders a common advance.

30. But the crisis of capitalism may be so intensified that the Entente bourgeoisie will be able to find no other way for repressing the revolutionary movement than a new war either against Soviet Russia or between the Entente powers. In spite of all assurances of peace, in spite of the Washington agreement, preparations for war go forward at an increasing pace. Instruments of slaughter are being prepared, with the utmost exertion, for war on land, on the water, under the water, in the air, with poisonous gases, and with disease germs. In spite of the League of Nations, in spite of the Entente and of constant assurances of peace, in spite of the Labour Government in England and the Left Bloc in France, the bourgeoisie of all countries are carrying forward their preparations for war without cessation. Experience shows that under such circumstances war can break out "by itself".

VII. The Sharpening of Class Antagonism.

31. The process of concentration and centralisation of formation of cartels, trusts and combines is, in the present period of decline of capitalism, proceeding at a more rapid pace. Although in many countries real wealth is decreasing, the share obtained by the most powerful capitalists is continually increasing. The gulf between these small groups of leading capitalists who control these combines and the middle and petty bourgeoisie is becoming wider and wider. An ever-increasing part of the apparently independent petty bourgeoisie relapses into a condition of exploitation by capitalism.

32. In countries with a falling valuta, inflation has deprived the petty bourgeoisie of its means, to the advantage of the great capitalists. Rentiers have vanished. Capital invested in war loans, in State or industrial securities, has been annihilated. Saving bank deposits, life insurances, old-age securities have all been taken away by inflation.

The expropriation of the petty trading bourgeoisie was completed by the fact that in the periods of inflation these classes always sold their goods at a price lower than the cost of replacement, and by this apparent enrichment were, in fact, ruined.

The incomes of members of the free professions, officials, and salaried employees have been depressed far below the pre-war level and have come near to those of the proletariat.

Whole strata which formerly lived in higher stations, and to some extent were free from work, have in this way been declassed. From these is recruited the fascist movement. A section of them reinforces the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat.

33. The agricultural crisis has ruined millions of farmers and peasants, has forced them into the most oppressive servitude to their creditors, or has reduced them to the ranks of the proletariat. The blind dependence of the peasantry upon the capitalist social order is wavering. The crisis has roused the

sympathy of the working peasants for a fighting alliance of the proletariat with the working peasants against capitalism and the great landowners, which finds its political expression in the watchword: "Workers' and Peasants' Government."

34. The capitalist offensive against the working class is being continued by all methods. The real wages of the great masses of the workers are being depressed, and class antagonisms are thus intensified. At the same time capital is seeking to set trade against trade; to give the aristocracy of labour an advantage at the expense of unskilled and mechanical workers; to give men an advantage at the expense of women and children; thus breaking up the united resistance of the working class.

35. The impoverishment of the petty bourgeoisie of the towns, the severe suffering which the agricultural crisis has brought upon the peasants, produce a wavering among these classes which, under normal circumstances, are under the leadership of the ruling classes. Among other expressions of this wavering mood, are the strengthening of the "völkische" movement in Germany, the success of the left bloc in France and of the Labour Party in England. In the proletariat itself, the abandonment of the social democrats by the most class conscious part of the workers and their adhesion to the Communist Party is the expression of the intensification of the class struggle. The restriction on immigration into America closes the safety valve which emigration has hitherto provided for European capitalism, and increases the revolutionary ferment among the European proletariat.

VIII. Prospects and Tasks.

36. The period of crisis of capitalism continues. The boom in the United States remained an isolated phenomenon. The most important aspects of the crisis are the chronic industrial crises in the great capitalist countries of Europe, and the agricultural crises throughout the world.

In the near future we have to reckon with a period of crises in the United States, the beginning of which is already perceptible. The lingering crisis of European industry may, if a serious attempt is made to carry out the Experts' Report, change into a new acute crisis, which will, in contrast to the state of crisis we have hitherto considered, (namely, an alternation, not

simultaneous, from boom to crisis in the countries of Europe) spread simultaneously to all European countries.

The view of the social democratic theoretician Hilferding, that capitalism has emerged from the post-war crisis, and is approaching a period of world boom, is unfounded. This idea only serves the interest of the bourgeoisie; it aims at keeping the wavering sections of the working class away from the communist revolutionary movement.

37. The immediate future will bring forth severe struggles between the proletariat and capitalism; the former will be able not merely to stave off further attacks by capital but will at least be able to recover its former position; the latter will be incapable in the period of decline of capitalist economy, to fulfil the demands of the proletariat. These struggles will be conducted in circumstances in which large sections of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry, themselves involved in a severe crisis, will not, as a class, provide a reliable support for the bourgeoisie. Although a section of these classes will, like the fascists, form the vanguard of the bourgeoisie, the political disintegration of the middle strata of these classes gives the struggle of the proletariat a great chance of success if only the Communist Party can succeed in converting the economic struggle, by its extension and intensification, into a political struggle.

38. Whether the present crisis in capitalism will lead to the downfall of the bourgeoisie or to a new and lasting relative stabilisation of its class rule, depends in the greatest degree upon whether the Communist Parties will be in a position to make use, organisationally and politically, of the revolutionary situation which will be produced in the period of crisis. Class rule will never collapse automatically without a determined, tenacious and self-sacrificing attack by the revolutionary proletariat. In the near future powerful mass movements of the proletariat are inevitable. The struggles in the present period of decline can be made to lead to a successful struggle for power, if the influence of the social democrats and the nationalistic and fascist parties on the proletariat is broken; if the majority of the proletariat, in its most important sections, is won over to the Communist Party, and if the working peasants, who are suffering severely under the agricultural crisis, are drawn together into a fighting alliance against the landowners and the capitalists.

Resolution on the Programme Question.

The text of the draft will be published later. Ed.

1. The Congress adopts the draft prepared by the Programme 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.

Statutes of the Comintern.

These Statutes are preceded by an Introduction which will be found in the Statutes drawn up by the Second Congress.

I. Name and Object.

Par. 1. The new International Workers' Association is an amalgamation of the Communist parties of the various countries into a world-party which in its capacity of leader and organiser of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of all countries, fights for the adoption of communist principles and aims by the majority of the working class and by large sections of the poor peasantry, for the formation of a world Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, for the total abolition of classes and for the realisation of socialism which is the initial stage of the communist social order.

Par. 2. The new International Workingmen's Association assumes the title of "Communist International".

Par. 3. All Parties affiliated to the Communist International shall be known as Communist Party of... (Section of the Comintern). Only one party in any country may be affiliated to the Communist International.

Par. 4. Any person accepting the program and statutes of the Communist Party of the country in which he is resident and of the Comintern, who is attached to a basic party organisation,

is actively working in it, and who submits to all the decisions of the Party and the Comintern and regularly pays Party dues, is accounted a member of the Communist Party and of the Comintern.

Par. 5. The basic Party organisation (its unit) is the nucleus at the place of employment (factory, mine, workshop, office, store, farm, etc.), to which all the members of the party employed in the given enterprise must be attached.

Par. 6. The Comintern and the Communist Party are constructed on the basis of democratic centralism. The fundamental principle of democratic centralism is the election of the lower and higher Party organs at general meetings of Party members, conferences and congresses; periodical reports of the Party organs are obligatory for the lower Party organs strict discipline and rapid and precise execution of the decisions of the E. C. C. I. and the leading Party centres. Party questions may be discussed by members of the Party or Party organisation only up to the moment of their decision by the competent Party organs. After decisions have been arrived at on these questions by the Congress of the Communist International

Party Congress, or the leading Party organs, these decisions must be unconditionally carried out, even if there is a difference of opinion amongst the members of local organisations with regard to the decisions.

In illegal conditions, lower Party organs may be appointed by the higher Party organs and individuals may be co-opted to various Party organs with the endorsement of the superior Party organ.

II. World Congress of the Comintern.

Par. 7. The supreme organ of the Comintern is the World Congress of all Parties (Sections) and organisations affiliated to it.

The World Congress discusses and resolves the most important questions of the program, tactics, and organisation connected with the activities of the Comintern as a whole, as well as of its various sections. The World Congress alone has the right to amend the program and statutes of the Comintern.

As a rule the World Congress should be convened at least once in two years, the date for convening the Congress is determined by the Executive Committee of the Comintern. All affiliated sections send delegates to the Congress, the number being determined by the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

The number of decisive votes that each section may have is determined in each case by a special resolution of the Congress in accordance with the membership of the Party and the political importance of the country.

Par. 8. Extraordinary World Congresses of the Comintern may be convened on the demand of Parties which at the previous World Congress of the Comintern jointly commanded not less than half of the decisive votes.

Par. 9. The World Congress elects the President of the Communist International, the Executive Committee of the Comintern, and the International Control Commission (I. C. C.).

Par. 10. The World Congress on each occasion decides on the seat of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

Par. 11. The E. C. C. I. is the leading organ of the C. I. in the period intervening between the world congresses. It issues to all Parties and organisations adhering to the C. I., directions which are binding, and controls their activity.

The E. C. C. I. publishes the central organ of the C. I. in not less than four languages.

III. The Executive Committee of the Comintern and its Apparatus.

Par. 12. The decisions of the E. C. C. I. are obligatory for all sections and must be immediately carried out by them. The sections have the right to appeal against a decision of the E. C. C. I. to the Congress of the Communist International, but the section is not relieved of the duty of carrying out the decision until it is revoked by the Congress.

Par. 13. The central organs of the sections affiliated to the Communist International are responsible to the Party Congresses and the E. C. C. I. The E. C. C. I. has the right to annul or amend decisions of the central organs as well as the congresses of the respective sections, and pass decisions the execution of which shall be obligatory for the central organs (Cf. par. 12).

Par. 14. The E. C. C. I. has the right to expel from the Comintern such parties, groups, and individual members who violate the program, rules, and decisions of World Congresses, and of the E. C. C. I. Such parties, groups, and individuals have the right to appeal to the World Congress.

Par. 15. The E. C. C. I. endorses the program of each section affiliated to the Communist International. In the event of the E. C. C. I. refusing to endorse the program of any section, the latter may appeal to the World Congress.

Par. 16. It is advisable to publish the decisions and the official documents of the E. C. C. I. in the leading party organs of the sections affiliated to the Communist International; for the C. I. this is obligatory.

Par. 17. The E. C. C. I. has the right to receive into the Communist International organisations and parties sympathising with Communism and approaching the Communist International. Such organisations are to have consultative votes.

Par. 18. The E. C. C. I. elects a Presidium of its own members which serves as the permanent acting organ and conducts all the work of the E. C. C. I. in the periods between meetings of the latter. The Presidium reports on its activity

to the E. C. C. I. The Chairman of the C. I. acts as chairman of the E. C. C. I. and of the Presidium.

Par. 19. The E. C. C. I. elects an Organisation Bureau (Orgbureau) which discusses and decides all questions affecting organisation and finance. The decisions of the Orgbureau may be appealed against in the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. But until these decisions are revoked or amended by the Presidium they remain obligatory. The composition of the Orgbureau is determined by the E. C. C. I. The members of the Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. form part of the Orgbureau.

Par. 20. The E. C. C. I. elects a Secretariat which is the Executive organ of the E. C. C. I., the Presidium, and the Orgbureau.

Par. 21. The E. C. C. I. elects the editorial board of the monthly organ of the Communist International as well as the editors of all other C. I. publications.

Par. 22. The E. C. C. I. appoints an international secretariat for the communist women's movement, and in conjunction with it makes the necessary decisions for the international women's movement, political, as well as organisational.

Par. 23. The E. C. C. I. organises departments for information, as well as an Eastern Department. If necessary, the E. C. C. I. may establish new Departments and take measures for making the working apparatus more efficient.

Par. 24. The E. C. C. I. and its Presidium are entitled to send representatives to the various Sections of the C. I. These representatives receive their instructions from the E. C. C. I. to whom they are responsible for all their actions. The representatives of the E. C. C. I. must be admitted to all meetings and sessions of the central organs and of the local organisations of the sections to which the E. C. C. I. had sent them. The representatives of the E. C. C. I. carry out their instructions in close contact with the central organ of the respective sections. Nevertheless, they are entitled to express, at Party Congresses, and conferences or consultations, in the interests of a thorough application of the directions of the E. C. C. I., opinions differing from the opinions of the central organ of the respective Party. It is the duty of the representatives of the E. C. C. I. to control the manner in which the decisions of congresses and of the E. C. C. I. are carried out.

Par. 25. Meetings of the E. C. C. I. must take place at least once a month. A quorum is composed of not less than one-half of the members of the E. C. C. I.

IV. The Enlarged Executive.

Par. 26. In order to decide important questions, the decisions of which admit of no delay, the E. C. C. I., in the intervals between World Congresses, convenes, not less than twice a year, meetings of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern.

In addition to the members of the E. C. C. I., representatives of all the sections affiliated to the Communist International participate in sessions of the Enlarged Executive. The number of representatives of the various sections at the sessions of the Enlarged Executive is determined by the Congress of the Communist International.

V. International Control Commission.

Par. 27. The functions of the International Control Commission, which is appointed by the Congress are: a) To investigate complaints against departments of the E. C. C. I. and to present to the E. C. C. I. suggestions for removing causes of complaint. b) To investigate complaints of individuals and the whole organisations, against disciplinary measures taken against them by sections and to submit their opinions concerning them to the E. C. C. I. which makes a definite decision. c) To audit the financial accounts of the sections on the E. C. C. I., Presidium, or Orgbureau.

The Control Commission does not intervene in political, organisational or administrative conflicts which may arise in the various sections of the Communist International or between sections and the E. C. C. I.

The seat of the International Control Commission is fixed by the E. C. C. I. in conjunction with the International Control Commission.

VI. Relations of the Sections of the Communist International to the E. C. C. I.

Par. 28. The Central Committees of all sections affiliated to the Communist International and also of organisations and sympathising organisations, must systematically

minutes of their meetings and the report of their work to the E. C. C. I.

Par. 29. The relinquishment of a mandate, be it by individual comrades of the Central Committee of the various sections, or be it by whole groups, is to be considered as a disorganisation of the communist movement. Every leading post in the Communist Party is at the disposal of the C. I. and not of the mandatory. Members of the central Committee of each section can relinquish their mandate only with the consent of the E. C. C. I. Resignations which have only the consent of the Central Committee of the particular Party without the consent of the E. C. C. I., are not valid.

Par. 30. The Sections of the C. I., especially the sections of adjoining countries, must establish between each other close organisational and informational connections. These connections can be brought about by mutual representation at conferences and Party congresses, as well as by an exchange of leading forces, which however, must have the consent of the C. I.

Copies of the reports of these representations to their sections must be sent to the C. I.

Two or more Sections of the C. I. which (as for instance the Sections of the Scandinavian or the Balkan countries) depend particularly on each other because of political community in their actions, can form a federation for the purpose of common and co-ordinated action. This federation must be under the control and guidance of the E. C. C. I.

Resolution on the Reorganisation of the Party on the Basis of Factory Nuclei.

1. The fundamental difference between the role and activity of the Communist Party and the social democratic party also finds expression in the difference in the organisation of the two parties. The social democratic party, which bases itself wholly upon reformist activity within bourgeois democracy, and especially upon activity in the parliamentary elections, is accordingly constructed on the basis of electoral districts and residential organisation and has made the local groups the groundwork of the organisation of the Party. The Communist Party, however, which leads the broad masses of the working class into the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capital and the seizure of power must have a different organisational structure. The basis of organisation of the Communist Party lies among the working class masses themselves, in the factory, at the place of work. The construction of the party on the basis of Factory Nuclei permits it to establish a close and lasting contact with the masses. It permits the Party to keep itself at all times in touch with the needs and moods of the working masses and to react to them. It permits the organisation of the revolutionary fight against the employers, fascism, the capitalist state; it permits the struggle for power. This organisational structure enables the Party to secure a correct social composition and guarantee its proletarian character. It makes possible, and this is of especial importance to the Communist Party, a real fight for the control of production and, after the seizure of power, the management of production in the factory. The slogan of Lenin was: "Every factory should be a stronghold of the Communist Party".

2. The Third and Fourth Congresses of the Communist International distinctly indicated the necessity for the reorganisation of the Party on the basis of Factory Nuclei; the Fourth Congress laid down that "no Communist Party can be regarded as a serious and solidly organised communist mass party if it does not possess strong communist nuclei in the factories, workshops, mines, railways, etc." Experience in the struggles of the Communist Party since the Fourth Congress has completely corroborated this attitude and has proved that the resolution of the Fourth Congress is a vital necessity for the Communist Party. One of the lessons of the German events is that the construction of the Party on the basis of the factory nuclei is an indispensable condition for the victorious struggle for power.

It is therefore necessary, by profound, energetic, and systematic work to carry out the decisions adopted by the Executive of the Communist International in January 1924, in furtherance of the decision of the Fourth Congress on this subject, and which the Fifth Congress hereby confirms. The Congress re-iterates it as one of the important tasks of the Communist Party in

Par. 31. The Sections of the C. I. have to make regular contributions to the E. C. C. I., the amount of such contributions to be fixed by the latter.

Par. 32. Ordinary as well as extraordinary national congresses can be convened by the Sections of the Comintern only with the consent of the E. C. C. I.

If the Party Congress does not take place prior to the World Congress, the said section (prior to the election of delegates to the World Congress) must hold a Party congress or a plenary session of the central organ for the purpose of preparing the questions to be placed before the world congress.

Par. 34. The Young Communist International is a full member of the C. I., and is subordinate to the E. C. C. I.

Par. 35. The Communist Parties must be prepared to carry on their work illegally. The E. C. C. I. must assist the Parties in the preparation for illegal work, and see to it that work is carried out.

Par. 36. The transfer of members of sections of the Communist International from one country to another is permitted only with the sanction of the Central Committee of the given section. In changing his residence, a Communist must join the section in the country of which he has become resident. Communists who leave their respective country without the sanction of the Central Committee of the section to which they belong, cannot be accepted by any other section.

the near future to effect a reorganisation on the basis of the Factory Nuclei.

3. The Congress desires to refer especially to certain points which have arisen in the practice of the Parties since January, with regard to which some emphasis or indication of policy is required.

There must be no misunderstanding; the decisions of the Third and Fourth Congresses and the January resolution demand, not certain superficial changes in party structure, but an actual fundamental reorganisation on the basis of the Bolshevik Party. Reorganisation should be carried out systematically and carefully, so that the Party should not lose any of its strength. It must however be carried out energetically, and the old Party structure (local groups, method of collecting contributions, selection of leading organs, registration, etc.) should be altered so as to make the factory nuclei the future foundation.

It has to be admitted that in practice this idea has hitherto not been pushed with sufficient energy. In many cases the Party nuclei were not regarded as the foundation of the Party organisation, in the direction of which the Party structure had to be changed, but as a side branch of organisation, appended to the old organisation. Accordingly, in many cases, Factory Fractions with limited duties were created instead of factory nuclei; this is to be discountenanced. A tendency has often been displayed to give the factory nuclei exclusively trade union functions.

In opposition to this, the role and standing of the factory nuclei as the foundation of party organisation must be clearly and decisively emphasised and carried into practice. The factory nucleus has all the rights of a party organisation. It discusses and takes an attitude on all party questions. This must also be applied in the organisation activity of the Factory Nuclei. The factory nuclei must recruit and accept members, collect the contributions of its members, retain percentage of the contributions, register its members, and so on. The factory nucleus gives each member some definite work and makes it his duty to carry out the work entrusted to him. It is obvious that the activities of the factory nuclei must extend to all the sections of the activity of the Party.

4. It is part of the meaning of the resolution on the reorganisation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei, and one of its most important features, that the present social composition of the Party membership must be changed and improved, that the absolute majority should consist of industrial proletarians, so that the overwhelming majority of the party members may be included in the factory, workshop and farm nuclei. When in

aim has been achieved, and the Party nuclei become sufficiently numerous and strong, the street nuclei will become superfluous. Thereupon the members who are not embraced by the factory councils, must be attached to the factory nuclei. As a temporary measure, before the organisation of the Party has reached this stage (which may vary from country to country, and from district to district) street nuclei may be considered as one of the various possibilities of organising and apportioning work to the Party members who cannot be embraced by the factory nuclei. In view of the incorrect idea which has arisen as to the importance of the street groups, the Fifth Congress lays down that wherever the street groups are set up, they must not be allowed to injure the factory nuclei and must not be placed upon a footing of equality with the factory nuclei. It must in no case be said that the factory nuclei and the street groups (street nuclei) are the two principles of Party organisation. The Factory Nucleus alone is the principle of Party organisation; the street groups are a side branch. Emphasis is to be placed upon the factories and the factory nuclei.

5. At the beginning, reorganisation must be concentrated mainly on the industrial districts, and here again on the most important localities and the strongest organisations. In each place the leading organs should begin reorganisation at once in the most important sections. This does not mean, of course, that the other Party organisations are in the meantime to be neglected in the practical work of organisation. Reorganisation should be carried on steadily from the lowest sections of the Party organisation upwards.

6. On the question of the young communist factory nuclei the Congress lays down that the Party should strive to secure that as many members of the young communist factory nuclei as possible must also be members of the Communist Party as possible and that close co-operation and mutual representation should exist between the two nuclei but that apart from the Party nucleus, a special young communist factory nucleus is essential, for this is the principle of the organisation of the whole Young Communist League, which has a special organisation apart from that of the Party.

Propaganda Theses.

I. Aims and Objects of Communist Propaganda.

1. The international conflicts in the Communist International are at the same time ideological crises in the respective parties. All Right and Left deviations are due to deviations from the class ideology of the proletariat, from Marxism-Leninism.

The crises that arose at the Second Congress, and subsequent to it were caused by the infantile sickness of leftism which betrayed an ideological deviation from Marxism-Leninism in the direction of syndicalism. (Dutch Marxism, Communist Labour Party of Germany, Anti-Parliamentarism, etc.). The present internal conflicts in several of the Communist Parties, which became evident at the time of the German October defeat, are the result of the influence of the remnants of the old social democratic ideology which has been brought over into the Communist Parties. The way to overcome this is: To bolshevise the Communist Parties. The bolshevisation of the parties in this sense means: The final ideological victory of Marxism and Leninism (or in other words: of Marxism in the period of imperialism and the epoch of the proletarian revolution) and to reject the Marxism of the Second International and the remnants of the elements of syndicalism.

2. The complete and rapid bolshevising of the Communist Party can be attained in the process of the deliberate revolutionary activity of the sections of the Communist International, by more deeply hammering Marxism and Leninism into the consciousness of the Communist Parties and the Party members.

This does not imply the mechanical application of the experiences of the Russian Communist Party, but the application of Bolshevism to the concrete circumstances in each country in a given period. Only by the theoretical understanding of revolutionary practice in this way the Communist Parties become real leaders of the masses, conscious of their aims. Only by a real and organised assimilation of Marxism-Leninism can the Parties reduce the possibilities of political, tactical, and organisational errors to a minimum and bring about the emancipation of the working class. "Without a revolutionary theory, a revolutionary movement is impossible..." A Party can play the role of the vanguard only if it is guided by a "vanguard theory" (Lenin). One of the first tasks of the Communist International and its sections consists in popularising this vanguard theory—Marxism-Leninism—among the members. The Communist Parties must not limit themselves to propagating the main principles of Marxism-Leninism among the masses, but must, by methodical and systematic propaganda, make the party members acquainted with Marxism-Leninism as a whole. Cadres of party members must be formed who have complete command of this theoretical weapon and are able to train the widest circle of the Party membership in the use of it. Particularly important is the greatest possible assimilation of this theory by the youth. Hence all necessary organisational measures must be taken by the sections for furthering the development of these cadres and this training for the youth.

The condition precedent for the development of propaganda work is that every Communist Party must realise the importance of theoretically mastering Marxism-Leninism. All Communist

Parties must be careful to see to it that the activity for attaining practical results is not carried on to the neglect of the theoretical struggle. On the contrary: the precedent for attaining practical results in the revolutionary struggle is a clear theoretical clarity among as great a number of members as possible.

3. The ideology and quality of the leading cadres and of the masses in the Communist Parties demand continual self-control. Although the organisational pre-requisite for such a control on the basis of concrete facts and material are not yet possible, it is nevertheless true that the extent and depth of the dissemination of the Marxism-Leninism idea is not keeping pace with the rapid growth of the influence of the party. Stagnation in the field of theoretical work in the spirit of Marx, Engels, and Lenin is observable in all sections of the Communist International. This is all the more dangerous because theoretical works by facilitating analysis of concrete conditions, and more definite formulations of the conditions and perspectives of the revolutionary upheaval, would render possible greater results achieved in the political work of the Parties. Only these circumstances and the indifference of some of the leading comrades towards the theoretical questions make it possible for "theories" to arise within the Communist International, which stand in sharp contradiction to Marxism-Leninism. The immediate result of these "theories" is the confusion which reigns in the minds of the leading cadres and of the masses in the party on philosophic theoretical-economic questions. Later they are naturally observed on the field of policy and tactics, in the form of "left" or "right" deviations. (The attitude of certain leaders of the Swedish Party on the religious questions; the false conception held by certain leaders of the German Party on the nature of the bourgeois State and on the class roots of opportunism among the labour aristocracy; the philosophical deviation of certain groups of intellectuals of the Communist Party of Central Europe who are seeking to rob dialectical materialism of its materialist aspect and put idealism into its place; attempts in the Communist Party of Italy to revise the economic theory of Marxism.) Even the propagandist training of the Party masses is also far from satisfactory. This is a natural result of the fact that the necessity of this propagandist work has not yet been understood by the Party leadership. A very great percentage of the masses in the Communist Party joined the Party because they became convinced empirically, in the midst of their everyday political and economic struggles, of the treacherous character of opportunism and reformism, and of the exclusively proletarian class character of the Communist Party. This fact represents great advantage for the Communist Parties, and indicates superiority of the Third International over the Second International; it means nevertheless that the proletarian masses the Party may themselves still be imbued with remnants of social democratic ideology. This social democratic heritage cannot be eliminated mechanically, particularly among the party masses; it must be overcome, in addition to the instruction in principle of revolutionary practice; by systematic propaganda of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and of thoroughly imbuing the mind of the broad masses with at least the fundamental principles and methods of Marxism-Leninism.

4. In the person of Lenin—the embodiment of orthodox Marxism, who continued the theoretical and practical work of Marx—the Communist International and all the Communist Parties possessed a reliable guide indicating every “right” or “left” deviation on the field of theory and political practice. Only Leninism, which Lenin and his collaborators, the old Bolshevik Guard, developed as the theory of the proletarian revolution, can take Lenin’s place. The death of Lenin must give as great an impetus to the propaganda of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, and to the diffusion and intensification of this propaganda in all the sections of the Communist International, as it did in the Communist Party of Russia.

In view of the ideological condition of the parties in general and especially because of the absence of cadres in the Party capable of effectively guiding the work, this task must be assumed by the Communist International. As against the pseudo marxism of the Second International, Leninism, the revival of revolutionary marxism, does not contain a single sentence which is not of practical importance in the revolutionary every-day struggles of the proletariat. Thus one of the most important and urgent concrete tasks of the Communist International is the concentration of energy in the widest possible propaganda of these teachings and establishing organisational guarantees for the systematic development of this propaganda.

II. General Organisational Measures on the Field of Propaganda.

5. The most characteristic feature of the present state of propaganda activity is that up till now the Communist International and the various Communist Parties have not set up special organs for propaganda work, or where they have, they are inadequate. Too little has been done so far to carry out the decisions of the Fourth Congress on educational work, consequently no concrete results can be expected. In default of suitable organs, it was out of the question to speak of the various sections, of summarising, generalising, and exchanging these experiences, or of systematically putting the propaganda work into shape; consequently the development of Party organs and Party Institutions, of departments for agitation and propaganda, which must organise the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, will still be a fundamental task of the Communist International after the Fifth World Congress.

6. A further obstacle to the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism is the insufficient dissemination of Marxian-Leninist literature. There is dearth of original writings as well as of suitable popular text books which would facilitate the work. The classics of Marxist literature are bibliographical rarities in a great number of Western countries. There are almost no new editions. Only very seldom do new books appear which indicate new developments of Marxian thought or of the broad popularisation of the theory. In order to consolidate the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, it is absolutely necessary that the literary works of Marx and Lenin (at least the most important standard works) for study purposes, and text books, supplementary books, and popular writings which discuss the methods of Party training and study, be published in as many languages as possible.

7. Another obstacle to this work in the Communist International, is the inadequate co-ordination of the energies devoted to theoretical Marxian study work. There is not sufficient contact between the Marxists in the various sections of the Communist International active on the field of theory or deeply interested in theory, to render division of labour possible or an exchange of experiences, and consequently a fruitful development of the theory. This circumstance as well as the isolation from each of the theoretical and propaganda periodicals that do exist, render feasible the utilisation as propaganda of the results of the Marxian-Leninist investigation and the mutual examination and publication of results obtained. The work of co-ordinating the Marxian-Leninist forces in the international communist movement and the division of labour among these forces is also necessary to the organisational dissemination and intensification of propaganda work. It is necessary also to encourage the sections of the Communist International to publish theoretical and propaganda periodicals which would be suitable for satisfying the needs of educational work.

8. The immediate concrete tasks of the Communist International in centrally guiding and furthering propaganda activity

Organisation and development of the Department for Agitation and Propaganda. Furnishing this Department with

forces trained in Marxism-Leninism, and skilled in the organisation of propaganda work. Systematic control of the propaganda activity of the Parties. Centralisation and exchange of experiences. Support of the Parties in developing concrete methods and forms of Party trainings.

b) Re-arrangement and extension of the publication activity of the Communist International for the view to furnishing the Parties not only with political literature, but also with theoretical and propaganda literature. Publication of the most important works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and the production of popular literature consisting of text books and supplementary books on the fundamental questions of the communist programme and of communist tactics and organisation.

c) Publication of a propaganda periodical for the purpose of instructing Party officials and above all, the propagandists. The task of the periodical must be to act as a medium for the exchange of experiences, in elaborating questions of programme, in generally guiding and systematising the educational work of the Party, in elaborating paper and introductions, in investigating and working, in communicating systematic bibliographical material, and in suitably utilising for propaganda the results of the Marxian-Leninist investigations. In providing instructive material, the periodical would also supply the needs of the agitators. The periodical should appear in German, French, and English.

d) In order to supply at least the most important parties with qualified theoretical workers, the Communist International will co-opt a number of party workers for some length of time from the German, British, American, Czechoslovakian, Italian, and French, Oriental and if possible other Sections to Moscow, where they will devote themselves solely to the study of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrades will be selected for this purpose (workers, if possible) who, under general instructions, will be capable of doing scientific work and of further educating themselves independently in Marxism-Leninism. The purpose of the study is to assimilate a more thorough Marxian-Leninist training and to equip these comrades for independent, theoretically well-grounded political work.

e) Convene and prepare for a conference of officials entrusted with propaganda work in the most important sections, and of conductors of the Party schools, for the purpose of working out the most important concrete tasks of Party training, and adequately specialising and co-ordinating the methods.

f) Effective support of the Young Communist International by properly organising the training of communist youth.

III. The Tasks of Organisation of the Various Sections on the Field of Propaganda.

9. Agitational and propaganda activity must be regarded as a special branch of work of every Party, if possible, or at least, the most highly developed communist mass parties. Within the central apparatus, a special body must be set up for Party training (propaganda) and to guide agitational and propaganda activity. This body must guide Marxian-Leninist propaganda, must work out the system and method of conducting this propaganda, and furnish propaganda literature for educational work in Marxism-Leninism.

10. One of the pre-requisites for organised propaganda activity and systematic development of Party training, is to register all propagandist schools in Marxism, to specialise and secure a continuation of their education, and to support them in the educational work of the Party. New cadres for propaganda must be formed and the old ones must be revised in the spirit of Leninism. In view of the scarcity of propaganda specialists, they must be used not only for teaching directly, but also for instructing lectures who do not concern themselves specially with propaganda activity. Moreover, they must be organised into permanent commissions that meet periodically under the auspices of the Departments for Agitation and Propaganda, the task of which will be to render assistance to the Party members in their Marxian-Leninist education by word and deed, and to organise the work of education.

11. It is the duty of every Party to awaken interest this autumn in the theoretical, political, tactical and organisational questions of Marxism-Leninism by an as extensive campaign as possible. This campaign is to be carried on in connection with the death of Lenin, with the new programme of the Communist International, and with the actual political and internal questions

of the Communist International and the Parties. This campaign must also serve as the starting point for the systematic training of the Parties.

12. It will be necessary to raise the question of imposing on all members and particularly elected officials the duty of study. A special body must be formed within the training apparatus, which will offer the Party officials an opportunity to extend and intensify their theoretical knowledge. Wherever possible, education days must be introduced for the Party officials after the pattern of weekly Party conferences. Every Party member must be required to become acquainted with a certain minimum of political and theoretical knowledge at least to such a degree that the masses of the Party members will be able to answer the questions of the non-communist workers on the programme, the aims, and the tactical principles of the Communist Party, and to combat the most flagrant petty-bourgeois and social democratic prejudices of the working class. The Party must control the manner in which the members carry out this duty.

13. The Party press must be utilised for awakening interest in the work of Party training, in self-education, and in the problems of Marxism-Leninism. The communist periodicals must intensify the theoretical discussion of the actual political and tactical questions without impairing the clearness of the discussion in general.

The daily press of the Party must not refrain from discussing theoretical questions, but only in connection with the political everyday questions and the economic everyday struggles of the proletariat. The daily press must give carefully assembled bibliographical guidance. Every political question and every political event, every important anniversary must be utilised for popularising Marxian-Leninist literature by linking them up with the minimum knowledge which every communist worker must possess in those questions. The daily press must also support the efforts of self-education of the Party members with advice and in agreement with the Departments for Agitation and Propaganda of the Party. The bibliographical sections of the daily press, which must be enlarged for this task, must announce as completely and attractively as possible the appearance of communist literature and communist periodicals. The bibliographical sections of the periodicals must not confine itself merely to announcing and criticising the contents of the literature, but must discuss the ways and means of utilising the literature in propaganda work. The communist bibliography must be developed into one of the most important means for awakening a desire for Marxian education among the Party and non-Party masses.

14. A thorough discussion of the library question is also absolutely necessary. Marxian-Leninist libraries must be established in the party organisation. Those who have charge of the libraries must be put at the service of the workers who are trying to educate themselves, and must be instructed for this work. The Party must pay attention also to the public libraries (trade union and community libraries) and gain influence in these libraries wherever possible so that they can be put at the service of Marxian-Leninist propaganda.

IV. The Methods of Marxist Propaganda.

15. The methods of propaganda must be adapted to the conditions and stage of development of the various Sections. The following suggestions may serve as a common principle for all countries and Parties:

a) Party education must be so organised as to absorb, in some form or other, all the members of the Party. The Parties must see to it that each one of their members obtains at least a thorough knowledge of elementary Marxist-Leninist propaganda. But even the higher Party officials must continually refresh their political education to add to their knowledge and intensify their organisational and agitational activities.

b) Every department of the communist educational institutions and propaganda organs must be directed towards practical and definite aims, and must be composed of students of a similar level of education. When forming classes, drawing up programmes and selecting methods, the guiding principle for all propaganda institutions must be to train the students for a definite form of party work and for the solution of definite and practical questions.

c) Each department of the educational propaganda institutions must represent an independent whole, having definite tasks

to fulfil. It must not be regarded merely as a stepping stone to higher education.

16. In order to benefit as many Party members as possible (in spite of the paucity of intellectual and material means), the two forms of education should be adopted in the Marxist-Leninist propaganda institutions, viz. party-schools and self-education.

17. In connection with the former, the two poles of the Party-school system should be:

a) Central Party schools.

b) An extensive system of Party classes (Evening courses, series of lectures, Sunday Schools, etc.)

18. The central Party schools must bring together for shorter or longer periods (according to the financial resources of the Party) advanced Party workers (and eventually members of Parties of the same language groups) well versed in the principles of Marxism and Leninism. The aim of these central schools must be to systematise, extend and render more profound the student's knowledge of Marxism and Leninism, and thus train fully qualified party workers and new and strong bodies of propagandists for the development of our propagandist activities.

19. The principle aim of the elementary evening classes (Sunday schools) must be to impart elementary political knowledge to our Party members by teaching the first principles of Marxian-Leninist theory and method. The curriculum of these classes must be based on the programme of the Communist International. These classes must aim at making Party members fit to take up active party work and to carry on individual propaganda among the masses inside and especially outside the Party.

20. Between these two poles of the party school system various other forms of Party education may be organised and adapted to the conditions prevailing in the respective countries and parties. These forms of education can range from Sunday schools and short local study to district Party schools, able to cater to more advanced students and calculated to turn out local organisers and officials. Special efforts should be made to institute continual courses for propagandists in order to add to their knowledge and to keep them in practice.

21. Communist parties must not neglect to make their influence felt in workers colleges, factory council schools, trade union educational institutions, which under the guise of “non-party institutions” engage in working class education etc. They must combat the dangers which these schools present to proletarian class ideology and endeavour to get control over them in order to make them useful for communist education.

22. Neither the funds nor the intellectual material of the Parties are sufficient to carry out the ambitious scheme of establishing a network of Marxian-Leninist schools wide enough to cover the overwhelming majority of our membership in the near future. For this reason, and also because the school system alone cannot give to students a thorough and complete knowledge of Marxism-Leninism we must rouse the interests of our members in self-education which must be organised on a large scale. In this connection special attention should be paid to the group system of self-education (workers study circles). Every party must endeavour to set up a network of Marxian-Leninist study circles. The General Agitation Propaganda Committee of the Party must appoint a committee organised of comrades well trained in propaganda work and having pedagogical abilities. This Committee must promote self-education in Marxism and Leninism by giving advice to individual members and self-education groups by correspondence and through our various organs of the press.

23. Organisation of propaganda must not be limited to the higher Party organs, but must be also extended to the larger factory nuclei of the Party as well as to the smaller territorial party organisations. In all these organisations propaganda organisers must be selected whose business it must be to develop propaganda activities and to arouse the interests of the workers for Party education, in accordance with the instructions of the propaganda organs of the Party.

24. The Executive of the Communist International must see to it that in the course of the next twelve months a model school and several model evening classes (Sunday Schools) be established at least in the most important Parties for the dissemination of Marxism and Leninism. If desired by the Central Committee of any Party, the Executive must establish

direct connection with these model institutions in order to give them ideological and material support by providing them with books, appliances, etc. The Central Committees of the Parties must also maintain direct contact with the propaganda institutions and Marxian-Leninist study circles in the most important working class districts in their respective countries. The Communist International must also be the medium for establishing connection between the communist universities, Party schools, Marxian-Leninist study circles of the Russian Communist Party, and the corresponding institutions abroad.

25. Party organs must take an active part in the establishment of similar educational institutions for the youth, in providing them with propagandists and by drawing the youth into the educational institutions of the Party.

26. Communist Parties must also concern themselves with the higher education of communist students and other intellectuals. Communist students must not be allowed to remain in a state of splendid isolation. The existing communist student fractions or nuclei which hitherto have been select self-education circles without any particular system, must be transformed, under the direct guidance of experienced Party workers well versed in Marxism and Leninism and familiar with the labour movement, into education bodies capable of turning out fully qualified propagandists. Moreover, members of these student groups must be induced to take part in practical party work.

27. All Communist parties must place the question of the development of Marxian-Leninist propaganda and of the Party institutions engaged in it, on the agenda of their next Party Convention.

V. Programme and Methods of Propaganda.

28. The most urgent political aim of Marxian-Leninist propaganda is to bolshevise the party by connecting Party education all along the line with the existing political problems and the tactical and organisational tasks of the Communist International and of the various Communist Parties. This principle must underlie the entire programme and the methods of Communist propaganda work. Programmes as well as methods must concern themselves with the practical side of Party work. While avoiding abstract educational programmes and methods as much as possible, the Parties, however, must endeavour to provide Party officials and rank and file members with opportunities to acquire the theoretical knowledge which Marxism-Leninism offers to the working class and which, as the development of the Russian and international revolutions have shown, are alone capable of serving as a guide to the final goal. Great care must be taken, however, not to contrast Marxism to Leninism, or rather, the Marxism of the lifetime of Marx and Engels, to Leninism.

29. At all costs must we provide the conception arising that Marxism is the theory while Leninism is the practice of the revolutionary labour movement. Both Marxism and Leninism comprise the theory and practice of the working class struggle for emancipation. They represent the unity between revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice, in contradistinction to the decadent "Marxism" of the Second International which adhering to so-called "orthodox" Marxism separated theory from practice; it rejected revolutionary action in practice although it recognised it in theory. "Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialist and proletarian revolution. To put it more concisely: Leninism is the theory and the tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, and the theory and the tactics of the proletarian dictatorship in particular" (Stalin). This is the basis for the programme of communist education, the methods of Marxian-Leninist propaganda. The educational programme in the communist propaganda instructions cannot consist of Leninism without Marxism. In the epoch of imperialist development and proletarian revolution Marxism cannot be adequately advocated except in the form of Leninism.

30. Marxian-Leninist economics are the theory of the State and must occupy a prominent place in the syllabus of Party schools. Events in the epoch of imperialism must serve as the basis of the study of economic theory. The syllabus must also include the study of the strategic, tactical, and organisational problems of the proletarian revolution and the Leninist solution of these problems on the basis of the history of the Russian and international revolution. Last but not least, the syllabus must include the history of the labour movement in the most important countries and at home, as well as the history of the Party of the given country, a prominent place being given to

social conditions and the role of opportunism in the labour movement. In agrarian countries, special stress must be laid on the agrarian question and the relations between the working class and the peasantry as Lenin advocated it. Of special importance is extensive and intensive propaganda of the theoretical and tactical problems of armed rising and civil war. Equally must the principles of Leninism on the national and colonial question be propagated in the respective countries.

In all countries also, the economic and social position of working women must be definitely propagated.

31. At no stage of Communist Party education must Marxian-Leninist philosophy be lost sight of. Marx, Engels, and Lenin were all militant materialists. Their doctrine and their philosophy brought philosophical materialism to the highest stage, viz. dialectical materialism into the syllabus of communist education pursues also a political aim: the teaching of materialism will make our Communist Parties impervious to the certain ideological tendencies which exist in our ranks; to the various forms of philosophic idealism, to religion, and to indifferentism on the question of religion, etc. All these tendencies in the last resort represent alien class interests within the proletarian organisations. Therefore the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism without the propaganda of militant materialism cannot be regarded as complete. Hence, the curriculum of all Party schools must include this propaganda.

32. The methods to be applied in Party schools, and in self-education circles must be carefully selected. Unless propaganda is methodical, it will not achieve its aim and will only result in useless expenditure of the energy of the propagandists, and the masses among whom they work. Experience has shown that wrong methods frequently lead to the disintegration of the entire propaganda system and to the dissolution of many propaganda institutions. This being so, great care must be taken in training propagandists not only in the theories of Marxism-Leninism, but also in the methods of imparting their own knowledge to the students in the Party Schools and to the masses. The Central propaganda organs of the Party must see to it that these propagandists obtain instruction in method. They must collect material on educational methods, study it, penetrate it, and apply it.

VI. Organisation of Marxian Research and Literary Activities.

33. Leninism is not only the revival of revolutionary Marxism, but also an extension of its theoretical and practical content. Marxian thought and Marxian theory have not yet sufficiently permeated the Communist International. Not enough initiative and organisation has been displayed in the development of Marxian research work. The attempts of the decadent Marxians of the Second International to continue the work of the "orthodox" pre-war Marxism, of Austrian Marxism, could not but fail for the reason that it is impossible even to pretend that social democratic practice, and the theories of Kautsky, Hilferding, Bauer & Co., is really Marxian. The general decadence of scientific research after the war naturally affected Marxian research as well. The only country where Marxian research and literature have received an impetus is in Soviet Russia where the revolutionary proletariat has established its dictatorship. As far as the Western Communist Parties are concerned they cannot boast of any achievements on the field of Marxian research. The Communist International must do its utmost not only to encourage the study of Marxism-Leninism for propaganda purposes, but also to provide opportunities for scientific research and study on this field.

34. The Marx-Engels Institute, the Lenin Institute and the Communist Academy are the international centres for theoretic work and scientific research on the field of Marxism-Leninism. The task of the Communist International is to make the results of the research work carried on in these scientific institutions accessible to the international communist movement. This can be achieved:

a) Through the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Comintern, which through its connection with these institutes can make use of the results of their research work on an international scale.

b) By grouping around these institutions the Party workers of all Communist Parties who are interested and active in theoretical research work.

c) By utilising the research work of these institutions as material for a periodical publication of Marxian-Leninist research,

of the published classical works of Marxism, and all the scientific and critical works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and also a Communist encyclopedia.

35. In addition to central Party schools, work centres of Marxian-Leninist research and continuation of studies must be established in the most important Sections of the Comintern. These Sections must also be provided with Marx-Lenin libraries.

The object of these laboratories is: to encourage Marxian-Leninist research work, to organise colleges for comrades interested in theoretical studies, to help in the elaboration of political and propagandist works, etc. These laboratories must also be the connecting link between the various Sections of the Comintern and the Marx and Lenin Research Institutes of the U. S. S. R.

Resolution on the Trade Union Question.

I.

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

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

II. On Deviations of Certain Trade Unionists in the Communist Party of Germany.

The Fifth Congress of the Communist International declares that the position of comrade Schumacher and other comrades on the trade union question and their activity in the trade 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, demands the splitting up of the trade union movement in Germany. The Fifth Congress calls upon all those who have left the unions to return and generally calls upon workers to join unions. The Fifth Congress asserts that the trade unions are the rallying ground of all the exploited on which the communists must conduct their educational and propagandist activity. The abandonment of the trade unions implies desertion from the revolution and co-operation with the enemies of the proletariat.

Our Tactics in the Trade Union Movement.

(Theses by A. Lozovsky.)

I. The Turning Point in the Labour Movement.

The characteristic features of 1924 are:

a) The general and comprehensive retreat of the workers has ceased;

b) a workers' offensive is taking place in some countries and industries, while in other countries the workers are resisting all attempts to force down conditions of labour;

c) international reformism has consolidated more than ever its connection with the ruling classes and is bringing political as well as economic blacklegging into play, and is thereby doing its best to sabotage independent labour action;

d) the Amsterdam International stands revealed as an Entente and imperialist organization (supporting Ruhr occupation, Experts' Report, etc.); within it there is a minority, which has not yet assumed a definite form, but shows great dissatisfaction with the old policy;

e) the discontent of the workers and of the lower middle class in some countries (Great Britain, France, Denmark) has led to the substitution of the old reactionary governments by semi-socialistic, pacifist governments, which are pledged to carry out the old bourgeois policy under a new banner;

f) the moral, political, organizational and financial decline of the reformist trade unions, which has robbed them of their influence over the masses, was accompanied by the growth and development of revolutionary unions and minorities which began to play an increasingly important role, not only in the political, but also in the economic actions of the proletariat;

g) the importance of the Comintern and of the Communist Parties in the world trade union movement has increased considerably.

All this has made the Profintern, which at first was merely an international propaganda committee, a real world organization of revolutionary unions;

h) this being so, the reformists are making a terrific onslaught on the revolutionary trade unions (expulsion of communists, organization of anti-bolshevik sections, intensification of libellous campaigns, etc.), while the Amsterdam International did its share in the matter of taming the revolutionary trade unions;

i) as the higher organs of the reformist trade unions develop into a weapon of fascist reaction, in some countries (Germany) a tendency arose to demand a change of tactics on the part of the Comintern, i. e., to leave the old trade unions and to form new organizations.

These fundamental points must be borne in mind, if we wish to adopt a definite policy in the trade union movement which is to guide us in the future.

II. The Fight for Unity.

The fight for unity in the world trade union movement has occupied a very prominent place in all the activities of the Comintern. This is the case, not because the Comintern makes a fetish of organization, but because it is convinced that by fighting for unity within the trade unions, communists are extending the sphere of influence of the Communist Parties and of the Communist International, while keeping all the time in contact with the masses. The fight for the unity of the trade union movement is the best means and method of capturing the masses.

That is why the Comintern and the Communist Parties adhering to it, must not allow anything to interfere with the lines they have adopted on this question. The old slogans of the Comintern — Capture and not Destruction of Trade Unions, Opposition to Desertion of Trade Unions, Efforts to bring back into the Unions those who left them, Fight for Unity, are still in force and must be put into practice with the utmost determination and energy.

This does not only apply to countries where the overwhelming majority of revolutionary workers belong to reformist trade unions, but also to countries with parallel reformist and revolutionary trade union centres (France, Czechoslovakia). Communist Parties must on no account allow reformists to get the monopoly of the fight for unity, for they demoralize and disorganize the workers' movement while paying lip service to unity. In the fight for unity it is also the duty of communists not to allow expelled and unorganized workers to become scattered, it is essential to keep them together and to organize them for the future fight against capitalism and reformism. But even in that case, the task of re-establishing unity devolves mainly on expelled trade unionists and parallel organizations.

III. The Amsterdam International and its Left Wing.

Our attitude to the Amsterdam International as defined by former congresses, remains in force. The Amsterdam International, as represented by its supreme organ, is a bulwark of international imperialism, an organization which reflects very vividly the conservatism, backwardness, national narrow

mindfulness and bourgeois-imperialist frame of mind of sections of the working class more exposed than others to the corrupting influence of the bourgeoisie. Opposition to the Amsterdam International and its theories and practices is now as before one of the main tasks of the Comintern and its Sections. Ruthless exposure of the lackeys of capitalism, war to the knife against this bulwark of bourgeois-capitalist and fascist reaction, — such is the slogan of the near future.

There are two things which we must never leave sight of in our fight against the Amsterdam International: a) that millions of proletarians belong to the Amsterdam trade unions; b) the appearance of a left wing in the Amsterdam organization which has no definite form and is politically unstable.

The fact that there are millions of workers in the ranks of the Amsterdam International, should act as an incentive to Communist Parties to intensify tenfold their efforts in the fight for the emancipation of these workers from reformist illusions. In a matter of this kind, it is not enough to carry on agitation and propaganda. The progress of the emancipation of the workers from the reformist illusions will depend on the measure of communist influence on the economic fights of the working class. Economic conflicts provide splendid opportunities for the application of united front tactics, for in such conflicts it should not be difficult for communists to expose the fascist strike-breaking role of the reformist leaders.

The left wing of the Amsterdam International has no clear programme and tactics. Furthermore, composed as it is of several tendencies, it does not even attempt to work out any sort of platform. Their attitude towards the question of their relations to the Russian Trade Unions is in a state of germination. Meanwhile, the left wing does not differ considerably from the right wing on fundamental political questions (reparations, conclusions of commission of experts, colonial policy, coalition with the bourgeoisie, etc.).

The fundamental and root deficiency of the left wing is that its leaders wish to "reconcile" reformism and communism and hope to find a middle course between these deadly enemies. Its inconsistency, political vagueness, and half-heartedness were amply demonstrated at the Vienna Conference of the Amsterdam International. The left wing at that time reflected a serious movement among the masses, especially in Britain, a movement of dissatisfaction against the old policy and desire to find a way out of the blind alley of reformism. It would be a great mistake if we adopted an uncritical attitude towards the activities of the left wing and if we remained silent to its inconsistencies, political vagueness and half-heartedness.

Communists and trade union organizations under their control must propose to the Amsterdam International to form joint organs of action against bourgeois capitalist reaction. Those proposals must be made whenever there is an opportunity for joint action and demonstrations against the programme and tactics of the Amsterdam International. Communists must insist that the left elements within the Amsterdam International who advocate the desirability of an agreement with the revolutionary unions, should show in practice that they mean business when they talk like this. Our support of this left wing will be commensurate with its readiness to make common cause with us in our actions and demonstrations. Communists must not forget that the left wing of the Amsterdam International desires to save this International not by repudiating the old tactics, but by introducing minor alterations into these tactics. The task of the Communist Party consists in bringing pressure to bear on separate sections of the Amsterdam International through the trade unions which are under their influence.

IV. The Fight for Unity in the International Trade Union Movement.

The work which the Profintern carried on for four years has resulted in the consolidation and unification of all revolutionary elements of the world trade union movement into one world organization. The monopoly of the Amsterdam International is a thing of the past. The task of the Comintern and of the Communist Parties is to fight energetically for a still greater unification of the revolutionary trade unions, to rally them to the banner of the Profintern and increase communist influence and communist leadership in the Red Unions in all countries. This can only be achieved, if on this field too, the fight for the unity of the trade union movement be carried on systematically. The ideological political crisis which

is reaching a climax in the Amsterdam International, the rise of a Left Wing, which aims at the establishment of a united front with the left revolutionary unions, and the growth of revolutionary ideas in the British trade union movement, give the Communist International and the Communist Parties of all countries an opportunity to carry on a successful and decisive fight for the re-establishment of unity in the international trade union movement.

This unity could be re-established through the convocation of an international unity congress in which all trade unions adhering to the Amsterdam International and to the Profintern would take part on a basis of proportional representation. Such be able to lay the foundation for a new international organizations of the whole world would have representation, would be able to lay the foundation for a new international organization of the organized proletariat. Such a congress would be a gigantic step forward in the direction of gathering all our forces for the fight against the bourgeoisie. The creation of a united International on the basis of freedom of agitation and strict discipline in all actions against the bourgeoisie should lead to the dissolution of the existing parallel Internationals (the Profintern, the Amsterdam International). Until we have succeeded to re-establish the unity of the international trade union movement, the Communist International and the Communist Parties must continue to support and help the Profintern and all organizations adhering to it.

V. The Weak Points of Our Work.

Although great and important work was done by all Communist Parties on the trade union field, we must admit that during the last two years there have been features in our work, against which we must put up an energetic fight. The weak points of our work in the trade union movement are as follows:

1. The absence in many countries of communist fractions, and the construction of these fractions (wherever they exist) from above.
 2. The failure to form fractions in organizations under communist leadership, or under the leadership of organizations akin to us.
 3. The failure to form fractions in reformist unions, where parallel revolutionary organizations exist (France).
 4. A lack of discipline among Party members, who allow themselves to be guided by their own impressionist views, hence desertion of trade union and elaboration of their own trade union policy regardless of the decisions of the Party and of the Comintern (Germany).
 5. The supercilious attitude of the Parties towards revolutionary trade unions formed parallel to reformist unions (America, Belgium, Holland), instead of systematic leadership of these revolutionary workers and their training in the spirit of our fractions.
 6. Abstract propaganda inside trade unions instead of intensifying oppositional fight against reformists on the basis of the everyday demands of the working class.
 7. Lack of attention, with a few exceptions (Germany) to the formation and work of factory and workshop committees, and inability to take advantage of economic actions of large masses to form factory and workshop committees.
 8. Half-hearted opposition to craft tendencies and prejudices, which are still firmly imbedded in the minds of even revolutionary workers.
 9. There is much to find fault with in the general political and party preparation for trade union and factory councils, congresses and conferences at which communists put in only an occasional appearance.
 10. Unnecessary nervousness with regard to the attempts of the reformists to cause splits, failure to make a proper political use of individual and especially of mass-expulsions from trade unions.
 11. Failure fully to recognize that factories, factory and workshop committees and trade unions are the natural field for the organization of workers' united front.
 12. Failure to fully appreciate the significance and the rôle of trade union work, and hence lack of attention to this work on the part of the Party press. The central organs of local parties do not devote enough space to trade union questions. The absence of trade union agitation and propaganda literature.
- All the above mentioned weak points can be observed almost in all countries in varying degrees. And it must be said that

the weakest point and the main cause of our deficient work within the Trade Unions — is the absence of, or the embryonic state, of Party Nuclei in factories and other enterprises. The formation of Party Nuclei in factories and other enterprises is the pre-condition for the creation of fractions from below, the intensification of Party activities within the trade union movement and for the adoption of a common line of action in all the stages of trade union organization.

VI. Our Immediate Tasks.

1. The main tasks of all Communist Parties is the formation of fighting fractions in factories on industrial and general trade union lines and the intensification of communist control over the activities and work of individual members, and especially over trade union fractions.

2. The centre of gravity of our work must be in the midst of the masses in the place of their employment; hence, necessity to form factory and workshop committees, wherever they do not exist, and to revolutionize and intensify the work of the already existing factory and workshop committees. We must do our utmost to make factory and workshop committees take an active and energetic part in all economic actions, acting wherever it is necessary, against reformist trade unions when these make common cause with the employers.

3. It is absolutely necessary to every Party to raise and solve the question of fighting organs for the control and leadership of economic actions. This is of special importance, where revolutionary workers are in reformist unions and where the issue of economic actions depends on the secret negotiations and compromises of the trade union bureaucracy.

4. It is necessary to amalgamate in every country all the independent revolutionary unions, as well the unions of the expelled trade unionists. Having amalgamated them, we must connect them through the Committees of Action with the opposition inside reformist organizations.

5. We must fight more energetically against the treachery of the trade union leaders, making their treacherous actions a subject of discussion in all enterprises and factories. We must popularize among the masses the slogan "Out with the treacherous bureaucrats from the ranks of the proletariat."

6. Wherever the trade union movement is split, it is essential to carry on systematic work among the masses for the re-establishment of trade union unity by means of the convocation of a general trade union unity congress on the basis of proportional representation and freedom of ideological action. The slogan of the re-establishment of the unity of the disunited trade union movement for the sake of unity of action of workers of all tendencies against capitalism, must be our main slogan for the near future.

7. Wherever the desertions of trade unions have become more acute as a result of the political and economic strike breaking methods of the trade union bureaucracy, the Parties must carry on an energetic fight against these defeatist and passive tendencies. Ruthless war must be declared against communist desertions from trade unions. The fight in these countries must be carried on under the slogan: "Back to the trade unions."

8. We must work energetically for the organization of the as yet unorganized workers for the purpose of drawing them into our fight. It would be a mistake to create new organizations for the unorganized; the natural rallying point for all unorganized workers, including those who for some reason or other left their trade unions, are factory and workshop committees, Committees of Action in times of demonstrations, etc. The work connected with the unification of the unorganized, must aim at bringing them back into the trade unions and in converting workers who are dissatisfied with the trade union's policy, into active fighters against the trade union bureaucracy.

9. It is essential to pay special attention to the organization of workers engaged in branches of industry likely to play a decisive rôle in the working class struggles for power (transport, the mining, metal and chemical industries, electricity, gas, etc.). The success of communist work in the trade unions will be

commensurate with communist success in the matter of linking up and organizing the above mentioned important branches of industry.

10. It is essential to proceed with the formation of mixed committees (French—German, German—Polish, German—Czecho—Franco—Italian, French—German—British, Anglo—Russian, Russo—Polish, etc.). These mixed committees must organize joint parallel actions in the various countries. Such mixed committees can play a very important part in the revolutionary movement, if the Parties will pay the necessary attention to the organization of these committees and to the selection of the members of these international and inter-State organs of the revolutionary fight of the proletariat.

11. The Communist Parties of countries whose bourgeoisie exploits colonial and semi-colonial peoples, must pay special attention to the growing trade union movement in the colonies, first of all, for the purpose of emancipating these young trade union organizations from nationalist ideology, and secondly, for the purpose of freeing them from the domination of the imperialist policy of the trade union bureaucracy of the fatherland.

12. In countries where, under the banner of trade union independence and autonomy, a policy is carried on which is hostile to communist parties and communism, it is essential to intensify our work among the masses which must be made to realize the anti-proletarian character of this slogan, and made closer collaboration with trade union elements which identify themselves with the decisions of the Profintern congresses. Opposition to anarcho-syndicanist demagoguery and confusion of ideas is the foremost task of the Communist Parties of these countries.

13. To be successful in our fight, we must know our enemies. Therefore, communist parties in conjunction with trade unions, must take a careful study of employers' organizations and of their internal organizations, as well as of the organs created by them and of the methods they use for the corruption and disintegration of working class organizations. The employers have many agents among the workers. Communist parties and revolutionary trade unions must organize their own secret agencies, in order to be well informed about the forces and the power of resistance of our class enemies.

14. All communist parties must establish a close connection between the trade unions and members of these unions serving in the army. The anti-militarist work of the communist parties would greatly benefit by the establishment of special organs and funds forming a link between the soldiers and the respective trade unions. Special efforts must be made to link up the seamen's organizations with the sailors of the navy.

VII. Concluding Remarks.

The Fifth Congress of the Communist International, while endorsing all the decisions of former Comintern Congresses, on the tasks of communists in the trade union movement, draws the attention of all communist parties on the exceptional importance of work in the trade unions. There must be no hesitation on this question. They play an important part at the time of Social Revolution, for they will be entrusted with the important task of Social Construction, when they will have become, after the victory of the proletariat, organs of proletarian dictatorship. It is therefore essential to continue to work in the lines laid down by our congresses. Capturing of trade unions is tantamount to capturing the masses. All communist parties have made great strides forward in this direction. We must continue on this path in spite of the treachery of the trade union bureaucracy and in spite of temporary defeats and vacillations on this question. This is a vital question for the social revolution. For this reason the Fifth Congress of the Communist International urges its Sections to keep faithfully to the decisions which were made and to persist in their work within the trade unions, until the masses are on our side.

The Fifth Congress urges all communists to stand up for the principles described above at the forthcoming Third Congress of the Profintern.

(Theses and Resolutions to be continued.)