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Theses and Resolutions Adopted by the V. World Congress of the Comintern

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 enable the Communist International, during this stage of the fiercest attacks of capitalism, to develop almost everywhere with increased strength.

In this period of one and a half years, the capitalist offensive has developed in most capitalist countries into fierce attacks upon the revolutionary proletariat, as in Bulgaria, Italy, Germany, Poland, Finland, Rumania, 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 Czecho-Slovakia 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 backslidings. In no country, however, was the power of capitalism able to break up the organisation of the Communist leaders, or to sever 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

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brutal persecution from without, the Communist Party of Germany quickly rallied its members, 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 Czecho-Slovakia 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 left 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.

4. The Executive—in accord with the views of the left—had already criticised the opportunist digressions of the Leipzig Conference of the German Communist Party; it also 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. 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. 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'état*, 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 Execu-

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tive. 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 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 opportunists 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 Bolshevikisation 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 **Czecho-Slovakia** 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. 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 manœuvring. 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 to-day 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 hardly had any 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 the 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 Communistic 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 the 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 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 manœuvre, 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 collec-

tively 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 in 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 duties 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 in 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-bourgeoisie) party also indicates some change to aid a "democratic-pacifist" period in American 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 regime. In Czecho-Slovakia, 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 stabilisation 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 armaments 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 pre-requisite 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 labour 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 organised; 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 organisations, 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 re-grouping 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. Parliamentary 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 Fascist 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, demoralised, 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 organising 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 organisation 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 formulæ of the Third and Fourth Congresses on 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 to-day 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 organisation 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 formulæ 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 captured 99 per cent. 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 historical 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 Organisational Construction of the Party on the Basis of Factory and Workshop Party Nuclei.

A considerable number of European Communist Parties is still faithful to the old Social-Democratic principles of organisational 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 *bona fide* 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 organisations, etc.).

This is not an organisational, 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 organisation 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 neutralisation 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 in 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 questions, 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 organisations.

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 the 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-revolution leaders of the Social-Democratic Party and to free the Social-Democratic workers from the influence of these traitors of the working class, the representatives 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 organisation, 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 manœuvres, 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 realise them in practice or they attempt to apply the tactics of the united front only to the economic and not the political field. Manœuvring, 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 manœuvring.

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 right, 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 mobilised its forces sufficiently even to organise 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 mobilisation 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 formulæ, sets itself the concrete tasks of winning the masses in the fight for definite daily aims and daily demands, organising 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 realise 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 realised 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 mobilisation 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.

XI. 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 has endeavoured to distort the watchword of the Workers' and Peasants' Government by interpreting it as a government "within the framework of bourgeois democracy," as a political alliance with Social-Democracy.

The Fifth World Congress of the Comintern categorically rejects such an interpretation. The watchword of the Workers' and Peasants' Government for the Comintern is the 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 mobilising the masses for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie 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 to-day 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 organisation 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 a 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 manœuvres 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 ir-reconcilable mass Communist Party of proletarian revolution which attracts the masses and trains them for the revolutionary struggle.

XIV. THE BOLSHEVISATION OF THE PARTY AND THE FORMATION OF A SINGLE WORLD COMMUNIST PARTY.

The most important task in the present period of activity of the Comintern is to Bolshevise 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 manœuvre, *i.e.*, its tactics must not be dogmatic or sectarian ; it must be able to resort to every strategical manœuvre 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 centralised 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.

Bolshevising 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 nationalisation 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 forma-

tion 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 organisation 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 considered their influence organisationally 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 subject 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 organisational 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 organise 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 businesslike 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.

Czecho-Slovakia.

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 Czecho-Slovak Party. The reason why these tendencies have not become utterly bankrupt, as they have in Germany is that the tempo of political life in Czecho-Slovakia 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, the lesson must be learned by the Czecho-Slovak Party. Composed on the whole of excellent proletarian elements, nevertheless, the Czecho-Slovak 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 recognise 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 organisationally 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.



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: lock-outs, 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 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 Legion 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 prizefighters 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 upgrade.

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 experienced. 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, un-

til 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 crisis.

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 snatched from the bigger bourgeois as one of the profits of inflation and then to a great extent sent abroad, now, as a result of the stabilisation fell to the petty bourgeoisie, the civil servant, 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, Czecho-Slovakia, 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 agriculturalists are unable to pay the high rents, the interests 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, Czecho-Slovakia, 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; inter-allied 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 Balkanised Europe are obstructing each other. In addition to the economic interests of the bourgeoisie, a leading factor in this connection is the preparation 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 to create a self-sufficient British Empire by means of reciprocity tariffs failed largely on account of the opposition from 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 per cent. in the course of one month. The pound sterling which early in this period reached within 3 to 4 per cent. of its gold parity, has again dropped to 10 per cent. 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 bourgeoisie.

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 imperialistic programme.

24. The momentary military predominance of France made it possible 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 the 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 Europe 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 advantages 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 "volkische" 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 alteration, 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, provided 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.



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 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 organisations only up to the moment of their decision by the competent Party organs. After decisions have been arrived at on the given question by the Congress of the Communist International, the 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 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 no 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 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 programme 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 the

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. has 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's 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 accepted as sympathising organisations, must systematically send the 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 dis-organisation 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 must be brought about by mutual representation at conferences and Party congresses, as well as by 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.

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.

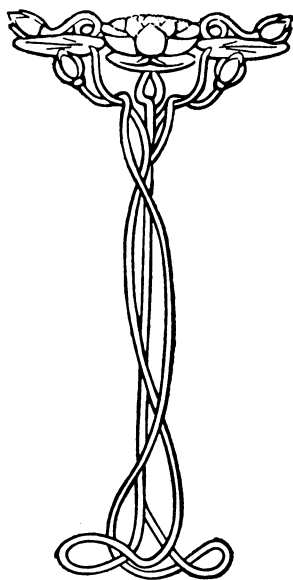
Par. 32. Ordinary as well as extraordinary national congresses can be convened by the sections of the Comintern only with the consent of the E.C.C.I.

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.



Resolution on Reorganisation of the Party on the Basis of the Shop 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 re-act 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 with the decision of the Fourth Congress on this subject, and which the Fifth Congress hereby confirms. The Congress regards it as one of the important tasks of the Communist Party in the near future to effect a re-organisation 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 re-organisation on the basis of the Bolshevik Party. Re-organisation 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

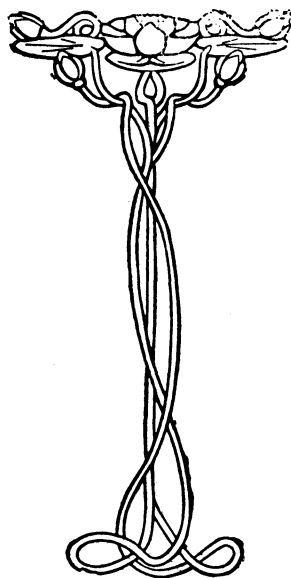
and accept members, collect the contributions of its members, retain percentage of the contributions, register its members, and so on. The factory nucleus gives each member some definite work and makes it his duty to carry out the work entrusted to him. It is obvious that the activities of the factory 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 re-organisation 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 this 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, re-organisation 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 re-organisation 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. Re-organisation 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 nuclei, 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 can 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 van-

guard 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 Parties 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 a great advantage for the Communist Parties, and indicates the superiority of the Third International over the Second International; it means nevertheless that the proletarian masses of 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 principles of revolutionary practice; by systematic propaganda of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and of thoroughly imbuing the minds 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 a 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 work. This circumstance as well as the isolation from each other of the few theoretical and propaganda periodicals that do exist, render impossible the utilisation as propaganda of the results of the Marxian-Leninist investigation and the mutual examination and utilisation 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 are :

(a) Organisation and development of the Department for Agitation and Propaganda. Furnishing this Department with forces trained in Marxism-Leninism and skilled in the the propaganda activity of the Parties. Centralisation and 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 with a 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 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 lecturers 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 the 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 confide 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 con-

tinually 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 net work 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 prevent 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 imperialism 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 instruction 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 and the theory of the State 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 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 and 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

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 Balkan 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.

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 organisation (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, organisational 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 organisation of revolutionary unions.

(h) This being so, the reformists are making a terrific onslaught on the revolutionary trade unions (expulsion of Communists, organisation of anti-Bolshevik sections, intensification of libellous campaigns, etc.), while the Amsterdam International does 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 organisations.

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 organisation, 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 demoralise and disorganise 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 unorganised workers to become scattered, it is essential to keep them

together and to organise 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 organisations.

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 organisation which reflects very vividly the conservatism, backwardness, national narrow-mindedness 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 organisation 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 organisations 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 organisation. 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 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 in our efforts 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 organisations 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 organisations under Communist leadership, or under the leadership of organisations akin to us.
3. The failure to form fractions in reformist unions, where parallel revolutionary organisations 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 embedded 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 recognise that factories, factory and workshop committees and trade unions are the natural field for the organisation of workers' united front.

12. Failure to fully appreciate the significance and the role 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 organisation.

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 revolutionise 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 as the unions of the expelled trade unionists. Having amalgamated them, we must connect them through the Committees of Action with the opposition inside reformist organisations.

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 popularise 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 organisation of the as yet unorganised workers for the purpose of drawing them into our fight. It would be a mistake to create new organisations for the unorganised ; the natural rallying point for all unorganised 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 unorganised, 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 organisation of workers engaged in branches of industry likely to play a decisive role 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 organising 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 organise joint paralld 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 organisation 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 organisations 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 realise the anti-proletarian character of this slogan, and make closer collaboration with trade union elements which identify themselves with the decisions of the Profintern congresses. Opposition to anarcho-syndicalist 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' organisations and of their internal organisations, as well as of the organs created by them and of the methods they use for the corruption and disintegration of working class organisations. The employers have many agents among the workers. Communist parties and revolutionary trade unions must organise their own secret agencies, in order to be well informed about the forces and the power of resistance of our class enemies.

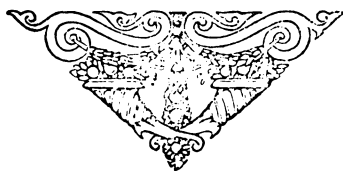
14. All Communist parties must establish a close connection between the trade unions and members of these unions serving in the army. The anti-militarist work of the Communist parties would greatly benefit by the establishment of special organs and funds forming a link between the soldiers and the respective trade unions. Special efforts must be made to link up the seamen's organisations 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 on the lines laid down by our congresses. Capturing of trade unions is tantamount to cap-

turing 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.



Resolution on the British Labour Government

The Labour Government of Great Britain is a bourgeois imperialist government and not a government of the working class. It is a devoted servant of His Majesty the King, of the Empire of the capitalists, independent of Socialism, independent of the Labour movement, and dependent upon the dominant class only. As agent of the bourgeoisie it continues the policy of imperialistic suppression and exploitation of the masses of India, Egypt, Africa and so forth, and gives support to the policy of defending capitalism, strengthening of British imperialism and carrying out the economic and financial colonisation of the countries defeated in the world war. It is not even a Labour Government in its composition, but a coalition government, made up of the leaders of the Second International who betrayed the workers in the war, and of Liberal politicians and Tory lords. In positions of the government, where the influence of the imperialists is most acutely felt, the old gang of imperialists are in office and in power.

The creation of the Labour government is not a peculiar British phenomenon. It is a product of the period of capitalist disintegration, wherein the old forms of capitalist government become incapable of solving the national and international, social, political and economic problems generated by capitalism. In this period the capitalist class resorts to a variety of means of defence, ranging from labourism (Socialist ministerialism) with its social pacifism, to fascism and all its forms, according to the sharpness of the class-antagonisms and the relation between social classes. The Labour Government and the fascist government are the extremes of the methods used by the bourgeoisie to continue their dictatorship.

By their inability to solve the problems of post-war capitalism, the bourgeois parties in Britain sharpen class-antagonism. With dissention growing in the ranks of their own parties and alarmed at new evidences of increasing class consciousness in the ranks of the workers, they agreed to the creation of the Labour Government by the time servers of the Second International.

This is not the workers' government for which the British workers have toiled and sacrificed. Its six months'

record of activity stamps it as a government of working class betrayal. Under the cover of minor concessions—the apparent reduction in the cost of living, the abolition of the gap in unemployment pay, and volumes of pacifist promises—it has conducted a bourgeois imperialist policy as vigorously, and certainly with more success than its predecessors of the right wing of the bourgeoisie.

Towards the workers in Britain it adopted a policy of liberal toleration as long as they remained quiet and did not menace the capitalist class. Immediately they began actively to protest, the Labour Government set police spies to work in working class organisations, introduced blackleg labour in strikes, mobilised the police to dragoon the protesting workers, and prepared military measures against them, as in the railway strike. The miners did not even receive a minimum wage. The Labour Government permitted the Liberals and Tories to defeat the nationalisation of mines and the miners' minimum wage bills without the slightest effort to mobilise the working class against them. No attempt has been made to break the grip of the aristocratic officer caste on the military forces or otherwise to weaken this powerful weapon of British capitalism in its actions against the workers.

Under the cover of pacifist promises it has gone to the limit of its capacity to build cruisers and air fleets and it has adopted strenuous measures to perfect the war equipment for the butchery and enslavement of the workers. Under the cover of pacifism, this Labour government is preparing on behalf of the bourgeoisie a new slaughter exceeding in horror the mass murder of the so-called great war.

The struggle in the ranks of the working class against the Labour Government has become, therefore, a struggle for the protection of mankind from mass destruction.

As the custodian of British Imperialism, the Labour Government denies the elementary political rights of organisation to the Indian workers, condones their persecution and starvation, and supports with its authority the bombing, shooting and terrorism conducted against the masses of India, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. Ireland remains in the grip of British imperialism, and hundreds of the working men of Ireland remain in prison with the consent of the Labour Government.

The Labour Government has become the administrator of the Versailles Treaty, and allied itself openly with American and French imperialism and the German bourgeoisie, to

apply the Experts' Plan for the more efficient enslavement and deeper degradation of the workers of Germany. Even in its relations with the United Socialist Soviet Republics, it has proved the falsity of its claim to be custodian of the interests of the working class by its shameful support of the bond-holders and bankers against the workers and peasants of Russia.

While the Labour Government is thus defending capitalism at every step, it is trying to spread the illusion that it is pursuing a policy of strengthening the workers' movement and saving mankind from war. The leaders of the Labour Party, and especially those of the Independent Labour Party, are the most powerful allies of the Labour Government in this treacherous work. If the Labour Party really represented the workers, it would, in spite of the opposition of the dominant class, use its influence to mobilise the masses for the struggle against British capitalism. But, blind to the realities of the class war, corrupted by the spoils of capitalist democracy, and dazzled by the electoral success, the Labour Party plays upon the prejudices of the most ignorant sections of the working class organisations, including the Labour Party itself, and surrenders them to the bourgeoisie without a semblance of a fight.

It is the task of the Communist International and its section, the Communist Party of Great Britain, to rescue the working class movement from the reactionary leadership now dominating it; to destroy the illusions that still exist in the minds of the masses that their liberation can come through the gradual process of parliamentary reformism; to make clear to the workers that only through fierce class war and the crushing of the power of the bourgeoisie can they ever win their freedom from capitalist exploitation. For this purpose, and this purpose alone, the Communist Party of Britain must continue its struggle for affiliation to the Labour Party, and this struggle must be won by continuous battle with reformism all along the line. In this struggle against the betrayals by the Labour Party, the leadership devolves upon the Communist Party of Britain. Already a serious fermentation is taking place within the broad masses who are discontented with the reactionary Labour Party leadership. Unofficial strikes are breaking out repeatedly against the will of, and in opposition to, the trade union bureaucracy. The Left-wing movement has now manifested itself even in the directing organs of the British trade unions. It has no clear-cut programme. It is timid and vacillating. Nevertheless, it represents the growing discontent amongst the workers against the old leadership.

Inside the amorphous Left-wing movement organised minority movements are taking shape. They have a clear-cut programme, consist of revolutionary and disciplined workers and spread from district to district popularising the policy of the Red International of Labour Unions. Though ridiculed and denounced by the trade union bureaucracy, they are the first steps to organise the revolt of the masses against the treacherous leadership and are a guarantee that the revolutionary spirit of the masses is developing, and will, under the leadership of the Communist Party, rescue the working class movement from disaster. To win this victory, the Communist Party in Britain has (a) to support the Left-wing movement in all its actions against the trade union bureaucracy, its strikes, its propaganda, and combat all waverings within its ranks and without hesitating, to expose ruthlessly at the same time the weaknesses and inconsistencies of that movement; (b) to strengthen the solidarity of the minority movement and unite it on a national basis, with a programme based upon the platform of the Red International of Labour Unions; (c) to strengthen the minority movement by fighting for the creation of workshop committees, and thus lay the foundations of an industrial unionism with the shop committees as a basis of industrial organisation; (d) to struggle for the active participation of the British trade union movement in the international struggles of the proletariat.

The Communist Party must not neglect the needs and demands of the working class which are close to its daily life and which are powerful forces driving the working class to closer unity and a higher degree of militancy. These are of special importance because of the significance of the fight against British capitalists in furthering the unity of the proletariat in the struggle.

The Communist Party should put forward the following slogans of immediate demands and wage an aggressive campaign for their realisation :

- (a) A national minimum wage.
- (b) Nationalisation of the mines with workers' control.
- (c) Houses for the workers, built by the workers without participation by the profiteers.
- (d) For the unemployed : Application of the unemployed charter ; minimum of £3 per week for heads of families.

The Communist Party must fight valiantly in the everyday struggles of the masses centring round these slogans and thus lead the workers in every action of the Labour movement.

The minority movements directed against the trade union bureaucrats and the popular struggles for the above reforms are important bases of the activity of the Communist Party, but our Party must not confine its work to these alone. The principle issues are (a) to arouse the working masses of Britain to fight against the false pacifism of the MacDonald Government which hides the preparations for new war; (b) to expose the imperialistic military and international policy of the Labour Government of His Majesty; (c) to launch a mass movement in complete agreement with the workers of Germany, as well as the countries of the Entente, against the Experts' Report; (d) to fight against imperialist prejudices amongst the British workers in order to unite the class struggle of the working class of Britain with the revolutionary movement of the oppressed nations and masses suffering under the dictatorship of British imperialism. The slogan of this must be:

The Liberation of the workers of Britain depends upon the Liberation of the Colonies.

All these issues are part of the paramount issue of the struggle of the working masses for their emancipation. This victory can never be won, the dictatorship of the proletariat can never be established, without a mass Communist Party, a party which unites the masses on the basis of activity and ceaseless struggle against the bourgeoisie, and exposes the social traitors within the ranks of the working class.

A Fighting Mass Communist Party is the *real* answer of the working class to the bourgeois Labour Government.

Long live the Communist Party of Britain!

Long live the Communist International!



Resolution on National Question in Central Europe & Balkans

The imperialist war, into which the bourgeoisie drew the workers by hypocritical slogans about the defence of small nationalities, and the right of self-determination, actually led to the intensification of national antagonism as a result of the victory of one of the groups of capitalist powers and national oppression in Central Europe and in the Balkans.

The Saint-Germain, Versailles and subsequent treaties dictated by the victorious Entente powers, created a number of new small imperialist states—Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Greece—as a means of fighting against the proletarian revolution. These states were formed by the annexation of large territories with foreign populations and have become centres of national oppression and social reaction.

The question of national oppression is now on the order of the day for those imperialist nations which before the war were not the object, but the subject of oppressive policies. An object lesson is supplied by the case of Germany. In regard to the latter, Entente imperialism was not content with the direct annexation of territories inhabited by Germans, which was accomplished on the basis of "peace treaties." An attempt was also made to dismember Germany by the aid of concealed, refined forms of annexation, either in the shape of the comedy of "national self-determination" or in the shape of unadorned robbery exceeding the provisions of the peace treaties, as for instance in the case of the Ruhr.

The national question has thus attained new importance since the war, and has become at the present time one of the essential political questions of Central Europe and the Balkans. At the same time the struggle of the oppressed peoples against national oppression has become a struggle against the power of the imperialistic bourgeoisie who were victorious in the world war, since the strengthening of these new imperialist powers means the strengthening of the forces of world imperialism.

The importance of the struggle against national oppression is still further augmented by the fact that the nationalities oppressed by Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Greece, in their social composition, are largely peasants, and the struggle for their national liberation is at the same time the struggle of the peasant masses against foreign landlords and capitalists.

In view of these facts, the Communist Parties of Central Europe and the Balkans are confronted with the task of giving full support to the national revolutionary movement among the oppressed nationalities.

The slogan "the right of every nation to self-determination, even to the extent of separation" in the present pre-revolutionary period must be expressed in the case of these newly arisen imperialist states in the more definite slogan, "the political separation of the oppressed peoples from Poland, Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia and Greece."

The Congress declares that there are deviations in certain parties expressed in the attitude of certain comrades and groups who formulate their relations to the national revolutionary movement on the basis of the sovereignty of the states formed as a result of the Saint-Germain and other treaties. The slogans of these comrades and groups with regard to the national revolutionary movement are directed not against these states

founded on national oppression and directed against proletarian revolution but toward partial reforms in these states, and urge autonomy for the oppressed peoples within the boundaries of these imperialist states.

The Congress vigorously condemns this strong tendency toward Social-Democracy, just as it repudiates the tendency toward national Bolshevism which results in the Communist Party's support of the leadership of these movements by the ruling classes and their parties, which in effect is the surrender of the working masses to the influence and domination of the chauvinist bourgeoisie.

The Congress charges all the Communist Parties of Central Europe and the Balkans with the task of giving complete support to the national revolutionary movements of the oppressed peoples against the power of the ruling bourgeoisie, and of organising Communist nuclei in the national revolutionary organisations, in order to win the leadership of the national revolutionary movement of the oppressed peoples, and to direct it along the clear and definite path of revolutionary struggle against the power of the bourgeoisie, on the basis of the close solidarity of all workers and their common struggle for a workers' and peasants' government in every country.

Only by a union of the Communist elements within the national revolutionary organisations can the former secure priority for the toiling masses in the latter, as a counter-poise to the bourgeois landowning and adventurous elements, which frequently used these organisations for their own class aims, or converted them into the tools for imperialist aims in the various capitalist States.

The Congress imposes on all the Communist Parties the obligation of carrying on an energetic struggle against the provocation of national hatred and chauvinism by the bourgeois and the social-traitor parties, and of explaining to the working masses of both the oppressed and oppressing nationalities, the social character of national oppression and the national revolutionary struggle and the dependence of this struggle on the struggle of the world proletariat for the complete social and national emancipation of the workers.

The Congress similarly condemns separatist tendencies in the solution of the national question, and believes that the realisation of the right of all peoples to self-determination, even to the extent of separation, has nothing to do with separatism as such, and in no way interferes with the development of productive forces.

The Congress notes the counter-revolutionary significance of the colonising of these small imperialist powers carried on by the ruling classes, leading to an aggravation of the national differences. The Congress charges the Communist Parties of Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia and Greece, with the obligation of conducting a vigorous campaign against this colonising policy.

The Congress approves of the slogan launched by the Communist Parties of the Balkan countries advocating a Balkan Federation of equal and independent Workers' and Peasants' Republics.

Considering the extreme growth of anti-Semitism in the new imperialist powers, especially in Poland, Rumania and Hungary, and the attempt of the ruling classes to divert the attention of the working masses from the real causes of their impoverished condition and from taking part in the revolutionary struggle, by stirring up anti-Semitism, the Congress imposes on all Communist Parties the duty of waging a stubborn and vigorous struggle against anti-Semitism, and puts forward the slogan: the unconditional removal of all restrictions imposed upon the Jewish population, and the guarantee of their free cultural development.

As regards the particular national questions of the different countries of Central Europe and the Balkans, the Congress considers the position to be as follows:

I.

Macedonian and Thracian Questions.

1. The Macedonian and Thracian questions have during the course of decades been the cause of constant bloody conflicts between Turkey, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia, and a tool of imperialist policies in the Balkans.

The last imperialist war of 1914-18 ending in the economic disruption of the Balkans, their national enslavement and a new division of Macedonia and Thrace among Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria, aggravated still further the national question in the Balkans, and intensified their national antagonisms.

The partition of Macedonia among Yugoslavia, Greece and Bulgaria still further strengthened the aspirations of the Macedonian people in all parts of their despoiled native land for the formation of a united and independent Macedonia.

The same aspiration for the formation of a united and independent Thrace is being manifested by the Thracian peoples who are divided among Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria.

2. The Macedonian and Thracian questions are thus resolved into a single basic, national revolutionary problem which can and must be solved only by the Balkan Federation of Communist Parties, by directing it into the channel of proletarian revolution in the Balkans.

The Congress notes with satisfaction that the Sixth Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation decided on the correct solution of this important question.

3. The Congress considers the slogans formulated at the Sixth Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation—"For a United and Independent Macedonia," and "For a United and Independent Thrace," as entirely correct and truly revolutionary.

The slogans of autonomy for the different parts of Macedonia and Thrace within the boundaries of any of the bourgeois States artificially created by the Treaty of Sevres and other treaties, must be denounced as opportunistic slogans leading to agreement between the richer strata of the Macedonian and Thracian population and the ruling classes, and the further social and national enslavement of the Macedonian and Thracian poor.

4. The Congress at the same time emphasises the fact that the revolutionary struggle of the Macedonian and Thracian people for their national and social freedom can only be successful, when it is carried on in conjunction with the revolutionary workers and peasants in every one of the Balkan countries.

5. The Communist Parties of the Balkans and the Balkan Federation must vigorously support the national revolutionary movements of the oppressed peoples of Macedonia and Thrace for the formation of independent republics.

6. On the Balkan Communist Federation rests the obligation of uniting and directing the activities of the Communist Parties of the separate Balkan countries both in regard to the national questions and in regard to the special problems of Macedonia and Thrace.

II.

The Ukrainian Problem.

1. The Ukrainian problem is one of the most important national problems in Central Europe, and its solution is dictated by the interests of the proletarian revolution in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania as well as in those countries adjoining.

The Congress declares that the Ukrainian problems in Poland, Rumania, and Czecho-Slovakia form one Ukrainian national question, demanding a common solution for all these countries.

2. The Ukrainian population in the districts annexed by Poland, Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia in the main is a peasant population, and is suffering extreme national oppression, as a result of which the fight for national freedom in these districts is closely connected with the fight against the landowners, capitalists and government officials. This forms a firm ground for the durable union of the peasantry and proletariat in these countries for the united struggle against social and national oppression.

3. The Congress declares that the slogan of autonomy for Carpathian Russia in Czecho-Slovakia, or for Western Ukraine (Eastern Galicia, Volin, Podlyashe, Volinsky Polesye and Kholmschina) in Poland or for Bessarabia and Bukovina in Rumania, is directed towards forming a coalition of the wealthy strata of the Ukrainian peasantry with the ruling classes in Czecho-Slovakia, Poland and Rumania, and serves to strengthen the economic and national oppression of the peasant population in these lands and therefore, must be turned down by the Communist Parties of these countries.

4. While supporting the slogan of the Communist Party of fighting against the annexation of Bessarabia by Rumania and the slogan of the state self-determination of this country, the Congress at the same time considers it necessary for the Communist Parties of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania to launch the general slogan of separation of the Ukrainian lands from Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania, and their union with Soviet Ukraine and through it, with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The Congress considers that the Communist Parties of Poland and Rumania are successfully advancing this slogan.

5. At the same time the Congress emphasises the fact that the revolutionary struggle of the Ukrainian peasantry in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania for their national liberation can be successful only on the absolutely essential condition that the Ukrainian peasantry will build all their struggle and organisation on a close alliance with the struggle of the workers and peasantry led by the Communist Parties of these countries for the overthrow of the rule of capitalism.

6. The Congress obliges the Communist Parties of Czecho-Slovakia, Poland and Rumania to give all the help possible to strengthen and develop the Communist Parties and organisations in these Ukrainian districts. The Congress notes with satisfaction the results obtained in this connection in these countries.

7. The Congress approves of the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Poland and the Fifth Conference of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine (Galicia), directed towards creating advantageous conditions for Communist propaganda and organisations in Western Ukraine. The Congress considers it expedient to co-ordinate the actions of and to establish periodical contact between the Communist organisations of Western Ukraine, Carpathian Russia and Bukovina, and with the Communist Party of Ukraine, retaining, however, strictly centralised leadership on the part of the Communist Parties of Poland, Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia over these organisations.

8. The Congress recommends the Communist Parties of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania to consider co-ordinated action on the question of the Ukrainian national revolutionary movement, to publish proclamations, organise general peasants' congresses, etc., etc.

III.

The Yugoslav Problem.

1. Yugoslavia is a State composed of many nationalities. The Serbian bourgeoisie which is imposing its domination, is a nation which forms only 39 per cent. of the total population of Yugoslavia. The remaining nations, together forming the vast majority of the population, are subjected in a greater or smaller measure to national oppression. A policy of forcible denationalisation is being carried out against them.

2. The Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes represent three separate nations. Theory of a united trinity of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes is only a mask for Serbian imperialism.

3. The tasks of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are to wage a resolute fight against national oppression in all its forms, to fight for the self-determination of the different nations, support the national liberation movements, constantly strive to remove these movements from the influence of the bourgeoisie and connect them with the common fight of the working masses against the bourgeoisie and capitalism.

4. The national problem in Yugoslavia is not a constitutional question, and, therefore, cannot be identified with the problem of revising the Vidovdan constitution. It is in the first place a question of the fight of the nationally oppressed population for the right to national self-determination, and secondly, it is a question of the revolutionary struggle of the working masses in the whole of Yugoslavia.

5. The fight against national oppression for the right to self-determination of nations, even to the extent of separation, and the workers' and peasants' rule must be connected with the general fight against the aggressive Serbian bourgeoisie, against the monarchy and against the political sanctions of the Vidovdan constitution.

6. Although the national question cannot be solved by a revision of the constitution, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, nevertheless, must take an active part in the fight for the revision of the constitution that is taking place at the present time, with the aim of overthrowing the present oppressive regime of the Serbian bourgeoisie and obtaining as many guarantees and political rights and freedom as possible for the working masses of the oppressed nationalities. It must constantly strive to unite the working masses in the fight for the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government. It must explain to the masses that only a workers' and peasants' government can finally solve the national question.

7. Since there exists a mass movement against national oppression in all its forms, and a movement for self-determination in Yugoslavia, the national problem becomes actual and acute and directly affects the interests of the working masses.

In view of this, the general slogan of the right of nations to self-determination launched by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, must be expressed in the form of separating Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia from Yugoslavia and creating independent republics of them.

8. With respect to the Croatian and Slovene population of those territories occupied by Italy, the Communist Party of this country must carry on propaganda and agitation in the spirit of those slogans mentioned above and in close contact with the brother Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

IV.

The Czecho-Slovakia Question.

1. The national relations in Czecho-Slovakia are very similar to those in Yugoslavia. The Congress declares that Czecho-Slovakia is not a single nation, but that besides the Czech nation the state comprises the following nationalities: Slovak, German, Magyar, Ukrainian and Polish.

2. The Congress considers it essential that the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia with respect to the national minorities, should launch and realise the slogan of the right of nations to self-determination, even to the extent of separation. The Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia must particularly support the fight of the Slovaks for their independence and untiringly strive to release this movement from the influence of the bourgeoisie.

The slogan of autonomy advanced by the bourgeois and nationalist parties, is directed towards enslaving the working population of all nationalities in Czecho-Slovakia to their own bourgeoisie in alliance with the Czechs.

3. The Congress emphasises the fact that the national emancipation of the national minorities of Czecho-Slovakia can only be successful under the condition that the working population of all nationalities will carry on their struggle in close alliance with the fight of the workers and peasants in the whole country for the overthrow of the power of capital for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

V.

The Upper Silesia Question.

The Congress declares that the plebiscite of 1921 which resulted in the division of Upper Silesia, did not succeed in any considerable measure to eliminate national hatred. Concurrently with the growth of capitalist exploitation in both of the separated parts of the country, there is an increase in national oppression.

Upper Silesia is one of the most important industrial centres of Central Europe, and as a result of the fact that its population is mainly proletarian, it is a natural bridge between the maturing revolution in Poland and Germany.

The national emancipation of German workers in Poland and Polish workers in Germany, can only be achieved by overthrowing the power of capital and by establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Fifth Congress establishes that considerable successes have been obtained by the Communist Party in the German Section of Upper Silesia where the C.P. of Germany, thanks to its resolute revolutionary policy, obtained leadership in the proletarian struggle.

The Fifth Congress calls the attention of the Communist Parties of Poland and Germany to the necessity of co-ordinating and intensifying their work in Upper Silesia with the aim of obtaining leadership over all the proletariat in both States. Both fraternal parties must collaborate in the fight against national oppression in all its forms, and in their agitation and propaganda they must take into consideration the language differences of the German and Polish workers.

In that part of Upper Silesia now in the hands of Poland, the German workers are being subjected to national oppression as well as to capitalist exploitation. The same state of affairs prevails in the German part of Upper Silesia with respect to Polish workers.

VI.

The White Russian Question.

1. The White Russian question together with the Ukrainian is the most important revolutionary question in Poland, and its solution has the same foundation as the Ukrainian question.

2. The Congress takes responsibility for the correct evaluation of the national and agrarian questions in White Russia made by the Polish Communist Party and for the energetic work of the Communist Party of Western White Russia in this direction, as a result of which the Communist Party of Western White Russia has achieved nearly exclusive influence over the peasants of this country.

3. The Congress approves of the slogan of the State separation of White Russian territories from Poland for its union with Soviet White

Russia, and through the latter with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics advanced by the Polish Communist Party.

VII.

The Lithuanian Question.

1. The Congress considers it essential to intensify Communist activities among the Lithuanian working population in those parts of Western White Russia and Eastern Lithuania annexed by Poland.

2. The Communist Party of Poland must carry out the slogan of the right of the Lithuanian population to self-determination, even to separation from the Polish State.

VIII.

The Magyar Question.

The Congress considers it essential to intensify the Communist work among the Magyar population of those territories annexed by Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia, and that the Communist Parties of these countries should launch the slogan of the right of these Magyars to self-determination, even to separation from the States that annexed them.

IX.

The Transylvanian and Dobrudja Questions.

The Congress approves of the slogans advanced by the Communist Party of Rumania for the separation of Transylvania and Dobrudja from Rumania and forming independent regions of them.

X.

The Albanian Question.

It is essential to support the fight of the Albanians for their independence, since there is rivalry between the Italian, Yugoslav and Greek governments for the possession of Albania.



Resolution on Question of Relations of the Comintern with the International Peasants' Council

1. The Congress hears with satisfaction of the international Peasants' Conference which took place in 1923 and of the foundation of the International Peasants' Council. It declares that there are no contradictions between the theses accepted at the First International Peasants' Conference and the theses of the Second and Fourth Congresses of the Comintern. It instructs all the Sections of the C.I. to support the International Peasants' Council and its Sections in every land in its work of organising the toilers in the fight against the present social order which is exploiting and oppressing both peasants and workers.

The Congress expresses its conviction that the fighting alliance between the class of exploited workers and the class of exploited peasants who are working with their own tools, will develop quickly as a result of the agrarian crisis which is burdening the peasants, the increased military burdens, and the new menace of war, which are partial manifestations of the general capitalist crisis. This fighting alliance after intense struggles, will rapidly lead to the overthrow of the rule of the large landowners and of the bourgeoisie and to the establishment of the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

2. The Congress is in absolute agreement with the conception expressed in the theses of the First International Peasants' Conference, that it is impossible for the peasantry, without the assistance and guidance of the working class, to capture power from the large landowners and the bourgeoisie; and, on the other hand, that the working class is compelled to look to the toiling peasantry for support in its struggle against the bourgeoisie for victory and power.

3. Hence the Communists must support with all their strength every movement on the part of the toiling peasantry to improve their condition, which will inevitably lead to a fight against the ruling classes. In many cases this will lead to the necessity of forming temporary or more permanent worker and peasant alliances.

4. The struggle of the toiling peasantry will lead to fruitful results only if they can wean themselves from the influence of the large and rich peasants, and of their agents, the priests, professional politicians, and officials. The majority of the organisations of the peasantry are at present under the mental and organisational control of the large landowners and large peasantry. It is impossible to wage a successful struggle under those conditions. The Communists must take part in the work of organising mass organisations of the peasantry, and, wherever it seems feasible to join these organisations in order to be of assistance to the toiling peasants in their efforts to free themselves from the leadership of their class enemies, and to develop their mass organisations into organisations of the class struggle.

5. The closest co-operation must be established between the organisations of the working class and of the peasants. To bring about this co-operation is the task above all of the comrades in industrial undertakings in the countryside, or on large estates on which agriculture has been industrialised. The industrial and agricultural workers must support in every possible way the struggles of the peasantry against the large landowners and bourgeoisie, and help them to co-ordinate their struggle and direct them into revolutionary channels in the interests of the toiling peasants. It is the duty of the Communist Parties to devote special attention to the agricultural workers.

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6. Where political peasant parties or other political peasant organisations exist, the comrades must help the toiling peasants to transform these parties and organisations into class organisations of the toiling peasantry—to crowd out the large landowners and large peasantry from the leadership of these parties, even though a split in the Party or organisation may result, since the interests of the toiling peasants will always be betrayed in a party or organisation which is under the leadership of the large landowners and rich peasants.

7. Where the toiling peasantry is fighting for a re-distribution of the land against the large landowners, but within the framework of the bourgeois social system, the Communists must not look upon this fight with indifference, but must support it with every possible means (mass meetings, parliamentary elections, demonstrations, etc.). But they must stress the fact that a bourgeois agrarian reform cannot improve the position of the toiling peasants to any great extent; they must issue the slogan of confiscation of all large estates and the free division of the land among the toiling peasants and in this way inspire the great masses of the toiling peasants to revolutionary struggle.

The Communists must also support the toiling peasants in their struggle for lowering taxes, interest on mortgages, and rent, but here too, they must issue the revolutionary slogan of the complete abolition of taxes, interest and rent for the poor peasantry. The Communists must continually urge the point that the demands of the peasantry will be fully satisfied only after the large landowners and the bourgeoisie have been completely defeated, and the Soviets have been established in power.

8. Not only the Communist Parties of the colonies, but especially those of the colonial powers, must support the struggle of the peasantry in the colonies. Here, besides the demands that are being made on behalf of the peasantry of all countries, special demands which arise as a result of the special conditions existing in the colonies, must be energetically supported, such as the confiscation of the land which has been stolen by foreign capitalists, equality before the law of all inhabitants, withdrawal of foreign troops, the hindering of the dispatch of native troops to other countries in the fight against the workers and peasants, the right of self-determination even to the point of secession from imperialist ties, etc.

9. In general, the Communist Party must maintain continual contact with the organisations affiliated with the International Peasants' Council in the various countries. The Communists must energetically strive to persuade the peasants' organisations of their country to affiliate with the International Peasants' Council. They must strive to co-ordinate the struggles of the proletariat and of the toiling peasantry by mutual support in the daily struggles (strikes, rent conflicts, etc.), and, by the formation of a workers' and peasants' bloc, to strengthen the conviction that the interests of the two great exploited classes are identical. When the revolutionary struggle has already broken out, similar peasants' councils should be formed for the further conduct of the fight and should act in common with the workers' councils of the towns. Only joint revolutionary struggle can liberate these two classes from the yoke of the large landowners and of the bourgeoisie.

Resolution on Role of Co-operatives and Duty of Communist Co-operatives During Present Period of Proletarian Revolution

Three years of Communist work in the co-operatives have proved that the decisions of the recent Congresses on the role and character of the co-operatives and on our role and our tactics were absolutely correct. The Fifth Congress endorses the former decisions, supplements them on certain points, and particularly emphasises the following :

1. During the present period of proletarian revolution, the organisational, educational and propaganda work within the co-operatives is of greater importance than ever before. The prospects of material advantages tempts such workers and peasants into the co-operatives who have not yet become conscious of the necessity of participating in the class struggles of the political parties and trade unions. Under these circumstances, the co-operatives are an extraordinarily useful factor in the organisation of the proletarian class. They render particularly important services in organising the proletarian women, who belong to no trade union, because they do not work in any factory or institution.

Hence, activity among the backward workers and peasants, and especially among the women, is one of the first duties of the co-operatives.

2. In the capitalist countries, a proletarian victory is impossible without the peasants. Hence the active workers must endeavour to make clear the identity of interests of the workers and peasants.

An excellent opportunity for this purpose is offered in the relations which exist between the various consumers' co-operatives and the labour unions on the one hand and the peasants' co-operatives on the other hand.

In this way the middlemen and traders, who exploit the peasants as well as the workers, will be forced from the field. In order to accomplish this, we must apply the methods which were recommended by the First International Peasants' Conference in its decisions on the co-operatives.

This alliance is useful not only for the proletarian struggle, but is also the means by which the proletariat which

has conquered power, can assume the general leadership of the co-operative movement. This leadership is one of the economic foundations of the proletarian state.

3. It is of great importance that the elements which are not antagonistic to the proletariat, such as the administrative workers, handicraft workers, intellectuals, and other elements of the petty bourgeoisie, take part in this work.

Experience teaches that joint work with the opportunist elements of the petty bourgeoisie within the co-operatives has a damaging influence on class-consciousness and might increase the reformist illusions. Therefore, the Communists must intensify their agitation and propaganda within the co-operatives' movement.

4. In order to bring about the class solidarity of the co-operatives, contact and joint activity with the trade unions must be developed. Contact with the red trade unions is particularly necessary, especially on an international scale with the Red International of Labour Unions in Moscow. Such an alliance would be all the more useful, when a coalition has been formed between the Amsterdam International and the Co-operative International.

5. In regard to the danger of fascism, the Communist co-operatives must form a united front with the other labour organisations and lead the peasants' organisations against fascism. Moreover it is necessary to form organisations for defence and for preparing for the armed struggle, in order to exclude the possibility of such a destruction of the co-operatives, as took place in Italy. Where fascism is in power and has taken over the leadership of the co-operatives, the Communist co-operators must not leave their ranks. They must continue their activities secretly and as soon as the interests of the working class demand it, they must come out into the open.

6. At present, in the countries where a Labour Government is in power, there exists the danger that reformist illusions will again temporarily revive.

The influence of these illusions is specially harmful in the co-operatives, since the co-operatives embrace many backward elements, and their leadership is mostly in the hands of the opportunists.

7. The menace of new wars which will be more terrible than anything we witnessed in the world, is very great. All the burdens of the war will fall on the shoulders of the workers; therefore, the co-operatives, like the other labour

organisations, must energetically fight against the growing militarism and the possibility of war. In this fight, which must be carried on in harmony with the Communist Parties, the revolutionary trade unions and the International Peasants' Council, the co-operatives must do everything that was outlined by the Russian Delegation at the Peace Congress of the Hague in December, 1922.

The Communist co-operators must develop active agitation in all countries, so that the co-operative union can take the initiative in calling a new international congress embracing all labour organisations which adopt a class war attitude, for the purpose of taking energetic measures against the war.

8. In view of the great importance which the co-operatives assume on the eve of the seizure of power, the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International resolves that :

(a) All members of the Communist Parties must join the co-operatives ; they are in duty bound to form Communist nuclei within the co-operatives and to form fractions with other proletarian opposition elements. Every campaign must be endorsed by the nuclei and systematically carried out by the Communists.

(b) Every question regarding the work in the co-operatives must be examined by the Communist Parties on its own merits, and all party organs must lend their support to this work. The co-operatives, like the proletariat, must be induced to take part in all conflicts, whether they are of a political or an economic nature.

(c) Every Communist Party must entrust active members with the work in the co-operatives.

(d) The Party press must devote considerable space to co-operative questions. The daily papers, must whenever possible, issue co-operative supplements ; as soon as possible, Communist co-operative literature must be issued and distributed.

(e) The decisions of the Third and Fourth Congresses on joint activity of the trade unions and the co-operatives (see also the decisions of the Second Congress of the R.I.L.U. of 1922) must be carried out from now on in all countries.

Theses on Young Communist International

I. Developments in the Young Communist International since the Fourth World Congress.

1. Following out the decisions of the Fourth World Congress, the Third Congress of the Young Communist International outlined in detail the tasks which had already been set in a more general form by the Second World Congress of the Young Communist International, with its slogan "To the masses." It defined the basic form of the organisation, the content of the work and methods of a mass organisation of the young of the working class, and stated as its most important immediate task the transfer of the basis of the organisation to the factories by starting factory nuclei. It laid stress upon the necessity for the fuller participation of the Young Communist Leagues (Y.C.L.) in the struggles and problems of the Communist Party and of the working class and assigned as their immediate practical task the fight against bourgeois militarism, against new wars, and against the "break through" offensive of capital.

2. The development of the Y.C.I. in the period which has just passed, has proved the correctness and necessity of these decisions. They have proved their worth and have enabled the further development of the Y.C.I. into an organisation of working class youth. They have also justified themselves in the steady rise, even from the numerical point of view, of most of the more important sections of the Y.C.I. This rise is especially notable because at the same time there has been a marked drop in the so-called Socialist Youth organisations. If the Y.C.L. continues to carry out the decisions of the Second and Third World Congresses energetically, it will soon be seen that this rise has been neither accidental nor temporary, but that it is a permanent improvement which will lead to the development of the Y.C.I. into a mass movement of working class youth and to the complete liquidation of those organisations which call themselves "Socialist" or "social."

3. The most important results were attained in the following fields :

(a) The political activity of the Y.C.L., whose participation in the fights and problems of the working class and of

the Communist Party, have markedly increased. The political line to which the Y.C.I. held fast, was right and good, and its members have in most cases proved themselves the best of the Comintern front.

(b) With regard to their re-organisation on a basis of factory nuclei, the Y.C.L. have not only achieved the ideological re-adjustment of their members, but have in some cases already created the necessary conditions from which the whole re-organisation of the movement can eventually follow on the new basis in some of the bigger organisations. The Y.C.I. and Y.C.L. have been the pioneers in this work and have given great help to the Communist Party and to the Comintern by tackling this job and by collecting valuable experience.

(c) The Communist International welcomes enthusiastically the readiness for self-sacrifice, the initiative and the activity shown by the Y.C.I. in the struggle against war and imperialism and in propaganda in the bourgeois armies. Its work among the French troops in the occupied area of Germany and in the Ruhr has been the first practical, concrete and international work which has been carried out in this field. Also the active work of the French Y.C.L. in the French Army is an important step forwards. The Y.C.I. has proved that work of this kind is possible and effective even under the most difficult conditions.

(d) The Y.C.I. has also made great progress in its development into a centralised and unified international organisation. In addition to the numerical growth of the most important sections of the Y.C.I., the Comintern particularly welcomes the steady intensification of its influence on the broad masses of working class youth and the continuing consolidation of the Y.C.L.'s in various countries into a strong world organisation of youth.

In all this work the Y.C.L.'s have had only inadequate support from the Communist Parties. In some cases the Young Communist Leagues had first to contend with violent opposition from individual parties or from their Central Committees, before they could fulfil their tasks. (For instance, in anti-military work, or, again, in Sweden where the Young Communist League and the Y.C.I. were violently attacked by the majority of the Party Executive because they stood by the line laid down by the Communist International; in Czechoslovakia, the Party did its best to hinder the attempt on the part of the Y.C.L. to form factory nuclei, and continued its opposition for a long time; in the Balkans also it met with obstruction, and there were other similar cases.) Moreover,

the decisions of the Third Congress of the Comintern with regard to the independent organisations of the Y.C.L.'s have not yet been carried out in all cases.

4. In some fields, the Young Communist Leagues could work in an imperfect manner only. Thus the fight of the Young Communist League against the offensive of capital, and against the impoverishment of working class youth, and its activity in the trade unions has been, with the exception of a few countries, still too feeble. Its educational work has also not yet been equal to the demands of the vast new stream of members and to the great fighting tasks which lie before it in this field. Here again the lack of support from the Communist Party has been a contributory cause. The attempt to win over the peasant youth which has to be conducted with special methods and which has great significance in view of the necessity for fighting the recently formed fascist youth movement and the various Christian organisations, has also not been sufficiently made in the period we are reviewing.

5. Taking it all together, the results of the last working year show great progress. The Y.C.I. has increased its influence and has been able to draw broad masses of working class youth into the new struggles of the working class. It has made its movement more active, consolidated it and taken decisive steps to develop it into a mass organisation of working class youth. Added to this, it has also given real help to the Communist International during the past months in the battles of the working class, by its earnest endeavours to act according to true Communist and Leninist principles. It has collected valuable information for the work of the Comintern and the Communist Parties in the course of its campaign against war and its work in the bourgeois armies.

II. The Immediate Tasks of the Y.C.I.

6. In considering the development of the Y.C.I. in the recent period, the Fifth Congress finds that the decisions of the Second and Third World Congresses of the Y.C.I. and of the Third Congress of the Comintern on the Young Communist Movement have thoroughly justified themselves in practice. The Y.C.I. and its sections must continue their work on the same lines and must immediately undertake the next steps towards transforming the Young Communist organisations and the whole International of Youth into really Leninist organisations, into strongholds of Bolshevism.

The struggle to Bolshevise the Y.C.L.'s must be regarded as its central task, the starting point of all its col-

lective work. That must be impressed upon the consciousness of every individual member. The Bolshevisation of the Y.C.L.'s must be expressed in the transformation of the whole organisation into a mass organisation of working class youth, inextricably bound up with the youthful peasants and workers, and pressing forward energetically in the work of conquering the majority of working class youth, the leaders and representatives of the interests of the masses, must take firm root in the consciousness of the young workers. The Young Communist Leagues must get hold of the best elements among the young workers and in the course of their development and their battles must liquidate all other "Socialistic" and "social" organisations of youth.

But they have not only to conquer the masses of young workers and to permeate all their practical work in the masses with the will to fulfil this task, they must also educate the young workers organised in their ranks into true Leninists, into faithful guardians of the legacy left us by our great leader. They must see to it that every one of their members has a thorough knowledge of the main teachings and tactics of Lenin, and is capable of applying his methods. This Leninist education must be expressed in the active participation of the Young Communist Leagues in the battles of the Communist Party, and the working class, and in the union of this practical work among the masses with theoretical education.

The whole Y.C.I. must be permeated with Leninist principles. It must steadily strengthen the principles of centralisation, of international discipline, and of unity, and must root itself more and more firmly among the masses, while it encourages the idea among all its sections that the working class is the leader of all oppressed peoples. The Y.C.I. must work for the enrolment of the poorer young peasants and the oppressed youth of the colonial countries in the fighting line of the international working class. This is the way in which the Y.C.I. must develop a new generation of young Leninists.

7. At the same time the Young Communist Leagues must give special attention to the following questions: Intimate participation in the life of the Communist Party and in the battles of the working class (political activity); reorganisation on the basis of factory nuclei; active work in the bourgeois army and fight against impending wars; preparations for the tasks connected with civil war, particularly systematic military training; economic and trade union activity; educational work.

(a) Political Activity. This must continue and, where it has not reached a satisfactory stage, must be strengthened. Political activity means that the Young Communist Leagues must be in closest contact with all the fights of the working class, take part in them all under the leadership of the Communist Party, and mobilise working class youth to do the same. They must also take an active interest in the solution of all the problems of the Communist Party, and the Comintern, and in all questions of party life. Political activity is not a special task in addition to the other tasks of the Y.C.L.'s; its nature is simply the permeation of every activity, its vitalisation, and its influencing in the Leninist direction. It is the basis and method for all the tasks of the Y.C.I.

The Communist Parties must do everything they can to develop this political activity, which will mean a great reinforcement of the fighting front of the working class and the education of new competent political fighters for their own ranks.

(b) The Y.C.L.'s must go on energetically with the work they have already begun in the creation of Factory Nuclei. They must also immediately proceed from this to a complete re-organisation on the new basis. The slogan of every young Communist must be the complete re-organisation on the basis of the Factory Nuclei by the time of the next World Congress. The Fifth World Congress of the Communist International points out, in view of certain tendencies, that the Y.C.L.'s must organise their own factory nuclei quite independently of those organised by the Communist Party. This applies in periods of illegality.

(c) The Work in the Army and against fresh wars must be energetically continued by the Y.C.L.'s. This is one of the most important of the commandments, arising out of the international situation and the prospects of revolution. The transition from simple propaganda to concrete work, as it was made in the occupied area of Germany and in France, must quickly be extended internationally. Special attention and effort must be given to carrying out Lenin's slogan of nuclei in the bourgeois armies. The Y.C.L.'s must make every possible attempt to mobilise the young workers against fresh imperialist wars. They must meet the hypocritical and misleading doctrine of the Social-Democrats, that a general strike is the infallible method of stopping an outbreak of war, by sober propaganda showing what happens when a war actually breaks out. They must point out the necessity of transforming an imperialistic war, when once

it has broken out, into a civil war within the imperialistic states, and in order to do this, they must carry on revolutionary work in the bourgeois armies.

(d) The Fight in the Economic and Trade Union Field must be intensified in the future, or where necessary, must be definitely taken in hand. The Y.C.L.'s must progress from mere propaganda to the actual fight for the defence of the material and cultural interests of working class youth, they must act here as the representative of youth. With this end in view, work in the reformist trade unions must be markedly strengthened, the final end being to revolutionise them. In all trade unions existing fractions of Y.C.I. members must be further developed and proposed as candidates, and any sort of division between young and old, especially in the form of special sections for young workers, must be energetically opposed.

This can be done by showing the trade unions and the adult workers by practical results that the Young Communist Leagues, as they develop into the only mass organisation for the working class youth, are defending the interests of youth only as a part of the whole battle of the struggling proletariat. This is also true of the relation of the Young Communists to the Red Trade Unions with which they must work hand in hand, knowing that these are the only trade unions which are in a position to lead the fight for the interests of the young workers in a really useful way. Communist trade unionists must see to it that the Y.C.L.'s are recognised in the trade unions and among the adult workers as the organisations which look after the interests—economic and otherwise—of the young workers in harmony with those of the whole working class.

(e) The more the Young Communist Leagues succeed in rallying round their banner the mass of the young workers, the more must they be careful to carry on systematic Communist and Leninist Education for all their members, in the closest association with all the battles of the Communist Party and the working class. Unless they do this, they will be in danger of diluting the true Communist character of their fight and activity and becoming superficial. The training which must be carried out in the immediate future is first and foremost political training. It must enable Young Communists to take over the heritage of Lenin's works and deeds and to carry them further. How far the Y.C.I. is able to carry out this task of Leninist training, depends on the support given them by the Comintern and the Communist Party.

To make this support possible is one of the most pressing tasks of the International.

8. Although the Young Communist Leagues must concentrate their main forces on these tasks in the immediate future, they ought not to neglect tasks in other fields.

The winning over of rural youth is specially important since on it, in most countries, must depend the victory of the proletarian revolution.

The fight against our opponents especially against Fascist, so-called "Socialist" and religious organisations of youth, must be carried forward with every possible intensity in the future. The aim of the Young Communist Leagues must be to do away with these organisations altogether.

The work of preparing the Young Communist Leagues for attempts on the part of the bourgeoisie to suppress them and for the period of illegality must not be neglected.

Work in the colonial lands of the imperialist nations must be carried forward with the ultimate end of drawing into the Y.C.I. the native youth of these lands. At the same time the Y.C.I. has the task of organising the young workers who are fighting for their national freedom in colonial and semi-colonial countries, in the dominions, and in the East, and winning them over for the international struggle of the working class.

Constant attention must be devoted to conducting propaganda among the young women. They must be attracted to the Communist youth organisations to a greater degree, than they have been hitherto.

Great attention must also be paid to work among children. This must be carried out according to the principles of Communist education, through which the proletarian children will be drawn into the battle of their class which must be led by the Y.C.L.'s.

9. The period of the direct struggle for power which in the near or distant future will be at hand in several countries, must lead the Y.C.I. to consider its tasks during this period in the greatest earnestness. The experience won in Germany last October must be carefully examined, and careful preparatory work be carried out on this basis in the respective Communist Leagues.

10. All these tasks can be fully accomplished by the Y.C.I. and its sections only if the various Communist Parties provide them with the necessary help. The support of the

Y.C.I. and its sections is one of the most pressing tasks of the Comintern and the Communist Party in the near future. If this support is successfully given, it must result in winning over the great masses of young workers to Communism and in providing the Communist Party with new cadres of class conscious and steadfast Leninists.

In detail this task chiefly consists in drawing young Communists into the political activities of the Communist Party and the fights of the working class and to give them the opportunity to assist in the solution of the problems before the Communist Party and the Comintern. The factory nuclei of the Communist Parties and their fractions in the trade unions must also give every possible help to the Y.C.L.'s in their economic struggle and in the fulfilment of their other tasks. It is especially important that the Young Communist Leagues and the Y.C.I. should have better support in their work in the army and against fresh wars. The actual carrying through of this activity which is one of the most important preliminary tasks for the victory of the proletarian revolution, can only be attained if the Communist Parties participate in it as leaders. Also the pressing task of Leninist training must depend largely on the help afforded by the Communist Party.

11. The Y.C.L. must do everything possible on its side to unite itself more closely in daily work with the Communist Party in all its daily activities as far as it possibly can, but must also carry out a regular and systematic training within its own ranks as a preparation for entrance into the Communist Party, and must see to it that its members enter the Party when they attain the right age.

In this way, the Young Communist Leagues and the Y.C.I. will fulfil their duties towards the Communist Party and the Comintern and so fulfil the expectations of the Comintern that they will be in the future as they have been in the past, the best fighters and the best defenders of the policy of the Comintern.

Resolution on Sports

1. Sport and physical culture at present play a very important role in all countries. The bourgeoisie uses sports and physical organisation for its class purposes, and supports the bourgeois and State sports movements with all the means at its disposal.

There are still many working class elements in bourgeois sports organisations, which are purely bourgeois class organisations. The main object of these bourgeois organisations is—to train the youth for the bourgeois army and to awake in the young feelings of nationalism and chauvinism by special educational methods, in order to be able to use them as fighting cadres against the proletariat. The fascist movement has succeeded in making use of these organisations as military reserve forces.

2. To counteract the influence of these bourgeois organisations and the efforts of the bourgeois States, workers' sports organisations have been founded in a number of countries. These organisations have in their ranks considerable numbers of workers and proletarian youth. They are to a great extent still in the hands of reformists who misuse them for their reformist purposes under the slogan of "sport is neutral."

The class conscious elements in the sports organisations rally around the Red Sport International, whose work is based on the principles of revolutionary class struggle.

3. To make the proletariat physically fit, is a necessary pre-requisite of successful revolutionary class struggle. Therefore, it is in the interests of the class struggle as a whole that Communist Parties in conjunction with Communist Youth organisations and Red Trade Unions pay attention to the sports and physical culture movement, using it for their revolutionary purposes.

The Fifth Congress emphatically declares that work on this field is of the greatest importance, and lays down the following rules for the benefit of the Communist Parties :

(a) In countries where no working class sports and physical culture organisations exist, Communist Parties must encourage their formation. They must form workers' opposition groups in bourgeois organisations with the object of forming independent working class sports organisations, they must insist on working class elements leaving the bourgeois organisations and must carry on propaganda for the entry of the working class youth into independent workers' sport organisations.

(b) In countries where workers' sports leagues and physical culture organisations exist, Communist Parties must form fractions in them with the object to emancipate these organisations from reformist influence and to win them over for the revolutionary class struggle.

(c) Communist fractions must also be formed in the already existing red workers' sports and physical culture organisations in order to give every chance to the revolutionary elements to exercise continuous influence.

All fractions must be subordinate to the Communist Party.

(d) Through the work of the Communist fractions, the workers' sports and physical culture organisation are to be drawn into the revolutionary fight and are to be used in support of the fight against fascism and bourgeois militarism.

(e) The workers' sports and physical culture organisations are of the greatest importance for the general proletarian struggle. They are an excellent means to make the working class youth disciplined and efficient

as a fighting force. Thereby they contribute to the formation of revolutionary forces and must be used as such by the Communist Parties.

(f) Communist Parties must endeavour to extend the influence of the workers' sports and physical culture organisations also to the small peasantry and to the agriculture labourers.

4. Encouragement must be given to the fight of the revolutionary elements against the reformist tactics of the Lucerne Workers' Sports International and the Red Sports International must be supported. All tendencies towards splits and formation of purely Communist organisations are to be discouraged. The idea that workers' sports and physical culture organisations are a substitute for political organisations must be strongly condemned. The Communist press must place its sports column mainly at the disposal of working class sport.

Communists are fighting for the upkeep and establishment of a uniform workers' sport and physical culture movement on a national as well as on an international scale.

The Fifth Congress instructs the Executive Committee of the Communist International to give its attention to the development of the International sports movement and to work for it.

Resolution on International Red Aid

Already the Fourth Congress took cognisance of the communication by the initiative group of Russian comrades on the formation of the I.R.A. recognising the timeliness of the undertaking and the need for its further development. Since then the international counter revolution became stronger and was accompanied by unparalleled acts of violence perpetrated upon the masses of workers and peasants. Proletarian organisation, trade unions, labour papers, clubs, co-operatives, etc., are constantly persecuted by world capitalism and its hireling bands of fascists. The most active fighters for the cause of the proletarian revolution are done to death without trial or investigation. They are imprisoned in their thousands, on the least suspicion of sympathy with the revolutionary movement and Communism. The prisoners are in the majority of cases subjected to the worst forms of ill-treatment and torture. Tortures in the course of the investigation have become of daily occurrence in the most "democratic" bourgeois States. The prison system consists of relentless physical and moral suppression of the individuality of the prisoner. Bourgeois justice has everywhere been converted into man-hunting, while even the elements of bourgeois justice are trampled under foot.

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

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

Thus the I.R.A. in developing its activities, becomes one of the most important weapons of the united front, because by concrete activity it constantly organises new forces for international solidarity, and its draws them directly into the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. Furthermore, the tremendous political significance of the I.R.A. should be pointed

out as that of an organisation which works in the rear of the proletarian army, which is always present in the fights of the working class, in the advance as well as in the retreat.

The I.R.A. surrounds the revolutionary fighters with an atmosphere of comradely feelings, and this sustains their courage and their readiness to go on with the fight.

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

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

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

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

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

Resolution on the International Workers' Relief

Every great proletarian need—if it does not lead to a direct revolutionary uprising—is exploited by the capitalist class in order to aggravate the political and economic conditions of all the workers of the country in question.

It makes no difference whether the need arises from natural catastrophes (the Japanese Earthquake of 1923) or whether it is the result of economic crises and upheavals (Austria, 1921—Germany, 1923).

During the period of imperialism, with its highly-developed industry and its armies of proletarians, every great need affects millions of workers. Neither the trade unions nor the working class of a country possess sufficient means to cope with such a need. Effective aid can be rendered only by mobilising the economic and financial strength of the workers of all countries. It is the task of the International Workers' Relief to plan and carry out this mobilisation during the days of great proletarian need, and to organise aid activities on a large scale, which involve the workers of all countries, all parties and all trade unions.

International Workers' Relief is a non-political, non-party, proletarian aid organisation, which embraces workers and groups of workers of the most varied party and trade union tendencies, and which distributes assistance among the necessitous working masses, regardless of their political or trade union affiliation. (1921, on the occasion of the famine among the Russian peasants and workers; 1923, the Japanese workers and peasants after the earthquake catastrophe; 1923 and 1924; the German workers).

The workers of all countries and of all tendencies are interested in the further development and growth of the International Workers' Relief.

The Fifth Congress of the Communist International stigmatises before the working class of the whole world, the attempt of the United Social-

Democratic Party of Germany to cast aspersions on and to split the International Workers' Relief, the organisation of true international proletarian solidarity, which renders brotherly aid to millions of German Social-Democratic workers during times of need and during strikes. The Congress of the Communist International records with satisfaction that, in spite of these treacherous attempts, the effort to collect all workers' organisations into a great proletarian aid organisation, the International Workers' Relief, was successful, and that more and more workers, workers' groups, and workers' organisations are affiliating to the International Workers' Relief.

The Fifth Congress of the Communist International directs an urgent appeal to all the workers and workers' organisations of the world which are not yet affiliated with the International Workers' Relief, to join the International Workers' Relief determinedly and unanimously, and imposes the duty on all its parties and organisations to support International Workers' Relief energetically in all its activities.

Resolution on Russian Question

As a result of the victorious October revolution of the working class, the Communist Party of Russia began to organise the Socialist society. The decisive factor in this world important event was that the R.C.P. was strictly organised, that its fighting ranks were made up of revolutionaries who had grown up in the struggle against the opportunism of the Second International, and that it conducted revolutionary proletarian tactics under the leadership of Comrade Lenin. Thanks to this, the R.C.P. became the fundamental force in the establishment of the Comintern, and to this day it is one of the chief factors determining the success of the international Communist movement. The success and the failures of the R.C.P. and particularly the formation of separate factions or groups in its ranks, must have serious effect upon the revolutionary movement in other countries throughout the world.

The Russian Communist Party carries out its work of creating the Socialist society in a State (U.S.S.R.) surrounded on all sides by capitalist States, and at a time when the Communist Parties of other countries are only beginning to enter upon the stage of the fight for power.

The New Economic Policy, which at the present time represents the foundation of the economic work of the R.C.P., while relying on the inevitable growth of the Socialist principles, at the same time allows the possibility for the development of bourgeois relations, and consequently of bourgeois influences on the State apparatus and on individual members of the Party. In successfully to combat the bourgeois environment and to render these bourgeois influences harmless, and to ensure the advancement of the U.S.S.R. on the road to Communism, it is absolutely essential for the R.C.P. to maintain revolutionary steadfastness and internal compactness of the R.C.P. which have developed out of the theory and practice of Leninism.

In view of all these facts, the Communist International attaches particular importance to the internal situation in the Russian Communist Party.

The discussion which took place in the autumn of last year within the R.C.P., and the opposition that was formed against the majority of the Central Committee of the R.C.P., has confronted the Congress with the necessity of attentively studying this question, regardless of the fact that the R.C.P., itself, at its Thirteenth Convention, unanimously denounced the opposition as the result of petty bourgeois influences, and the Party emerged from the discussion stronger and more solid than ever.

The representatives of the opposition in the R.C.P., in spite of the invitation by the Comintern to present their point of view and to substantiate it before the Congress, and regardless of the consent of the

R.C.P. delegation to the granting of this opportunity, sought a formal pretext to waive this opportunity.

On the other hand, the Congress obtained no proof that the opposition has recognised its errors and has rallied entirely to the standpoint of the Thirteenth Convention of the R.C.P. Such a state of affairs creates a danger of a recrudescence of the discussion in the R.C.P. At the same time the Congress observes that the opposition in the R.C.P. groups obtained the support of groups within other Communist Parties (the Polish, certain elements in the German and French Parties, etc.) which represented the expression of the right (opportunist) digression in those parties, just as the opposition in the R.C.P., and which were condemned by the Fifth Congress of the Comintern.

The Congress, having heard the special report on the position of the U.S.S.R. and of the R.C.P., and having studied all the materials relating to these questions in the various sections, hereby resolves :

(a) To endorse the resolutions of the Thirteenth Party Conference and the Thirteenth Party Congress of the R.C.P., denouncing the platform of petty bourgeois digression and its action as a menace to the unity of the Party and consequently to the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R.

(b) To add the resolutions of the Thirteenth Party Conference and the Thirteenth Party Congress to the present resolution, and to publish the same as the decision of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International.



Resolution of the Russian Communist Party on the Petty Bourgeois Deviation

I. Origin of the Discussion.

As early as the September (1923) plenary session of the Central Committee, and even still earlier, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of our Party, long before the "opposition" had come forward, raised the question of the necessity of intensifying party work and strengthening workers' democracy within the party.

On the one hand the revival of industry which put an end to the process of the de-classation of the proletariat, the cultural development of the working class and the increase of their activities, had created more favourable conditions for the introduction of the principles of internal party democracy; and on the other hand, the summer industrial conflicts—although they had not assumed menacing proportions, and were, in fact, smaller than in any previous year—indicated that in certain localities the contact between the party organisations and the non-party working class masses was not as strong as it should be.

The Central Committee of the Party realised that the transition to the new policy must be carefully thought out, and only put into effect after serious and proper preparations had been made. Accordingly, in September, 1923, the Central Committee of the Party proceeded to undertake the requisite preparatory work.

It was at this time that the old opposition groups and groupings, whose policy had more than once been condemned by the party, considered the moment suitable for an attack upon the Central Committee of the Party. Calculating that the question of internal party democracy would arouse the acute interest of all the members of the party, the opposition groups decided to exploit this slogan for fractional purposes. After the September resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the R.C.P., there appeared the letter of Comrade Trotsky, followed by the letter of the 46. These documents gave an absolutely incorrect and ultra-fractional explanation of the economic situation within the country and of the internal condition of the party, foretold a profound economic crisis within the republic, and an internal crisis within the party, and accused the Central Committee of the party of injudicious leadership.

The harm done by the fractional announcements of Comrade Trotsky and the 46 was aggravated by the fact that these letters were immediately made the possession of large numbers of party members, were widely broadcasted in the districts and among the Moscow students, and were distributed over the whole of the U.S.S.R.

The October joint session of the Plenums of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission, at which representatives of ten of the largest party organisations participated, suitably condemned the conduct of Comrade Trotsky and the 46 as a fractional act; at the same time, the joint plenums of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission unanimously approved the initiative taken by the Political Bureau on the subject of intensifying internal party work and strengthening workers' democracy. The joint plenums of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission resolved not to allow the conflicts provoked by Comrade Trotsky and the 46 to go beyond the Central Committee and not to publish the letters of Comrade Trotsky and the 46, nor the reply of the Political Bureau and the resolution of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission, which condemned the "opposition" by a majority of 102 against 2, with 10 abstentions.

Nevertheless, Comrade Trotsky and his 46 followers refused to submit to the decision of so authoritative a party organisation and continued their systematic attack upon the Central Committee of the party, at first within the wide circles of the Moscow organisation, and subsequently throughout the whole of the U.S.S.R.

The Political Bureau, guiding itself by the decisions of the joint plenums, proceeded to draw up a resolution on the subjects of the internal party position and workers' democracy. In spite of the fractional action of Comrade Trotsky, the majority of the Political Bureau considered it essential to come to an agreement with him. After protracted efforts by the majority of the Political Bureau, a resolution on internal party structure was adopted by the Political Bureau and the Presidium of the Central Control Commission and published on December 5th, 1923.

One of the most disputed questions which arose during the drawing up of the resolution of the Political Bureau and the Presidium of the Central Control Commission, was the question of fractions. When the resolution of the Political Bureau and the Presidium of the Central Control Commission was being drawn up, Comrade Trotsky did not object at first to the prohibition of fractions, but, nevertheless, insisted that freedom of grouping should not be prohibited. A

unanimous text was, however, successfully arrived at, which, on the subject of fractions, based itself on the decision of the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party.

The "opposition" however, continued their fractional fight. While the majority of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission, bound by their own decision not to publish certain documents, loyally adhered to this decision, the "opposition" continued to give wide publicity to their fractional documents. Two days after the publication of the resolution adopted unanimously by the Political Bureau and the Presidium of the Central Control Commission, Comrade Trotsky came forward with his famous letter entitled "A New Course" which was, in fact, a fractional manifesto directed against the Central Committee. The articles of Comrade Trotsky, which were published immediately after, and his pamphlet ("A New Course") which appeared on the day the All-Union Party Conference was opened, still further emphasised the fractional nature of his action.

From the moment the fractional manifesto of Comrade Trotsky appeared, the fight became still more acute. The "opposition" started an attack upon the Central Committee which was unparalleled in the history of our party, within the military nuclei and the higher educational nuclei in Moscow, sowing an attitude of mistrust towards the Central Committee of our party. The "opposition" sent its representatives throughout Russia. The struggle assumed forms of unparalleled acuteness. The kernel of the "opposition" was formed of members of the old group of "democratic centralism" who had fought against the policy of the party for a number of years. With this kernel there associated themselves a number of former members of the Central Committee who, at the suggestion of Comrade Lenin, were not re-elected at the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P. (Preobrazhensky, Smirnov and Serebryakov). This opposition bloc was headed by Comrade Trotsky, so that at first they enjoyed a certain amount of authority.

II. The Meaning of the "Opposition."

The most important grounds of difference between the great majority of our party and the present "opposition," as was revealed in the course of the discussion, are summarised in the following six points:

1. The "opposition" headed by Comrade Trotsky, demanded the break-up of the party apparatus, and attempted to shift the struggle against the bureaucracy in the state apparatus to a struggle against "bureaucracy" within the

party apparatus. This wholesale criticism and the attempt directly to discredit the party apparatus, could in practice only lead to the emancipation of the state apparatus from the influence of the party and to the severance of the state organs from the party. The tendency to sever the organs of state from the influence of the party was displayed by Comrade Trotsky even before the Twelfth Congress of the R.C.P. In the present discussion this tendency assumed a different form.

2. The "opposition" attempted to set up the young members of the party in opposition to the fundamental cadres of the party and the Central Committee. Instead of teaching the youth that the party must come into line with its main proletarian body, the worker Communists working at the bench, the "opposition," headed by Comrade Trotsky, attempted to prove that the young students were the "barometer" of the party.

3. Comrade Trotsky made vague and indefinite references to the degeneration of the fundamental cadres of our party, thereby attempting to break the authority of the Central Committee, which between congresses is the sole representative of the whole party. Comrade Trotsky not only attempted to set himself up against the rest of the Central Committee, he even made accusations which could not but alarm the working class and call forth emphatic protests from the ranks of the party.

4. The "opposition" displayed their worst bankruptcy in questions of economics; they were absolutely unable to support the accusations they made against the Central Committee of the party, and did not even attempt to bring forward, in opposition to the policy of the party any systematic proposals on economic questions.

Two tendencies were to be observed in the criticism of the economic policy of the party of the "opposition." One section of the "opposition" indulges in abundant "left" phrases directed against Nep in general and makes declarations which could only have meaning, if these comrades propose to abolish Nep entirely and return to military Communism. On the other hand, the second and much more influential section of the "opposition" rebukes the Central Committee for not going sufficiently far towards meeting foreign capitalism, for not making sufficient concessions to the imperialist powers, etc. This section of the "opposition" (Radek) came forward with direct proposals to revise the conditions which the party laid down in connection with the Genoa Conference, and to make greater economic concessions to international imperialism with the object of in-

creasing business connections with foreign capitalism. The party rejects both these errors without the slightest hesitation.

5. The "opposition" in all its shades of opinion revealed an absolutely non-Bolshevik attitude towards the importance of party discipline. The utterances of a number of representatives of the "opposition" amount to a crying breach of party discipline and recall the times when Comrade Lenin was obliged to fight "intellectual anarchism" in questions of organisation and to defend the principle of proletarian discipline within the Party.

6. The "opposition" committed an open infringement of the resolution of the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P., which forbade the formation of fractions within the Party. The Bolshevik view of the party as a monolithic whole, is replaced by the view that the party is the sum of every possible tendency and fraction. These tendencies, fractions, and groupings, according to the "new" views of the "opposition" are to enjoy equal rights within the party, and the Central Committee is to be not so much the leader of the party as a simple register of, and intermediary between the various tendencies and groupings. This attitude towards the party has nothing in common with Leninism. The fractional efforts of the "opposition" cannot but become a menace to the unity of the state apparatus. The fractional actions of the "opposition" have revived the hopes of a split within the ranks of the Russian Communist Party among all the enemies of the party, including the West European bourgeoisie. These fractional actions have again faced the party with the question, in all its acuteness, as to whether the R.C.P., which holds the power of government in its hands, can permit the formation of fractional groupings within the party.

Having reviewed these differences, and thoroughly analysed the character of the actions of the representatives of the "opposition," the All-Union Party Conference arrives at the conclusion that under the form of the present "opposition" we are faced not only with an attempt to revise Bolshevism, not only with a direct departure from Leninism, but also with a clear expression of a petty-bourgeois deviation. There is not the slightest doubt that this "opposition" objectively reflects the pressure exerted by the petty bourgeoisie upon the proletarian party and upon proletarian policy. The principles of internal party democracy are already being widely interpreted outside the party as a weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and an extension of the political rights of the new bourgeoisie.

Because of the fact that the Russian Communist Party which embodies the dictatorship of the proletariat enjoys a

monopoly of legality within the country, it is inevitable that less stubborn groups of Communists should sometimes surrender themselves to non-proletarian influences. The party as a whole must realise these dangers and jealously preserve the proletarian policy of the party.

This petty bourgeois deviation must be systematically and energetically fought by the whole of our party.

III. Advantageous Results of the Discussion.

The growth of the activity and the improvements of the cultural level of wide sections of non-party workers and partly of the toiling peasants is a new factor which, if our party pursues a correct policy, may be of great advantage to the cause of the revolution. In order to be equal to the situation and in order to be able to lead the mass sections of the workers and of poor peasants who are beginning to take active part in the building up of socialism, the party itself must at all costs enliven and make its own party life more active. In this sense the discussion, in spite of the petty bourgeois deviations of the "opposition," has brought important advantages to the party.

The petty bourgeois errors of the "opposition" were rapidly and resolutely corrected by the party. As soon as the dispute within the Party began, one large proletarian organisation of the R.C.P. after another sharply criticised the petty bourgeois waverings of the "opposition" and supported the policy of the Central Committee. The first to do so, as was always the case when debates on principle arose in the party, was the senior Bolshevik workers' organisation—the Petrograd organisation of the R.C.P. Scores of the largest proletarian organisations in the Union associated themselves with the letter of the Petrograd organisation. The resolution of the Moscow Provincial Conference was adopted by a huge majority of votes, expressing an equally decided condemnation of the "opposition." By the time the All-Union Party Conference met, the whole party, in an absolutely overwhelming majority, condemned the petty bourgeois deviation.

As a result of the discussion, the fundamental body of the party became still more consolidated. Workers' nuclei throughout the whole Union did not hesitate for a moment, but at once resolutely rejected the errors of the "opposition." The Party youth, witnessing for the first time an acute dispute within the party, was able to see by actual example what Bolshevism really meant. The young Communists who were most closely connected with factory and workshop life, supported the fundamental policy of the party without hesi-

tation. The wavering of the section of the young Communist students in the higher educational institutions is a passing phenomenon. When the necessary explanatory work has been accomplished by the party, these waverings will soon disappear.

The activity and consciousness of all the members of the party have been raised. Important economic and party questions have been put in a new way and their solution will be worked out by the party in the near future.

The anxiety of the whole party to preserve the unity of the party was very clearly emphasised. The slightest indication of a possible split aroused and still arouses, the most energetic protest among the masses of the party members. The party will politically annihilate anybody who attempts to disturb the unity of the party ranks. Party unity is more secure than it has ever been before.

IV. Practical Conclusions.

Having taken the whole state of affairs within the party into consideration, the All-Union Party Conference regards it as necessary :

1. At all costs to enlarge the proletarian body in the party numerically and increase its importance in the whole policy of the party. During the course of the coming year the recruiting of workers from the bench as members of the party must be intensified, no less than 100,000 new out-and-out proletarian members being drawn into the ranks of the R.C.P. For this purpose entrance into the Party must be made as easy as possible for workers. At the same time, during this period the acceptance of non-proletarian elements into the party must be definitely stopped. Systematic propaganda must be carried on within the party with the purpose of lining up the party with its fundamental working class body.

2. In order to strengthen contact between the party and non-party elements, we must see to it that, not only in theory but in fact, non-party workers put forward strong representations in all soviets and all soviet bodies. The Central Committee of the party must take the greatest care that this decision is carried into effect and must strictly call to order all local organisations which disregard this decision.

3. The party organisations must carry on a very energetic explanatory work among those nuclei which showed any tendency whatever to waver on the question of party policy

during the past discussions. Explanation, explanation, and yet again explanation—that is the main task facing the fundamental body of the party.

4. Special attention must be devoted to explanatory work among the youth. If material resources are inadequate, the Party should prefer to have a smaller contingent of students, but the material condition of the students should, on the other hand, be bettered and the quality of the work within the higher educational institutions improved. Special measures must be taken to insure that the work among the youth should be correctly controlled by the party. The party should not indulge in flattering the youth, but on the other hand it must not permit the system of reproofs and bureaucratic guardianship. Patient explanation of the principles of Leninism alone can achieve our aim.

5. One of the most important tasks is to place upon the required level the study of the history of the R.C.P. and especially of the main facts regarding the struggle of Bolshevism against Menshevism, and the position taken up by the various fractions and tendencies during the course of the struggle, especially those eclectic fractions who endeavoured to "reconcile" Bolshevism and Menshevism. The Central Committee of the party must take measures for properly organising the publication of suitable text books on the history of the R.C.P. and also to make the teaching of party history compulsory in all party schools, higher educational institutions, study circles, etc.

6. Following the example of the larger proletarian organisations, classes for the study of Leninism must be set up in all our organisations, the collected works of Lenin being taken as a basis, and the correct leadership of these classes secured.

7. It is necessary to strengthen the staff of the central organ of the party (*Pravda*) so that it should be able systematically to explain the principles of Bolshevism and to carry on a campaign against all deviations.

8. The present discussion should be transferred from the pages of *Pravda* to a special "Discussion Sheet," run in connection with *Pravda*.

9. Freedom of discussion within the party must in no case be interpreted as meaning freedom to break party discipline. The Central Committee of the Party and all central party bodies must take immediate and severe measures to maintain iron Bolshevik discipline everywhere where attempts are made to shake it.

10. Resolute measures must be taken, even to the extent of excluding those responsible from the party, against all attempts to spread unjustified rumours, to distribute documents, the distribution of which has been forbidden, and against similar methods employed by unprincipled groups affected by a petty bourgeois influence.

11. Information concerning the activities of the Central Committee and internal party life in general must be better organised. For this purpose the stenographic reports of the plenary meetings of the Central Committee should be distributed to all members and candidates of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission as well as to the regional committees and provincial committees. Adequate space should be given to the section devoted to party life in *Pravda Izvestia of the Central Committee*, and other newspapers, both in the centre and in the provinces. A special information department of the Central Committee of the party should be set up.

12. Special attention should be devoted to the correct and proper organisation of party work in the army. The party must punish with the utmost severity all attempts to carry on fractional "work" in the Red Army.

13. The conference regards it as desirable once more to associate itself completely and unreservedly with the decision of the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P., prohibiting fractional grouping. The conference deems it necessary to propose that the Thirteenth Congress of the R.C.P. should confirm this decision in the name of the supreme organ of the Party.

14. The Conference suggests that the Central Committee should publish the hitherto unpublished Point 7 of the Resolution on Unity adopted at the suggestion of Comrade Lenin at the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P., which empowers a joint session of the Central Committee and the Central Executive Committee by a two-thirds vote, to transfer any member of the Central Committee guilty of a breach of party discipline or "permitting fractionalism" from membership of the party to candidatureship, and even to exclude him from the party entirely.

15. The conference cannot pass over in silence the resolution of the last Moscow Provincial Conference which drew the attention of the party to the fact that a fractional grouping had sprung up in Moscow which was disturbing the unity of the party. The conference thinks that the Central Committee of the party and the Central Control Commission

should take immediate and energetic measures, even to the extent of exclusion from the party, against all those who are attempting to create a split in the ranks of the party within the chief political centre of the U.S.S.R.

Regarding the All-Russian discussion of the questions hitherto considered as closed, the conference calls upon all party organisations to proceed to practical work. The essential pre-requisite for the further success of the proletarian revolution is the unshakeable unity of the R.C.P., the party leading the proletarian dictatorship. The unity of the party is the fundamental possession of the proletarian vanguard. The unity of the R.C.P. must be protected like the apple of one's eye. The All-Union Conference is convinced that the Central Committee of the Party, around which, as the progress of the discussion has shown, the whole party has once again rallied, will firmly preserve its unity.

In confirming the resolution on the results of the discussion, the Central Committee earnestly draws the attention of all the local organisations in which the discussion assumed an acute form to the necessity for putting an end to the acute situation as quickly as possible and of securing complete unity within the ranks, which is all the more necessary now that Comrade Lenin has passed from our midst.



Polish Resolution

Having examined the material before it and having heard the discussion on the situation in the Polish Communist Party, the Congress declares :

1. The Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party, led in its political activity by the Warski-Kostrzewa-Walecki group, has shown itself unfit to put into practice the lines and decisions of the Communist International in spite of its revolutionary phraseology. The policy adopted by this group, which was detrimental to the revolutionary fighting capacity of the Party, was based on the opportunistic traditions and habits of the leading group in the Central Committee which forced its viewpoint on the Party.

2. Making use of their exceptional position with respect to the illegal Party and being the only people who kept it in touch with the questions of international policy, these comrades misled the party in connection with the tactical and organisation lines of the Communist International, with the object of making the Party a tool of the right elements in the Communist International, and especially in the Russian and German Communist Parties. They were guilty of concealing to the Party the true state of affairs in the Russian Communist Party, and their activity on behalf of the opposition, although they were fully aware of the enormous importance of this question for the international Labour movement.

In view of the catastrophic situation within the Polish Communist Party, and the unpardonable attitude of the leading comrades in this affair, the Congress deems it necessary :

1. For the Executive Committee of the Communist International to address to the Polish Communist Party an open letter pointing out the mistake committed by the Party and the path which the Party must follow in the interests of unity in its ranks.

2. That an emergency conference of the Polish Communist Party be convened for the purpose of laying down lines for the political activity of the Party in the spirit of the decisions of the Communist International, of making decisions on the immediate tasks of the Polish Communist Party and of renewing the composition of the Central Committee.

3. In lieu of the Political Bureau and the Organisation Bureau, to form a Bureau consisting of five comrades from the Central Committee and to instruct these comrades to convene an emergency conference and to guide the Party during the period preceding the conference.

4. The Congress deems it expedient to annul the paragraph of the statutes of the Communist Party of Poland which entitles the members of the Central Committee to a decisive vote at the conference.

5. For the Executive Committee of the Communist International to appoint a representative in the Polish Communist Party.

6. To rescind the decisions of the Central Committee against the four comrades who signed the discussion theses.

The Swedish Question

1. The differences within the Communist Party of Sweden arise originally from the fact that the right-wing of the Central Committee only partially carried out or entirely rejected certain decisions of the Communist International, whereas the left-wing of the party, and the Communist Youth League, with full conviction and unconditionally, supported the instructions of the Communist International. The principal point of difference is with reference to centralism within the Communist International. After the general decisions of the present World Congress, which more than ever emphasise the importance of the tasks of the further development of the Communist International into a unified World Party, the Swedish Party must not only behave unreservedly in the matter

of these decisions, but must co-operate with all its strength in fulfilling these tasks.

2. In connection with the circumstances arising from the fact that Comrade Hoeglund's publicly expressed opinions about the Central organs of the Communist Party of Sweden served to render the fight more difficult of the Norwegian Communists against the disguised social traitors (Lian and Co.), or of the Danish Communists (in the military question) against the open social traitors, Stauning and Co.—we earnestly declare that Swedish Party must solidly and unstintingly support in every way possible the fight of the Scandinavian brother parties against their opponents.

3. During the last few months, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sweden has too often squandered its energy on disputed questions of secondary importance (possession of certain editorial positions, etc.), which were merely symptoms of the actual political differences. It is an untenable position when the Central Committee, for a long period, must stand on its formal rights against the opinion of the most important party organisations, such as the chief city organisation.

It is a matter of course that all really important differences between the right and the left wings must be settled in the immediate future at the Party Congress. But because a number of party organisations of the Communist Party of Sweden (including supporters of both tendencies) are of the opinion that the Party Congress—which was convoked for July 20, by the majority of the Central Committee, without discussion with the Executive, for the express purpose of discussing the questions of internal conflict—would interfere with the approaching election campaign of the party, it therefore, should not place until after the parliamentary elections. The new election of delegates to the Party Congress should be held on the basis of an objectively determined division into election districts and without any special limitations of the various party organisations' right to vote. Moreover, the whole membership must take a stand on the decisions of the Fifth World Congress before the elections.

4. The Party Congress will be confronted with the task of unconditionally establishing party unity through its own authority, and to reunite the two wings in loyal co-operation. Every demand to exclude the representatives of one fraction from the Central Committee by the representatives of the other, for the purpose of attaining "unified party leadership" will be decisively rejected by the Comintern.

Until the Party Congress, the Central Committee must concentrate its chief attention on the fight against the bourgeois and social democracy. Disciplinary punishments and resignations are now entirely inadmissible. In order to avoid any intensification of the internal situation of the party and injury of the unity of the Communist election front, it is advisable for the Central Committee of the Party not to change the list of candidates which has been put up by the districts. If the Central Committee, however, for specially important reasons made a change, this must be in agreement with the Executive. It is understood, of course, that the Communist parliamentary fraction is subordinate to the Central Committee of the Party in all its activity.

5. The slogan of the bolshevisation of the Communist parties, which was adopted by the World Congress, imposes upon the Swedish Party the duty of increasing its activity in all fields of Communist work, and above all, to carry out immediately the following tasks:

(a) More intensive struggle against Social-Democracy, not only in the press, in parliament and in meetings, but also at the mass demonstrations and protracted mass actions, which must be organised more than ever before, on the initiative of the Communist Party in connection with the actual questions of conflict. The farsighted application of the united front tactics pre-supposes such mass mobilisation.

(b) Energetic and unified participation of the Communists in all Labour conflicts, and systematic activity in the ranks of the trade unions, in order to unite the opposition elements in a bloc against the reformist leaders.

(c) Organisational development of the Party, above all by the formation of Factory Nuclei as the basis of the entire party organisation according to the instructions of the Executive and the Congress.

(d) Establishment of real comradeship and close co-operation with the Youth League and support of its work.

(e) Development of a clear propaganda directed against pacifism within and without its own ranks. Struggle against all remnants of petty bourgeois ideology and non-Communist deviations in the Party.

(f) Systematic enlightenment of the party membership about the fundamentals of Leninism.

For the purpose of carrying out these immediate Party tasks, the Executive is sending a representative to the Communist Party of Sweden, who is to work in co-operation with the Party to carry out this resolution and to prepare for the Party Congress. In addition, the Central Committee of the Party is immediately to prepare a concrete programme of action. The Executive is to be regularly informed about all measures for carrying out the programme of action.

In addition, an open letter from the Executive will be sent immediately to the members of the Swedish Party for the purpose of explaining the resolution.

The Communist International calls upon the Swedish brother party to close its ranks in order, on the firm basis of the decisions adopted by the Fifth Congress, to lead a successful struggle against the enemies of the proletariat, and to develop itself into a strong Communist mass Party.

Comrade Remmele, as the authorised representative of the Executive, is charged with the duty of assisting in all political decisions until the Party Congress. Meetings of the Central Committee may take place only in the presence of the representative of the Executive.

In the districts where because of former differences, the delegates to the Party Congress were not recognised by the majority of the Central Committee as possessing a decisive vote, the Executive is to do everything possible in a comradeship manner and in co-operation with the Central Committee, to settle the differences beforehand. All districts are to send delegates with full voting rights to the Party Congress.

Norwegian Question Resolution

The anti-Communist attitude of the present leaders of the Norwegian Labour Party has prevented this Party from affiliating with the Communist International. The Fifth Congress is aware of the fact that in this Party there are honest revolutionary proletarian elements who wish and must adhere to the Comintern.

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

Iceland Resolution

Capitalism started its development in Iceland with the twentieth century. Trade and fishing, involving about half the population, are already being managed on a large capitalist scale. Due to the uncertain conditions of fishing and the decreased market prices, the lot of the fishermen will become very hard. A small proportion of the population are artisans. The rest depend on agriculture for their living. About 60 per cent. of the peasants are independent. The co-operative movement among the peasants is quite strong. A peasant party, which is closely connected with the co-operative movement, and which enjoys great influence is being sponsored by the large and middle peasants.

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The Labour movement of Iceland relies principally for support on that part of the proletariat which is engaged in fishing. There is only one Labour party, which is built upon the collective membership of the trade unions. The largest unions affiliated are the following: the Seamen's Union; the Fishermen's and Port Workers' Union; and the Union of Women Workers. In addition there are two political organisations affiliated to the party: a Social-Democratic and a Communist or—as the report of the Fifth World Congress calls it—a “semi-Communist” Party.

The Party has a total membership of about 4,000. The Executive Committee is composed of five Social-Democrats, and four representatives of the opposition sympathetic to Communism. The party issues a small daily paper in Reykjavik and in addition two weekly papers in the provinces. Although the Party received 25 per cent. of all the votes at the last elections, it only secured one seat in Parliament out of 42.

In order to preserve party unity, since the opposition controls four seats on the Central Committee, an agreement was reached according to which the two groups are not allowed to attack one another publicly. The editor of the daily paper, an opposition man, was forced to leave his position, but was appointed as an agitator for the party.

There is a Communist Youth movement in Iceland affiliated with the Young Communist International. The youth league works with the opposition and supports the latter in its struggle to capture the whole party.

In order to develop a real revolutionary Labour movement in Iceland, the following is necessary:

That the opposition resolutely takes up the fight against the reformist, semi-bourgeois or Social-Democratic leaders, not by any means to split the trade unions, but to guarantee a real unified revolutionary leadership of the whole Icelandic Labour movement and to develop a Communist Party.

The already existing organisation of the opposition must organise itself on a firm Communist basis, and demand within the whole party full freedom for agitation, propaganda and criticism on behalf of the Communists.

The opposition must form factory nuclei in all important industrial localities.

Within the trade union and co-operative movements, Communist fractions must be formed unconditionally, which are under the control of the leadership of the opposition. (The opposition must oppose all tendencies which aim at a split of the trade unions.)

A close co-operation must be established immediately with the Scandinavian Communist Party Federation. Instead of the close relations of the present leaders of the whole party with the Danish social traitors and their party, the opposition must work within the party for contact with the Scandinavian Party Federation.

Resolution on Opening of the Marx-Engels Institute

The Fifth Congress of the Comintern welcomes the decision of the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Russia, which expresses the necessity of publishing as soon as possible a complete edition of the works and letters of Marx and Engels, with historical critical commentaries. Such an edition is the only memorial worthy of the founders of scientific Communism, and the only one which can serve as the basis for a thorough study of the history, theory and practice of revolutionary Marxism.

The Congress deems it necessary, in addition to this Complete international edition, to publish separate editions of selected works of Marx and Engels under the supervision of the Comintern, for the proletariat of the various countries. In addition to the most important works of Marx and Engels, which are of international significance, each one of these

editions must contain copies of their writings which are of particular interest for the proletariat of the countries in question.

The Congress requests all the parties belonging to the Comintern, as well as the individual members, to assist the Marx-Engels Institute and the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union as much as possible in collecting material about the life and activities of Marx and Engels. The active co-operation of all the Communist parties will be essential to accomplish such an important task, as the publication of a complete edition of the works and correspondence of Marx and Engels, and to prepare all materials necessary for writing the scientific biography in connection with the history of the Socialist and of the Labour movement in the nineteenth century.

Souvarine Resolution

Having heard several comrades of the French delegation and Comrade Boris Souvarine :

Having also carefully examined all the material bearing on the breaches of discipline with which Comrade Souvarine is charged :

The Commission declares unanimously :

1. That Comrade Souvarine has been guilty of very serious breaches of discipline ;

(a) Declaration in the Communist Bulletin.

(b) Letter to the subscribers of the Communist Bulletin containing attacks on the Managing Committee of the Party.

(c) Publication outside and without the knowledge of the responsible Party organs of Comrade Trotsky's pamphlet " The New Course," with a preface directed against the Party and the Communist International.

2. That these actions show that Souvarine is imbued with a petty bourgeois spirit which puts personal considerations before the interests of the Party.

3. That such conduct on the part of a comrade engaged in specially responsible Party work has wrought great havoc within the French Communist Party and has jeopardised Party discipline.

4. That the explanations made by Comrade Souvarine have not mitigated in the least the seriousness of the breaches of discipline committed repeatedly by Comrade Souvarine, and that these explanations were imbued with the same petty bourgeois spirit which characterised Comrade Souvarine's attitude during the incidents which have caused such perturbation within the Party.

Therefore, the Commission proposes to the Executive Committee of the Communist International :

1. To accede to the demand for Souvarine's expulsion placed before the Fifth Congress of the Communist International by the delegation of the French Communist Party.

2. To leave it to the French Section of the Communist International to propose to the Sixth Congress of the C.I. to re-admit Souvarine into the Party, provided his conduct in the meantime be loyal towards the Party and towards the Communist International.

To the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International.

In the course of its work, the Souvarine Commission has come to the conclusion that Communist discipline is far from being fully understood and applied in the ranks of the French Communist Party. The Commission deems it absolutely necessary that the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International intervene energetically in the form of an open letter to the members of the Party, in order to make them realise the true meaning of Party discipline and to urge them to enforce its strict application by suppressing energetically all serious breaches of discipline and all attempts by any member of the Party whatever to carry on an independent policy.

Communist Party of Great Britain

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