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Agitation and Propaganda.

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Role and Tasks of the Agitprop Work in the Bolshevisation of the Sections of the C. I.

By Béla Kun.

If we understand under Bolshevisation that the Sections of the C. I. are to be rendered capable, in ideological-political and organisatory respects, of leading and organising revolution (or, to speak more accurately, of leading and organising the present period of international revolution, that is, the period in which the majority of the proletariat, and of those decisive social strata forming the reserves of revolution, are to be won over) successfully by the use of those methods which have led the Russian C. P. to victory, then the rôle and tasks falling to the Agitprop work as part of Bolshevisation may be easily and definitely ascertained. Leninism made the Party of the Bolsheviki capable of recognising the Russian objective revolutionary forces, and of making use of the whole of the given factors, thus enabling it to organise the revolution and lead it to victory. That teaching which has developed the theory and practice of Marxism by Marxian methods, and applied it to the post Marxian period of economic and social development, by means of the experiences gained in three Russian revolutions and in the various forms of revolution passed through by the international proletariat, and by generalising these experiences into a theory, renders the Party capable, both as regards politics and organisation of winning

over the masses for the revolution. This theory serves the masses as guide for practical and successful revolutionary action.

Bolshevisation does not thus merely mean the recognition of the lessons learnt from the experiences undergone by the Bolshevik Party, nor merely the acceptance of the forms of organisation of this Party. The theory of Bolshevism cannot be separated from the experience won by the Bolshevik Party, or from the forms of organisation resulting on the three Russian revolutions. But on the other hand it would be equally wrong to separate the methods from the results — as is done by some who call themselves Marxists and even belong to the Communist Party — and entirely wrong to degrade Bolshevism from a theory which leads revolutionary action to a mere aggregate of practical experiences. The real import of Bolshevism consists of having the Communist Parties take over Leninism in its entirety, and apply it in actual political and organisatory practice. It is only within the confines of this theory as a whole, and in their character as its constituent parts, that the differentiated political and organisatory measures applied in the various countries, at different times and in different forms, can become a Bolshevik policy, that is, can become a policy adapted to winning over the masses for the purposes

of revolutionary action at any given stage of revolution. It is only within the limits of this theoretical entirety that we can avoid the two dangers constantly threatening the Communist Parties; 1. the danger of regarding the Communist Party as "object in itself", as a Party isolated from the masses, and 2. the danger of taking the "winning over" of the masses to mean that it is not the Communist Party which leads the masses, but that this Party gives way to the spontaneous will of the masses, and permits itself to be led by it.

During the present period of revolution both these dangers may become very acute, and are already acute in many places. For this reason the fundamental task to be carried out by the propagandist work of the Communist Parties consists of rendering the leading cadres of the Party and the masses ideologically capable of leading political organisation and agitation of a nature competent to maintain a constant connection with the masses — and not only to maintain this connection, but to penetrate more deeply into the masses and to comprise them on a broader foundation.

The two main Spheres of work of the Agitprop.

Starting from this viewpoint, we see that Bolshevisation demands that the work of the Agitprop. be concentrated in two closely connected main lines, both aiming essentially at the same goal:

1. The education of the leading cadres of the Parties in the spirit of Leninism; Leninist mass propaganda on broad Party lines.

2. The extension of the agitative power and influence of the Party press by means of the creation of a communist mass press — we must not be afraid of the term: "communist people's press".

Work must be carried on everywhere in these two directions. And though the measures employed for the attainment of these objects may be different in every Party, these aims and tasks must form, internationally, the concrete goals aimed at by the concrete Agitprop activity of every Communist Party.

Propaganda for Leninism.

Up to the present day propaganda for Leninism has scarcely got past the point of agitation in favour of this propaganda.

The reason for this may be approximately found in the following circumstances:

1. The majority of our Parties have not yet discovered the best way of combining propaganda for Leninism with the actual political questions, struggles, and organisatory work of the Party. In other words: the propaganda has been more or less abstract.

2. The absence of Lenin's works among the Leninist literature in the majority of European languages.

3. The complete lack of organs leading the work of propaganda during the period immediately following the V. Congress, or the existence of such organs in an embryonal state only, both in the C. I. and in its various sections. As result of this, propaganda cadres have been lacking in the various Parties, or the employment of the existing propagandist forces has been unorganised.

The experience of six months now looked back upon by the Agitprop Department of the C. I., though extremely incomplete, suffices to show that these difficulties can be overcome by energetic effort, though not within a very short time. The indispensable connections between the propaganda for Leninism and the struggles and organisatory work of the Party, in other words: the working out of the import and methods of propaganda work — at least in the most important and largest sections — will be rendered possible by the cooperation of the separate sections and the Agitprop organs of the C. I. The translation of Lenin's most important works into foreign languages is a much greater technical and financial difficulty. The lack of suitable translators and of a book publishing apparatus, the political conditions obtaining in various countries — illegality — greatly delay the publication of Lenin's works. The creation of organs leading the propaganda work has also been greatly delayed, chiefly for the reason that the decisions arrived at by the V. Congress on this question have not immediately assumed the position of importance due to them in the consciousness and the work of the Parties. It will be the task of the Enlarged Executive to make the Parties fully conscious of the importance of this theory.

The six months which have passed since the Bolshevisation slogan was issued have matured the question of propaganda for Leninism to such an extent that at least the most important and

best developed sections of the C. I. have been able to take up the following tasks, and to issue the following slogans:

1. The establishment of a Central School of Leninism in the course of the year 1925.

2. Short elementary courses of instruction are to be arranged in every local organisation, a Leninist club is to be formed in every large Party nucleus, and in the individual Parties the whole of the members (as in the English Communist Party) can pass through a certain course of instruction within a certain time, say two to three years, with the aid of these elementary classes, or can be united in Leninist clubs.

Besides this, provision is to be made within this year for a really thorough study of Leninism, if only for a limited few, by means of the organisation of international Leninist courses of instruction (by the German, French, and English sections) in Moscow.

The Agitprop Section of the Enlarged Executive is faced by the task of working out all the practical and differentiated activity involved in this propaganda work.

The slight initiatives already observable in this sphere of activity — modest but none the less worthy of praise — as for instance the Lenin School and the district instruction courses formed by the French Party, the efforts made by the American Party for the formation of Marxist clubs, similar endeavours within the German Party, and especially the initiative taken by the English Party in gaining influence over the whole of the Party members by means of elementary courses of instruction at which attendance is obligatory, show that the definite aims pursued do not reckon with political and organisatory circumstances only, but — at least in the case of a part of the Sections — with actual possibilities also.

The Bolshevik People's Press.

The other offensive point of Agitprop work in the sphere Bolshevisation is the fundamental reorganisation of the communist press, its transformation into a Bolshevik people's press.

The propaganda for Leninism does not serve solely for the internal strengthening of the Party, but at the same time for the purpose of Party expansion, and of enabling the Party to Bolshevise the masses outside of the Party. The Bolshevisation of the Parties with respect to agitation must first find its expression in the press, and in the following manner:

a) The communist press is to be reorganised in purport and form in such manner as to be able to fully satisfy the widest interest taken by the broadest working masses for questions of political and social culture. It must form the daily reading matter of not only the Party members, but of the broadest masses of the workers, and must not only be read by shop and factory workers, but by the members of their families.

b) Distribution must be so organised that the Party is enabled, by means of its press, to reach those strata of the working class which it cannot reach by other methods and forms of agitation.

c) The communist press is to be freed from all professionalism, so that the worker is not merely the reader of the communist newspaper, but at the same time its contributor and distributor. This raises the question of the Worker Correspondents, a question which inevitably arises with elementary force wherever the communist press has found a fairly wide circle of readers. The settling of this question is the more imperative as certain sectarian tendencies can already be observed with regard to it, caused by the limitation of the Worker Correspondents to the communists.

In connection with these questions the problem of the international press may here be mentioned as belonging to our general tasks; our international press may safely make it its aim to double the number of readers of the communist press.

In a great number of communist parties the creation of a daily news paper is a burning question. The lack of a communist daily newspaper is greatly felt in a number of countries, especially in England. Without a daily newspaper the Communist Party cannot form any adequately important factor in any country. The initiative taken by the American Communist Party, by which the publication of a daily communist paper in the English language has been made possible, shows that the issue of a daily paper is not an impossible task for a Communist Party which has passed beyond the stage of mere agitation, or is approaching the end of this stage.

The Organisation of Agitprop work.

The V. Congress impressed it upon every Party, as special task, to create special organs for Agitprop work. This task, closely bound up with the prerequisites of successful Party work — and in general with the differentiation of Party work and of Party apparatus — has been carried out to but a very slight degree up to now. Even in the central Party apparatus only the first steps are being taken towards the formation of the organs required for Agitprop work. (Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, and Italy are taking the lead in this direction, and the English Party is not remaining behind.)

Where these leading organs are lacking, the organisation of Agitprop work is impossible. The Party cannot accomplish the task of Bolshevisation which is set it if there are no organs for the distribution of Bolshevist ideology. The central organs themselves are merely suspended in the air, so to speak, if the communist labour organisations do not furnish them with such organs, that is, with organisations holding a grasp over the

members, and keeping up the connections between the Party centres and the periphery. The reorganisation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei remains deficient and inadequate unless we succeed in imparting the spirit of communism into the work of the factory cells. A not inconsiderable part of this communist spirit is supplied by the propaganda for Leninism, by the dissemination of the communist press, and by systematic agitation among the non party masses. In connection with this the question of Agitprop organisation is raised, that is, the question of the creation and development of that type of Party worker whose task consists in organising and leading the ideological work of Bolshevisation in the immediate circle of Party members, and among the broad masses outside of the Party.

These organisatory questions await their solution, at least in general, if we are really intent upon realising, in a manner promising actual success in the near future, the two prerequisites indispensable for the Bolshevisation of the communist Parties, the two most imperative tasks: the propaganda for Leninism and the creation of a communist people's press.

The Fundamental Tasks of Propaganda Work.

By J. Sten.

The Importance of Revolutionary Theory.

At the present time the theory of revolutionary Marxism is of special importance for the Communist Parties. The tasks dictated to the Communist Parties by the historical situation demand a high degree of theoretical knowledge and experience on the part of the Communist Parties.

As a general rule the importance of theory for the Party is dependent upon the rôle which the Party is called upon to play in the system of the other working class organisations. The Party represents the general and highest form of organisation, leading and guiding all other labour organisations in the struggle. In order to enable the Party to see its marching route clearly before it, the light of revolutionary theory must be cast upon the road. Lenin told us that the struggle is not merely twofold — the political and the economic struggle, but that there is still a third struggle to be faced — the theoretical one. According to Lenin's view the Party is called upon to act as leader in all these three struggles. From Lenin's standpoint the Party is the fulcrum of all three factors, the organisatory, the political, and the theoretical.

The working class as totality is as little competent to enter the arena of ideological struggle as it is capable of consciously leading its own struggle for emancipation in the spheres of economics and politics. The theory of Marxism, of scientific communism, does not spring up automatically, as elementary force, in the ranks of the whole working class. So long as the overwhelming mass of the working class is suppressed and exploited, and held in ignorance by capitalism; so long as it is permeated by the narrow interests of the trade unions and guilds (representing the interests of individual professions only), it is unable to rise simultaneously and directly to the level of the ideology of scientific communism.

Scientific communism is based solely upon a whole number of philosophical, historical, and economic theories which have preceded it. In order to grasp scientific communism, it is necessary to go beyond the narrow confines of the interests of this or that trade or profession, and to regard the social historical process as a whole. It is thus a mistaken idea to believe that communist ideas originate in the working class with fatalist inevitability, under the influence of the mechanical pressure exercised by economic development. The development of the working class into communist ideology is an irregular process. The most advanced and active section of the working class first appropriate these ideas. It is the duty of this active section to raise the broad backward masses to their level, to educate them up to the stage which they themselves have reached by their own experience in the economic and political struggle.

The rôle played by the Party, and its decisive function, were expressed by Lenin in the formula of the "correlations between spontaneity and consciousness". The Party is the con-

scious expression of the spontaneous, objectively historical process. In order that the Party may be rendered capable of acting competently as the conscious and active leader of the spontaneous mass movements, and of adopting the right political strategy and tactics, it most imperatively requires a correct comprehension of the laws of capitalist development.

But the knowledge of the general laws of capitalist social development does not in itself render a party capable of leading the struggles of the working class; for this another capacity is required; that of making an efficient concrete analysis of any given special historical situation. This task is however only possible to achieve if the policy of the Party is based upon a strictly scientific Marxian foundation. The carrying out of such a policy requires more than a mere "empirical assembling of things", the mere knowledge of certain political rules and tactical standards established by empirical experience. It requires a capacity to extract the core, the actually decisive driving forces of social historical development, out of every individual historical situation, by means of the methods of dialectic materialism. In an historical epoch replete with social catastrophes and dislocations, the capacity of thus applying dialectic methods becomes of eminent importance. Under the conditions caused by the raging speed of social historical development, we cannot approach social phenomena metaphysically without falling into error, that is, we must not isolate these phenomena, or remove them from their context. The epoch of imperialism, the collapse of capitalism, and the development of socialist revolution itself, are in a certain sense dialectically more "mobile" than the previous historical epoch.

The General Tasks of Propaganda.

The importance of revolutionary theory for the struggle for emancipation of the working class points out to us our general tasks of Marxian propaganda. The leading general task of Marxian propaganda is the dissemination of the basic ideas of Marxism in a number of Communist Parties. This dissemination of Marxian ideas must bear the character of a ruthless calling to account of, and an equally relentless struggle against, the pseudo-Marxism of the II. International. This means that our propaganda of the general fundamentals of Marxism must not be abstract in character, but must be based upon the actual historical tasks set the working class by each new epoch. And this means that our general propaganda has to be a propaganda of Marxism and of Leninism.

When we speak of Leninism, we emphasise that special import which Lenin imparted to Marxian theory. We hold in view the light cast upon Marxian theory by Lenin's application of fresh historical experience, his new practice of Marx's methods in a manner hitherto unknown in the history of the world. Leninism signifies inexorable struggle against the vulgarised

and castrated Marxism of the II. International. Leninism is the renaissance of orthodox Marxism. But Leninism is not only the rebirth of the Marxism of Marx, it is the continuation and further development of Marxism under the conditions imposed by the epoch of imperialism and the development of socialist revolution. The historical process does not come to a standstill, social Being changes and develops.

When the new phase of capitalist development, the phase of monopolistic capitalism, had commenced, and when the war of 1914 finally determined the beginning of an enormous upheaval in the world's history, Marxism was confronted by fresh theoretical and practical tasks. Marxist theoretical consciousness had to grasp, consciously, the new social Being which had come into existence. Lenin, applying the methods and teachings of Marx, consciously grasped the fundamental antagonisms and decisive laws of the imperialist epoch.

The imperialist socialists of the type of Kautsky, Bernstein, and Friedrich Adler, proved unequal to this task. These theoreticians of the II. International bid adieu to the tenets of orthodox Marxism. Having conceded to their imperialist inclinations by renouncing dialectic materialism, it was impossible for them to even attempt a conscious grasp of fresh phenomena and processes from the standpoint of Marx's methods. Friedrich Adler's declaration (Adler likes to consider himself a Marxist) that the Bolshevik are in actual fact sinking deeper and deeper into Bakunistic adventurism, but continue to call upon Marx unceasingly at the same time, thus sounds extremely hypocritical. Adler writes that the standpoint of the Bolshevik may be more easily understood since they have finally decided to speak of "Leninism" instead of "Marxism"! (From Adler's letter to the Executive of the London International.)

And it is precisely Friedrich Adler, the zealous reviser of the dialectic materialism of Marx and Engels, who makes this statement. In his well known article written in 1907, and published in the "Neuen Zeit", under the title of "Friedrich Engels and the Natural Sciences", Adler employed his utmost endeavours to distort Engels, and to replace the philosophy of Marx by the philosophy of Mach. It need not be emphasised that Friedrich Adler's submissive service to the imperialist bourgeoisie has so crippled his mental faculties that he is no longer capable of questioning whether a man who has renounced Marxian methods of materialist dialectics may still be called a Marxist. Friedrich Adler, having renounced Marx's methods, is incapable of comprehending that the split between the labour movement and socialism during the epoch of imperialism is not accidental, and that the disintegration of Marxism in the II. International is as little accidental. The fundamental feature distinguishing the theoreticians of the II. International is their incapability to comprehend Marxism as a coherent view of life, permeated with dialectic concord. Some of them have been prepared to accept this or that part of Marxism, but have rejected that totality of Marxism extends alike to the works of nature and the history of mankind.

Lenin, on the other hand, accepted the methods and teachings of Marx fully and completely, and with their aid he explained the new processes and solved the practical tasks of the labour movement. Thus our general propaganda must be a propaganda of orthodox, unvulgarised Marxism, and a propaganda of the latest achievements won by the theory and practice of Marxism in the latest epoch of history. That is, it must be a propaganda of Leninism. For this reason our general propaganda must lay special emphasis on the Marxian view of life as a coherent and organic whole. We have to propagate the fundamentals of dialectic materialism, the factors underlying the methods of Marx and Lenin. We have already pointed out that this task is of the utmost importance in the present epoch. Here our task consists of providing the requisite literature for the individual Communist Parties. This is of special importance, for literally every theoretician belonging to the II. International has dealt with the philosophy of Marxism with unmasked revisionism, and the broad masses of workers still backing up social democracy have thus been plunged into the profoundest misapprehension with regard to the rôle and significance of dialectic materialism.

Our general propaganda must deal at the same time with the questions of historical materialism and with Marx's economic teachings. A comprehension of the laws of capitalist development, and of the conformity to law embodied in classic industrial capitalism, are necessary pre-requisites to the comprehension of the connection existing between the capitalism of free competition and monopolistic capitalism. If this knowledge does not

exist, the danger arises of a lack of comprehension of the associations between imperialism and classic capitalism, leading in practical politics to a tendency towards "Left infantile diseases". And as our general propaganda must deal at the same time with that special purport imparted to Marxism by Lenin, our propaganda work must lay special emphasis on the fundamental elements of Leninism.

The theory of imperialism must be accorded a leading place in our propaganda. A clear comprehension of the nature of imperialism is absolutely necessary if we are to grasp the character of the new historical epoch. Here our propaganda must expose the manner in which misapprehension of the essential character of imperialism, as special stage in the development of capitalism, has converted social democracy into the flunkeys of the bourgeoisie. The position into which social democracy has thus fallen has of course its social causes, and the theoretical expression of these is the false theory of imperialism held by the social democrats. This failure to comprehend imperialism leads the social democratic theoreticians into a further labyrinth of misapprehension as to the real character of the split in the ranks of socialism and in the working class. They do not understand that this split is an inevitability arising out of the essential nature of the imperialist epoch. They do not understand that imperialist excess profits form a soil for the growth of a labour aristocracy and a bureaucracy which, finding firmer economic ground beneath their feet, begin to show a "bourgeois" and "Philistine" tendency. The political expression of this economic schism of the labour aristocracy to the side of the bourgeoisie is represented by the split in socialism. It is precisely this fundamental fact which has made the split between communists and opportunists (or imperialist socialists) an imperative necessity. And precisely for this reason there could be no thought of a simple reorganisation of the II. International, and the creation of a new organisation, the III. International, became an absolute necessity.

We must thus accord a leading place in our propaganda work to this question of the imperialist nature of the social democratic parties. Failure to comprehend this imperialist character may be observed among the so-called Left communists. Even Rosa Luxemburg shared this lack of clear understanding on this subject. In her book on "The crisis in social democracy" she regards the attitude adopted by German social democracy at the outbreak of the war in 1914 simply as a mistake, and does not associate it with the history of opportunism. Lenin drew special attention to this when he said that "the treachery would be inexplicable" if we could not trace its connection to opportunism as a tendency with a long history behind it — the history of the whole II. International. The question of the split in socialism during the imperialist stage of capitalism has been dealt with by Lenin in his remarkable article entitled: "Imperialism and the split in socialism."

The question of the theory of imperialism is of increased importance to us, since at the present time we are obliged in our own ranks to combat the false theory propagated by Rosa Luxemburg. There are some comrades who even demand that Rosa Luxemburg's conception of imperialism should be made the fundamental of the programme of the Communist International. It is the vital duty of our propaganda work to oppose our incontestable theory to Rosa Luxemburg's incorrect theory of imperialism, in which she summed up her wrong conceptions of the rôle played by the Party, the national emancipation movement, the movements in the colonies, and the peasant movements.

Another important branch of our general propagandist work is the teaching of Lenin's theory, strategy, and tactics of proletarian revolution. The fundamental principles laid down by Lenin in these questions are contained in the main documents of the Communist international. These are:

1. The theses on bourgeois and proletarian democracy (passed at the I. World Congress);
2. The theses on the agrarian question (II. Congress);
3. The theses on the national and colonial question (II. Congress);
4. The resolution on the rôle of the Communist Party (II. Congress);
5. The 21 conditions of admittance into the Communist International.

It is our task to disseminate the contents of these documents, which internationalise Lenin's teachings on the rôle and tasks of the Comintern and on the rôle played by the Party, the

teachings on the driving forces of international socialist revolution, and the principles of Party organisation, amongst the broadest masses of the people. The educational and propaganda work in the Party must provide the broadest possible basis for the process of assimilation of the contents of these most important documents of the Communist International by the masses of Party members.

The Special Tasks of our Propaganda.

The stage of development of the Communist International through which we are passing at the present time confronts us with a number of concrete propagandist tasks. The V. Congress proclaimed the Bolshevisation of the Comintern. This slogan commenced a new period in the history of the Comintern. The end of 1923 found a number of countries in a revolutionary situation. Some communist parties, as for instance the Bulgarian, the German, and the Polish, were placed in the position of acting as the direct leaders of revolutionary mass movements. These Communist Parties were obliged to pass from the strategic manoeuvre of the united front tactics to an immediate struggle. The historical events of this period have however proved and shown that the Parties are not yet capable of acting as Bolshevik organisations. The severe test of objective historical development to which these Communist Parties were subjected pointed out to the Communist International the nature of its immediate tasks in the new period.

These tasks consist in a continued endeavour on the part of the Communist Parties to maintain contact with the broad backward masses, in the first place with the proletarian masses, and further with the non-proletarian; further, of the utilisation of the lessons learnt during the period just passed through, aided by the analysis of the internal development of the individual country, for the purpose of drawing up a correct strategic plan, and of undertaking correct tactical action in accordance with this plan.

The task involved by the necessity of a conscious comprehension of the experience gained in the past period demands from us the accomplishment of a large number of propagandist tasks. In the first place we have to wage a relentless ideological and theoretical war against those deviations from Marxism which have wormed their way into various Communist Parties. Where questions arise with reference to the generalisation and conscious comprehension of revolutionary experience, the questions which are put with reference to the philosophy and methodology of Marxism are not accidental. In this atmosphere, charged with these essential and important tasks, but lacking in far-reaching and comprehensive traditions in the sphere of dialectic Marxism, the Communist Parties tend to lapse into distortions and falsifications of Marxism. The philosophical efforts of Lukács, Korsch, Fogarasi, etc. may serve as examples of such distortions and diseased growths.

An article by Lukács, published in 1921 in the theoretical organ of the German C. P. "Die Internationale", on the subject of the "Spontaneity of the masses and Party activity", furnishes the clearest evidence of the relationship between Lukács' philosophy and a certain subjective trend, that is, with the Left infantile diseases of politics.

This instance furnishes a brilliant justification of Lenin's words with regard to the relationship between the philosophy of Marxism and the Marxist social political movement. We see how an incorrect political deviation produces its corresponding philosophical expression. It is our task to carry on an exterminating theoretical war against these philosophical deviations, and to apply the methods of dialectical materialism to the work of correctly generalising and consciously grasping the practical experience gained in the communist movement.

Deviations of precisely the same nature may be observed with regard to the theory of the agrarian question, and again these arise just as the atmosphere is charged with tasks of the utmost importance to the Comintern in its efforts to control the peasant movements. It is incumbent on all Communist Parties to make a special study of the various groups and strata in the peasantry of their own country, and thus to ascertain the right political slogans for enlisting many groups of the peasantry in the ranks of proletarian revolution.

This work demands that the Communist Parties be familiar with the theory of the agrarian question worked out by Marx and Lenin. Such theoretical experience being lacking, many Communist Parties faced for the first time with the agrarian problem have

fallen into theoretical deviations. Varga's book "Outlines of the agrarian question", may serve as an example of this description of revisionism in the agrarian question. Here Varga revises the theoretical principles of Marxism and Leninism in the agrarian question. It is our task to combat revisionism in the agrarian question, and to propagate at the same time the teachings of Marx and Lenin in this question. Lenin has left us much valuable theoretical material with reference to the agrarian question. He is the greatest theoretician of the agrarian question in the Marxist camp. Thus one of the most important lines of our propaganda work must be to spread the knowledge of Lenin's theoretical achievements in the agrarian question, the task immediately incumbent on the Comintern at the present juncture of evolution rendering this knowledge of the utmost importance to the Communist Parties.

During the present period of the development of the Comintern, and of the united front tactics, the scale inclines in favour of the slogan of "international trade union unity movement". There are however many who have not yet grasped the fact that during the present period the peculiar united front tactics required consist of a penetration into the Amsterdam International, in order that the workers organised in this may be won over from social democracy man by man. One of the special tasks of our propaganda work consists of enlightening the Communist Parties with regard to the rôle and importance of the trade unions in the class war of the proletariat. It must be shown that under capitalism the trade union is the historically given form of labour organisation. The Communist Parties have to grasp the fact that work in the trade unions is the opportunity for propagating communist ideas among the broad strata of the non-party workers.

The development of the epoch now being struggled through by the Comintern, in conjunction with the task of Bolshevisation now being entered upon by the Communist Parties, requires that our propaganda work furnishes the theoretical prerequisites for the conscious comprehension of the experience of the past, and establishes the theoretical principles upon which the political and organisatory tasks of the present period are based. But our propaganda must reach the broadest masses of the Party members and of the non-partisan workers alike. The fundamental slogan of our propaganda work among the masses of Party workers must be: "Every member of the Party must know the ABC of Leninism".

The Organisatory Prerequisites for Propaganda Work.

In order to carry out propaganda work as delineated above, the Communist Parties must take a large number of indispensable measures in the sphere of propaganda. In the first place it is of importance to organise a sub-department for propaganda in all Agitprop departments in the Communist Parties. Certain comrades must be selected, who are to devote themselves solely to propaganda work. It is only when a group of comrades of this description, engaged on this special work only, is formed, that a really efficient cooperation between the propaganda sub-department of the ECCI and the propaganda work of the individual Communist Parties is possible. It has hitherto proved difficult to bring about this cooperation. All Communist Parties have to adapt themselves to the lines laid down by the Agitprop of the ECCI. After the Communist Parties have ascertained the purport of the propaganda work required of them, and have appointed a group of comrades devoting themselves to this work, they will then be in a position to approach the task of expanding and developing the various organisatory forms of propaganda work.

In order that a certain staff of theoretically educated comrades may be created, and theoretical experience thus firmly anchored in the Communist Parties, the Agitprop of the Communist International raises the question of the organisation of international Party courses of instruction. The object of this instruction is to furnish the decisive sections of the Comintern with a staff of comrades thoroughly versed in Marxist Leninist theory. Comrades capable of acting later on as active leaders in the practical life of the Communist Parties.

One of the most urgent tasks in the building up and development of the various organisatory forms of propaganda work is the task of organising elementary courses of instruction in all Communist Parties. The programme of these courses of instruction was published in the "Imprecorr". The contents of this programme form the ABC of Leninism. The broad mass of the Party members are to take part in these courses of instruction, and to master the ABC of Leninism.

The further development of the organisatory forms of propaganda work raises the question of Marxist Leninist circles, and brings us to the task of establishing central Party schools in the individual parties. Reciprocal relations must exist between these various forms of organisation. The question of central Party schools has already been placed on the agenda of some parties. We are already richer by the experience gained in the French Party school. The immediate future will see the completion of the

working out of the working programme of the central Party schools in the different countries. The fundamental organisatory measures towards propaganda work to be taken up at the present moment by the Communist Parties may however be summed up in the following two points: the appointment of a group of comrades in every Party for leading propaganda work, and the immediate development of the elementary courses of instruction.

The Work of the Agitprop Organiser.

By M. Rafes.

At the present time, when many Sections are undergoing extensive reorganisation on the factory nucleus basis, it is a suitable moment to raise the organisatory questions involved by the various forms of agitation and propaganda work in the factory nuclei.

The creation of factory nuclei opens out fresh opportunities of mass agitation to the Party. Here we can divide the totality of the workers in shops and factories into several categories: 1. Members of the Party and of the Communist Youth organisations; 2. A considerable number of workers sympathising with and supporting the Party, reading our Party literature regularly or irregularly, but not joining our organisations; 3. The mass of neutral workers, influenced but slightly either by our propaganda or by the propaganda of parties hostile to us; 4. Those who sympathise with and support other parties organising the working masses, and finally; 5. The members of these party organisations.

It is obvious that we must differentiate our work with the utmost care in order to adapt it to these various strata of the working class. The formation of the factory nucleus is the first prerequisite for an organised influence to be exercised upon the whole of these strata, enabling their various trends of thought and feeling to be recognised, and enabling work to be properly organised and distributed among the communists employed in any given workshop or factory. Agitation and propaganda work are exceedingly complicated, and demands a careful calculation of the forces at our disposal, a careful discussion of the causes of this or that success or failure. The factory nucleus must possess a special organ, competent to regulate, prepare, and lead the whole of this work.

The most important form of preparation for Agitprop work among Party members consists of systematic Party education, and in the study of the fundamental principles of the Party programme and Party tactics. Workers sympathising with the Party must be invited to take part in every meeting and every session of the factory cells, and on every such occasion some question of general political life or some matter pertaining to the factory or shop should be discussed. This must not be done in the form of an agitation speech, but must be a carefully prepared report explaining the connection between the urgent daily question under discussion and our programme and main lines of tactics, and thus enabling generalisations to be drawn from the events of daily work, and the audience induced to take part in the discussion of the most important questions of our Party work. An intimate acquaintance with the whole of the members of a nucleus renders it possible to select those members possessing superior abilities and most closely connected with the Party, and to form separate circles for the study of the theory and practice of Leninist Marxism. (See Syllabus for Elementary Party Courses, published in "Inprecorr." Nr. 5. 15th January 1925.)

The best of these comrades should then be selected for training in the Party schools or educational opportunities provided by the organisation. From time to time burning questions of the day may be made the opportunity for organising large meetings, and at these similar reports should be given, but in a more popular form, and approaching nearer to an agitation speech.

What is known as "individual agitation" plays an important rôle in influencing persons sympathising with the Party. The organ entrusted with the Agitprop work must prepare the necessary material, and the nucleus bureau organises this individual work. Every communist is "allotted" one or more of these sympathisers, and it is his duty to enter into conversation as often as possible with these, to visit them at their houses, and to discuss questions of interest to them from the standpoint of the Party. This is the best preparation for the entry of such sympathisers into the Party.

The distribution of Party literature, including the factory newspaper, is one of the very most important branches of mass agitation and propaganda. The propagation of our literature must be carefully thought out and organised. It is an entirely inadequate procedure to simply give a workman a single copy of a newspaper, periodical or pamphlet; the impression made by its perusal must be carefully noted, conversation must be entered into on the subject, doubts explained, etc. This is best accomplished when the distribution of Party literature is so organised that one and the same person invariably undertakes the work in a certain vocational group of a factory or works, or in a certain group of workers. Here it must not be forgotten to take into account the difficulties incident to this work, the necessity of counteracting as far as possible the reprisals undertaken by the works' management or the police.

It is very necessary to keep up a continuous search for fresh fields of agitation for the Party. The attempt must be made to make use of the bars and restaurants frequented by the workers of the works or factory in question. It is possible to use these places for the distribution of literature, and for some forms of mass agitation.

Impromptu meetings and organised meetings must also be accorded their place. But not these alone. The experience won in the mass work of the Russian revolution has led to the development of two forms of work forming the greatest attraction for the great non-party labour press: the "verbal newspaper" and the "agitation trials". The nucleus co-operates with the Youth Organisation to organise small groups of workers (including non-party groups) in the careful preparation of this form of agitation, for without this it cannot be successful. A small group of editors is organised, and these divide the rôles among them: leading article, current news, telegrams from the Soviet Union, factory notes, humorous supplement, letters from the country, etc. For each of these departments a five minutes' article in the liveliest possible form is required and an editors' meeting is arranged, etc. The agitation trial requires careful preparation, and frequently resembles a theatrical performance. Rôles are divided, masks frequently worn, and then some person or body is put on trial: the Russian proletariat, a social democratic minister, the social democratic party, a factory owner, etc. This is to be so arranged that there are judges, public attorney, defending barrister, witnesses for and against, etc.

It will be seen that various forms of agitation and propaganda work may be created. Every form requires careful preparation, organisation, and study, and thus implies the formation of a special organ. The nucleus work done in the Russian C. P. during the last few years has led to the development of a form of organisation of this description in the "Organiser of Agitation and Propaganda Work" (Agitprop Organiser), aided by a small commission. This Agitprop organiser has to be a member of the nucleus bureau, and is appointed by this bureau for this work. The commission is formed of three to five members of the nucleus. The Agitprop organiser collaborates with the commission in working out their scheme of work, and submits this to the nucleus bureau for confirmation. The commission divides the various departments of work among its members, and meets regularly for the purpose of giving an account of work done and exchanging experiences. The Agitprop organiser must give a regular account of his work to the nucleus bureau, and finally to the general meeting of the nuclei as well. At the present time it is still impossible to determine all the details of this work.

We intend to submit this question to the whole of our nuclei for careful discussion, and expect that the experience gained within the next few months will enable us to lay down more definite rules for the best forms of work and organisation.

The Bolshevisation of the Press.

By **Karl Voss.**

I. Bolshevist Self-Criticism.

One of the most essential constituents, or rather prerequisites, of the Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties, is revolutionary self criticism. This is not only one of the sharpest weapons of Bolshevist propaganda and organisation, but is an essential constituent of Bolshevist methods and ideology as such; it forms the lungs of the Bolshevist organism, supplying its heart with the oxygen which it requires daily, rejuvenating the circulation of the blood, and forming the best antidote to all forms of decomposition. An unceasing, continuous, relentless, revolutionary self criticism runs like a scarlet thread through the whole history of Bolshevism.

The ideology of Bolshevism, and Bolshevisation as historical process, are subject to the laws of both capitalist and revolutionary development. They do not supply the revolutionary parties with any finished recipe for class warfare, but what they do supply is methodic indications, based on wide experience, for revolutionary action. Their very nature involves the inevitability of errors of many kinds. And the more rapid the rate of revolutionary development, the greater the danger of tactical errors. The Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties may cause strategic errors to be almost excluded, but it does not exclude the possibility of errors in tactics. The approach of the revolutionary upheaval in the West will bring about such profound and complicated subversions of class strata that the Communist Parties will be obliged to manoeuvre and tack much more than the Russian Communist Party before the seizure of power.

But when the time comes for the West European Communist Parties to meet their October, it will be found that despite the intense use made of Russian experience, and despite the profound penetration of the process of Bolshevisation, these Parties are faced by the almost certain fact that the development of Bolshevist ideology and of Bolshevist leadership does not keep pace with the speed of revolutionary development. At the moment when the Party of the proletariat takes up the struggle for power, the bourgeoisie will prove tactically superior unless the revolutionary storm of the rising millions is decisively controlled by the revolutionary self-criticism of the Bolshevist leadership. The propagandist theoretical understanding of self-criticism is as necessary for the propaganda of Leninism, and for the carrying out of Bolshevism, as the masses are necessary to the Communist Party and the Communist Party to the masses.

For years the Communist International has been fighting for the principle of self criticism. The whole story of the last Czechish Party crisis is a striking example. Here it became clear that Bolshevisation is an empty word unless accompanied by self criticism. The genuine liquidators accepted all decisions on Bolshevisation, but refused to recognise their own decisive errors. And thus they were defeated in the end. Self criticism is the principle which must form the revolutionary spring for the Bolshevisation of the Czechish CP. The Communist Parties are now confronted by the task of differentiating and concretising the process of Bolshevisation; the recognition of the necessity of self criticism will play a more important rôle in the future than in the first propagandist stage of the process.

All considerations on the various tasks of Bolshevisation must be preceded by these fundamental principles.

II. Is the Communist Press a Mass Press?

The decisive purport of Bolshevisation lies in the increasing and growing consciousness, among the communist workers, of the importance of the rôle played by the Party, accompanied by a simultaneous expansion of the influence exercised by the Party upon the broad masses of the working class. The communist press forms one of the best means of gauging the extent and character of this influence upon the masses. The communist press is of decisive significance for the work of Bolshevisation. It must be more than a "collective organiser" for the Party, it must be a "collective organiser" for the masses. What is the present relation of readers of the communist press to the number of Party members and to the masses affiliated to the Communist Party?

The following table may afford an approximate idea*):

	Party members	Readers	Voters
Germany	200,000	300,000	2,700,000
Czechoslovakia	140,000	100,000	1,500,000
France	70,000	220,000	1,500,000

A comparison of these figures shows that the ratio of Party members to the readers of the Party press in these countries is on an average 2:3. But the ratio of Party press to Party voters is 1:9.

If the above calculation were to be supplemented by the figures referring to the smaller parties belonging to the Communist International (quite apart from those obliged to work illegally), the result would doubtless be much worse. (With the exception of the Anglo-Saxon countries, for instance America, where there are about 120,000 readers of the communist press to about 20,000 Party members and 33,000 voters.)

This computation relates to the communist daily newspapers only. The communist press is in such a poor state with reference to special questions and particular strata of the population (the press dealing with trade unions, women's interests, officials' interests, etc.) that it is scarcely able to improve the ratio. Thus for instance in Germany the editions published by the communist trade unions and special press only amount to about 200,000 to 300,000 copies against an edition of about 7 million published by the social democratic trade union press. And this apart from the bourgeois trade union press, and the numerous publications issued by social democracy and bourgeoisie for the different categories and groups of the population.

It will be seen from the above that scarcely every tenth worker among those who express their confidence in the Communist International at the ballot boxes is actually a reader of a communist paper, that is, is under the immediate daily influence of communist ideology. And it would be a bitter illusion for the whole of Europe were we to believe that we can convert a worker into a conscious champion of revolution if we cannot induce him to read our Party press. And it is one of the most important tasks of Bolshevisation to convert these masses of sympathisers into a conscious vanguard of proletarian revolution.

"We should be deceiving ourselves, and closing our eyes to the greatness of our task, if we were to belittle these tasks, if we were to ignore the difference between the vanguard and the masses pressing forward towards it, and if we were to forget that it is the duty of this vanguard to raise ever increasing masses of the others to its own level." (Lenin: "A Step forwards.")

The fundamental element of Bolshevisation is the simultaneous development and revolutionary intensification of class consciousness and revolutionary will both in the Party as vanguard and in the broad masses. A Bolshevisation of the Party without a simultaneous Bolshevisation of the masses involves the serious danger of sectarianism, and the result would be that the Party, instead of increasing its influence upon the masses, would become alienated from them.

We should commit a grave error were we to refuse to recognise the objective material reasons why the communist press is not a mass press at the present time. But it would be more than an error, it would be unpardonable, were we to refuse to recognise that the main causes do not lie in the misery or indifference of the working class, but in the character of the methods of agitation and organisation hitherto pursued by our communist press.

"The character of our newspapers does not change as it should change in a state of society passing through the transition from capitalism to socialism." (Lenin: "The character of our newspapers.")

*) The above figures have been estimated on entirely general data, without material.

The Bolshevisation of the press means that the communist press is to be reformed in a manner rendering it the press of the broad masses.

III. The Organisation of our Press.

This is a question to which little or no attention has hitherto been paid. As a general rule, the forms of organisation followed by the communist press have been permitted to develop without any special supervision, without study and observation, without any attempt at organisation adapted to the object in view. The Russian Section is the sole Section in the Communist International which possesses an organ working systematically and continually for the organisation and supervision of the press. And yet the questions raised by the relations between Party press and Party organisation, and by the internal relations of Party press organisation, are such as play a leading part in affecting the extent of the influence exercised by the press on the broad masses of the working class.

The internal organisation of the editorial staffs of almost all communist newspapers, especially in the case of provincial newspapers, suffers from the unhappy effects of the principle of a mechanical division into departments, a principle taken over from the social democrats. The editorial staffs of our Party newspapers have generally been an accurate reflection of the Party Executives, which have suffered equally from this social democratic disease. In one organisatory report of a Section of the CI we read:

"The same conditions are to be found in the district and local organisations. Here the local secretary or trade union secretary is solely responsible for the factory work, or no departmental nucleus whatever has been formed. Politics and organisations are kept separate. Organisation itself comprises purely administrative work only..."

The same conditions, or worse, prevail in most of our editorial staffs. "Politics", "trade unions", "district" and "local organisation" work side by side more than together. The political editor writes the highly political articles, the trade union editor has his special department, and the editorial staff responsible for the local department is a child entirely disinherited by destiny. This state of affairs often enough results in somewhat grotesque combinations, as the readers of our press may observe. It is not alone that the political editor, soaring solely in the highest spheres of politics, almost entirely loses contact with local events, but the local and trade union editors, forced to occupy themselves exclusively with the trivial details of daily happenings, lose sight of the political line of the Party. Instead of political collaboration among the different members of the editorial staff, we find an obstinate struggle for the "columns".

Energetic war must be declared against the mechanical allotment of departments on our editorial staffs. Every staff can be developed into a united collective organisation if the political leaders of the newspaper adopt the principle of treating all questions, local and trade union alike, as political questions, and of invariably placing in the foreground of the paper those questions which form the foreground of the interests of the mass of workers upon which the paper is intended to exercise its immediate influence. In the majority of cases the actual observance of this principle can only be made possible with the aid of a systematic organisatory and political control exercised upon the editorial staffs by the political leaders. Precisely these questions must form the basis enabling editorial staffs to grasp the principle that every Party newspaper is an organ of the Party.

A second and perhaps even more important method of destroying the bureaucratic departmental principle, and one exceedingly valuable for creating really communist editors, is the participation of the editors in the immediate work of the Party. In this question the political leaders must make concessions. Work on the editorial staffs must be so organised that every editor is given the opportunity of taking part in the work of the local organisation, factory cell, etc. "It is imperatively necessary for the literates to enter the Party organisation" — this was said by Lenin at a time when the Russian labour movement was suffering the severest persecution. "The communist editors must be unreservedly prepared to take part in Party work at any time, outside of their journalistic activity" — this is what the communist organisations must say to those comrades to whom they have entrusted their editorial work.

The principle of "the inklinger writes and the reader reads" (Lenin) may safely be left to the inklingers of the bourgeois and social democratic press.

It frequently happens that the communist organisations do not comprehend that the principle recognising the communist press as an organ of the Party extends much further than the mere possibility of imparting a certain political trend to a newspaper. The leaders of the organisations must accustom themselves to employ their organ as an efficient instrument for the whole of their organisation policy. Not only must they require and demand that certain questions of organisation are placed in the foreground at certain times, but they have a right to add a decisive word when decisions are being made. The business management, whose motives are generally influenced by the business standpoint, must only be given as much play as the organisatory tactics of the Party permit; the reverse should never be the case. The atmosphere of bourgeois business legality is the enemy of the real interests of the communist press.

A special chapter of the organisation work of our press is formed by the question of its direct connection with the factory or works. In the majority of cases the communist newspaper reaches the factory by the roundabout path of the residential organisation (the formation of factory cells may have changed this somewhat during the past few months). The best proof that despite our factory nuclei there is still no adequate organisatory connection between the Party press and the factory is the fact that the work of increasing the number of subscribers to our newspapers is still carried out for the most part by the residential organisations. In an electoral report issued by the German CP on work for increasing the number of subscribers to the "Kämpfer" (an organ which may be counted in every respect among the best organs of the International) we read:

"Agitation had to be transferred to the residential districts, for the previous agitation made for the "Kämpfer", carried on for the most part in the factories, yielded very poor results."

The sale of communist papers in the works and factories themselves has become an indispensable necessity of the present period of factory cell development. In countries where capitalist terror does not yet rage to the same extent as in Germany, for instance, Czechoslovakia and France, a certain amount of effort will render this possible. But even in Germany ways and means must be found for distributing the communist newspaper to at least a part of the workers in a factory, or shortly before work is started. (A general reduction of prices for communist newspapers subscribed to or distributed in factories would be a suitable means to this end.)

The question of organising the campaigns to gain subscribers belongs to this same chapter. Even the most superficial consideration of the methods and results of work up to now in this direction show the necessity of increased mass efforts. Hitherto all endeavours to gain large numbers of new readers have all been too much on one pattern, too little differentiated.

Two examples: a campaign of agitation for the "Kämpfer" in Chemnitz brought in 1740 new readers, a simultaneous agitation for the Party 1600 members. A similar agitation for the "Freiheit" in Düsseldorf resulted in 4500 readers, and for the Party 700 new members. In Chemnitz the number of new Party members was almost as great as that of the new readers, and yet the Düsseldorf results, seen from the standpoint of communist mass agitation, appear to us to be far better than those of Chemnitz. Why? The Chemnitz communists won for their press solely such workers whose entry into the Party proved that they were mature for membership. But the Düsseldorf cast their nets far beyond these confines, and gained as readers many workers not yet ripe for the communist organisation, but already receptive for communist agitation. Both tasks are important. But the work involved must be differentiated, must be adapted in each case to the category of workers in question; the workers whose standpoint is nearly ours must be approached by different means to those who are still far from understanding our aims, and who have still to be drawn within our sphere of influence.

Our Communist Parties must devote the greatest and most intense attention to the study of all these factors. The same methods of organisation cannot be employed in every country. Thus for instance one of the most important reforms to be undertaken by the communist press in Czechoslovakia is in

our opinion a certain de-provincialisation (the amalgamation of the many semi-vegetating weekly and Sunday papers issued in the provinces, most of them far from being communist, into really communist daily papers), whilst in Germany the reversed recipe might frequently be applied with advantage. Every communist Party should make it its endeavour to create organs guaranteeing the use of the whole of the forces at the disposal of the Party for a real supervision, a real study, and a real application of the extensive and valuable experience already gained.

IV. The Character of our Press.

If the communist press is to be a mass press, if it is to exercise influence over millions, it must speak the language of the masses. This is a platitude, and almost every communist editor would be indignant if anyone thought it necessary to mention it to him. And yet the communist press sins greatly in this respect, though in two diametrically opposite directions: There are communist newspapers whose endeavours to adopt a popular tone have led them to speak the language of the masses to such an extent that the masses themselves reject them. And again there are other communist organs who understand their mission of raising the masses onto a higher level in such a sense that they address themselves to the masses in a language which is not even comprehensible to the whole of the Communist Party. (This danger is the greater at the present time when a great part of the communist press is plunged into the profoundest reflections on the rôle to be properly played by the Party, only too often forgetting that the rôle of the Party becomes an empty phrase if not played actually among the masses.) The majority of our communist newspapers can be classified under this heading.

It is the task of the communist press to speak in a language comprehensible to the millions of the working class, and yet unceasingly emphasising the leading rôle of the Communist Party.

"Write to us on the conversations held in the workers' circles, on the character of these conversations, on the subjects selected for instruction, on the questions put and replied to by the workers on the organisation of propaganda and agitation, on the connections with society, with the army, with the youth; write most of all about the complaints which the workers most often raise against us social democrats, about their questions, protests, etc." (Lenin: "How can we make our newspapers real organs of the labour movement?")

"Why is it not possible to speak in 20 to 10 lines, instead of 200 to 400, of simple, general, well known, obvious matters, already fairly digested by the masses, such as for instance the despicable treachery on the part of the Mensheviks, the servants of the bourgeoisie... or the scornful grin of the American millionaires at Germany, etc." (Lenin: "The character of our newspapers.")

If we take Lenin's second warning to heart, we shall have space enough in our press to observe the first, and shall find the way of solving the problem of how to speak in the language of the masses without sharing their delusions, of coping competently with mass movements and organising them under the leadership of the Communist Parties. The first task of the communist press is agitation, not propaganda, that is, it must explain communist policy to the masses on the basis of visible facts, not on that of communist theory.

Among the greatest enemies of communist policy in our own ranks, and not only of policy, but of press agitation, we must count the revolutionary phrase.

"The revolutionary phrase consists of the repetition of revolutionary slogans, without taking into account the objective circumstances of the present curve of events and the present situation. Wonderfully captivating and intoxicating slogans, without any firm ground beneath them, are the essence of the revolutionary phrase." (Lenin: "The revolutionary phrase.")

Two different things may be comprehended under revolutionary phrase in the communist press. There are communist papers which invariably follow the principle of employing the strongest and most urgent phraseology which they are capable of compiling, and which give the impression that the writers must have been in a state of high fever. Viewed as agitation,

this fails to make any effect upon the masses, repels them, and has besides this the disadvantage that when the newspaper has to deal with some special situation, it finds its vocabulary exhausted. A second variety of the revolutionary phrase is the ceaseless employment of communist slogans without any internal connection with actual events in the eyes of the workers. Frequently the simple narration of facts is more effective than the artificial and wearisome repetition of communist slogans. More faith in the thinking powers of the reader! "Less intellectual talk, closer contact with life!" (Lenin.)

The communist newspaper must have inexhaustible reserves of love and care at its disposal if it is to exercise an influence over the masses. There are many journalistic devices at the disposal of the sensational press supported by the bourgeoisie and by social democracy, means by which they attract the backward masses, but which cannot and must not be employed by the communist newspaper aiming at effective press agitation. But a correct principle may be transformed into its reverse if it is falsely applied. Contempt of the methods of bourgeois journalists has led to a neglect of language and style in a section of our Party press, and under certain conditions this may become a political danger. In a great number of communist newspapers we find a crude mixture of "intellectual" terminology alternating with an express hostility against any clear substantiation and exposition of a clear communist slogan. It is perfectly evident that such organs will never command the interest of the masses. Among the lesser but none the less treacherous enemies of communist press agitation we may for instance name the unnecessary use of foreign terms.

"I must admit that the needless use of foreign words annoys me, for this hinders our influence upon the masses". Thus wrote Lenin in 1920, at the session of the political bureau of the CC of the Russian CP. when discussing the communist press with comrade Bucharin.

The foreign word hinders our influence upon the masses, because the masses do not understand it, and experience shows this lack of understanding to form an immediate bridge to indifference, or even to actual antipathy against the revolutionary party. Just at the present moment, when reaction rules, and bourgeois influence is exercised upon the working class in the thousand different forms of journalistic agitation (and it is an unfortunate fact that the bourgeoisie has a much better idea of agitation among the workers than we communists), the utmost importance must be attached to the removal of all elements hampering our influence upon the masses, and thus to the selection of suitable language.

The character of a newspaper depends not only on the careful or negligent preparation of the different articles and notes, and on good or bad editorship, but also to a great extent on the technical make up. In technical respects, as in many others, the communist press is still hampered by the remnants of bourgeois and social democratic traditions. Is it really an unalterable law that every newspaper must consist of a headline, a leading article, a chronicle of events, etc.? Many of our communist newspapers have emancipated themselves from this troublesome inheritance. But the greater part still feel themselves bound to enter into competition in this respect with the bourgeois and social democratic press.

The technical make up of a paper should be determined by the purport of the contents, by the aims of the agitation pursued. This applies especially to the first page of the paper. The effect of the headlines does not depend solely on their striking the right nail on the head, but much more upon the technical arrangement of the material to which they draw the reader's attention. Many of our newspapers still retain the custom of entrusting one member of the staff with the work of supervising the technical make up of the paper. In a communist editorial staff this function should be absolutely prohibited. Rosa Luxemburg, as editor of the "Roten Fahne", never left the office until the proofs had been corrected.

To sum up. Those communists who have been entrusted by the Party with the difficult and responsible task of spreading abroad its ideas must never forget for a moment, even when writing the very smallest note for the press, that thousands of astute workmen's brains will test and examine it with the intensest interest, and will form a judgment. It is only by means of the development of this sense of responsibility that we will be enabled to form that army of Bolshevist journalists so greatly needed by our West European parties.

V. Systematic Agitation.

"The rôle of the newspaper is however not confined to the mere propaganda of ideas, to the political schooling and winning over of political allies. The newspaper is not merely a collective propagandist and collective agitator, but a collective organiser." (Lenin: "The newspaper as collective organiser.")

The first prerequisite for the attainment of the goal aimed at by Lenin is systematic and mansided communist press agitation. This must be capable of not only giving every stratum of the population that which interests it, but it must be capable of doing this so systematically, and with such complete political consciousness, that the attention of the masses is guided into channels advantageous to the communist movement. A striking example of properly understood and properly executed strategy in press agitation is given by the workers' editorial staff of the factory newspaper "Leuna Prolet". They write in their report:

"The articles in the "Leuna Prolet" may almost be said to be adapted to the individual peculiarities of our colleagues. For we must give everyone something. Though we apparently come to meet their moods, in the end it is our views which we impose upon them. Our attitude towards the Fascist movement, towards the social democrats, and the yellow trade unions, can be expressed clearly and unequivocally.

Our relations to the employees are somewhat more complicated. Here we find so many groups, some pro-labour, some anti-labour. Foremen and such people are generally represented in our newspaper as speeders up and slave drivers. The severest terms are suitable with respect to them, for they are the conscious and willing trustees of our class adversaries. Masters, superintendents, accountants, proletarians disguised behind a white collar, are worthy of little more than derision. We sketch them in ridiculous positions, scoff at their triviality and petty errors. This has the effect of inducing them to act with less severity towards their subordinates; the famous Leuna discipline weakens. Our attitude towards the employees must be adapted to the circumstances of each individual case, the motives of action being carefully examined into.

Besides this, the "Leuna Prolet" must supplement the factory reports by articles aiming at political enlightenment. But this may safely be done in a round about way. Among our colleagues there are still many who do not want to hear anything about politics, especially anything about political action. They are however none the less anxious for more wages and better working conditions. These colleagues must be clearly enlightened as to the fact that the question of improved economic prosperity is at the same time a question of political power. Things must be discussed which the factory council cannot tell the workers." ("The Leuna Works and its communist factory nucleus.")

Nothing could be more to the point. The communist press must adapt itself to the "individual peculiarities" of the masses. It must give everybody something. It must be capable of the systematic and effective use of every medium of agitation.

"The "Pravda" has published many poems written by workers. These poems have not been perfect from the standpoint of the patent literary critic, but they have reproduced the actual trends of feeling among the working masses much more effectually than many a lengthy article. The average Workman is well able to appreciate a happily chosen designation, a well earned jeer, at the opponent. A good caricature, really to the point, is considerably better than a dozen difficult and wearisome so-called "Marxist" articles." (Zinoviev: "What must our newspapers be like?")

"Individual" agitation not only does good service in bringing the different strata of the working population into closer contact with the communist paper, but it opens a thousand flood-gates through which the living humor of the working class, the wit of the people, forming in itself the best of all methods of agitation, may flow into the columns of the communist press.

VI. Factory Newspapers, Worker Correspondents, and the Communist Party Press.

The worker correspondent may be counted among the best gauges of whether a communist newspaper is in real organisatory contact with the masses or not.

"It is a complete misapprehension to suppose that precisely the literates, and almost exclusively the literates (in the professional sense of the word) are capable of successful work upon a newspaper. The reverse is the case; the newspaper does not awaken to real life or capacity for continued life until 500 or 5000 non-literates add their contributions to the work of five leading and permanently active literates." (Lenin: "How are our newspapers to be made into real organs of the labour movement?")

But it would be an equally grave error to limit the worker correspondents to members of the Party. In this respect there is a lack of clearness among the Sections of the C. I. Thus for instance the resolution passed by the conference of the worker correspondents of the "Roten Fahne" contains no word about inducing non-party worker correspondents to contribute to the "Roten Fahne".

It is understandable that during the preliminary phase of development of the young Worker Correspondents' movement the worker correspondents are active members of the Communist Party for the most part. But the Worker Correspondents' movement would, from the very commencement sever itself from its chief sphere of utility were it not to aim at inducing precisely the unorganised workers to take part in the movement. The non-partisan worker should and must be given the opportunity of expressing his wishes in the communist press, and even of bringing any complaints which he may have against the Communist Party. The worker correspondents already contributing to our press should regard it as one of their most important tasks not only to write themselves, but to urge non-partisan fellow workers, and acquaintances sympathising with the Communist Party, to become correspondents.

The communist daily press has an important and indispensable task before it in the organisation and discussion of the factory newspapers. The factory newspapers are among the most hopeful signs of proletarian activity and initiative. They represent one of those new forms of revolutionary agitation to which the Communist Parties must accord the greatest attention and support at precisely the present juncture. It may be safely maintained that hitherto the factory nucleus newspapers have been carried on without any great measure of support from their big brother the daily press. An organisatory report issued by the German section of C. I. speaks as follows of the factory nuclei newspapers:

"Here the spell has been broken. The example given by the numerous factory newspapers which have appeared has broken down all resistance. As soon as the fears of the factory councils have been overcome, we shall succeed in the course of time in providing every large undertaking in Germany with its own newspaper."

There is however nothing to be found in the whole report as to whether and how the communist press is aiding the factory nuclei newspapers. The supply of material and technical assistance is not sufficient. An uninterrupted organisatory contact must be maintained between the editorial staffs of the communist daily press and the worker editors of the factory newspapers of the corresponding town or district. The mutual exchange of experiences, the mutual discussion of the best methods of agitation and their effect upon the working class, will open out to both new and direct paths to the heart of the great masses.

And this is the essential and decisive factor in the slogan of "Bolshevisation of the press". Closer contact with the masses of the readers!

The International Conference of the Communist Press.

By **G. Smoljansky.**

The slogan issued by the V. Congress, the Bolshevisation of the Party, raises the simultaneous problem of the Bolshevisation of communist propaganda and agitation. For this last the question of the Party press plays a part of pre-eminent importance, especially in those countries in which the Sections of the CI are mass parties, and have at their disposal a considerable number of daily and weekly papers.

What does Bolshevisation really mean? It means the transformation of our press into a real mass press of the workers. The communist newspaper must be a workers' newspaper, not merely a newspaper for workers. It must elucidate every aspect of class warfare and working class life, from the factory to Parliament. The communist newspaper must form a connecting link between the Party organisations and the broad masses of the workers. The communist newspaper must be such that the non-party workman does not regard it merely as a remote organ representing a political party, but as his own labour newspaper, comprehensible to him, mirroring his hopes, his interests, his daily life, and his struggles.

Thus the whole character of the communist newspaper must be changed. Many comrades, accustomed to the traditional type of bourgeois newspaper, and unable to break abruptly with this conservative tradition, are alarmed at what appears to them to be a "weakness" of our press (which is not "equal" to the firmly established bourgeois press, aided by a large number of intellectual literary forces) but this so-called weakness is in reality a symptom that our press is on the right road to proletarianisation, that its contact with the masses is becoming closer, and that it is ceasing to follow in the ruts of the social democratic press, which differs from the bourgeois press solely by a political nuance. Emancipation from this tradition is the first step towards the Bolshevisation of the press.

The real purport of the extensive Worker Correspondent movement now being called into life is to bring wide masses of the workers into the ranks of the Party, and to make these into conscious and active Party members. It is obvious that the communist press will accomplish this task efficiently in proportion to its closer contact with the masses, with the works and factories.

Since the V. Congress, our press has been able to report considerable success in this direction in a number of countries, and it is a suitable moment to make a survey of these first attempts, to praise the best efforts, to encourage the backward. The convening of an International Press Conference appears to us to be the most suitable form of carrying out this survey. But from the ideological and organisatory standpoint the most suitable date for an extensive campaign of this nature appears to us to be 5. May — the anniversary of the founding of the Bolshevik newspaper "Pravda" in 1912. This campaign could be made to form the immediate continuation of the campaign beginning on 1. May, the opportunity being thus given for carrying out mass agitation on an extensive scale in the five days till the 5. May.

This press conference may be made the opportunity (as our Russian comrades made it) of more firmly establishing the connection between the Communist Party and the labouring masses by means of the communist newspaper, and of awakening active interest for the communist newspaper among the broad masses of the non-party workers. On this day a communist newspaper must be found in every factory, in every workshop, in every workman's family. Mass meetings — a special number of the newspaper being distributed gratis on this day — must be made to serve as connecting link between the working class and the workers' newspaper. On the occasion of the first press conference in Russia on 5. May 1912, 18,000 roubles were collected for the reserve funds of the "Pravda". The workers' newspaper must make it its endeavour to widen the "shears", that is, the ratio between the number of readers and the number of registered Party members. And finally, the campaign must culminate in the propaganda for mass participation by the workers in the immediate work of the newspaper itself, that

is, in the organisation of a mass movement of Worker Correspondents.

But the essential factor of Bolshevisation is differentiation. The campaign has not to be carried out in all countries alike, nor conducted with threadbare slogans and on threadbare lines. In my opinion the following lines of action might be laid down for the most important countries:

England. Here the Party has not had one single daily paper up to now. The revolutionary Minority Movement has however attained such an extent — to say nothing of the broad masses backing up the "left wing" — that there is sufficient foundation upon which to build up a daily labour newspaper for the masses. For England the question to be discussed at the Communist Press Conference is the founding of a daily communist newspaper. The fact that the present weekly paper the "Workers' Weekly", the central organ of the English Communist Party, disposes of an edition of 50,000 copies, although the number of members belonging to the Party is only 4000 to 5000, shows that our English comrades could fulfil this task. The revolutionary minorities could at the same time be used as a starting point for the establishment of contact between the labour newspaper and the works and factories, and for the formation of extensive cadres of worker correspondents. The organisation of the worker correspondent movement should precede propaganda for a daily mass newspaper.

The United States. In the United States, on the other hand, our little Party has more than a dozen daily newspapers, but we are confronted with a number of other problems: 1. These newspapers are not published under any uniform Party control, they do not pursue a uniform communist line, and are at times subject to such aberrations that it is difficult to distinguish them from the ordinary Menshevist newspapers (this applies for instance to the "New Yorker Volkszeitung"). Here the Bolshevisation of the press would thus signify in the first place a strictly centralised control of the communist press by the Communist Party. 2. The chief newspaper in the English language, the "Daily Worker" must be converted into a mass newspaper. The organisation of a Worker Correspondent movement is one of the first tasks imperative for this newspaper. 3. The main weakness of the non-English newspapers is that they devote too little attention to the life of America, and cling too much to that of the country in whose language they are published. This weakness must be overcome, for it only leads to an enhancement of national separatism, and to a weakening of the feeling of class solidarity of the American Proletariat.

Italy. The organ of the Italian Communist Party should be converted into a mass organ, and be brought into closer contact with the working masses. This is the slogan of the Press Conference for Italy. The communist daily newspaper, the "Unita" accords a certain amount of space to worker correspondents, but the letters sent in are a perfect example of how such reports should not be drawn up. The workers' reports printed in the "Unita" give the impression of having been written in the editor's study. Besides this, these reports throw no light upon the life and interests of workshop and factory, but refer exclusively to the opinion held by this or that "worker correspondent" on questions under discussion by the Party or other abstract subjects. Some Italian comrades are of the opinion that the discussion of the life of individual factories is not the affair of a serious central organ, since factory newspapers and wall placards exist for this purpose. We are of precisely the opposite opinion. Our newspaper must form the platform from which the workers from the various factories and shops report on the life and struggles of the individual.

France. The central organ of the French Communist Party: "Humanité", is the only organ published by a Section of the Comintern, outside the Soviet Union, which has attained an edition of 200,000 copies. This newspaper has a magnificent foundation in the half million mass of workers organised in the C. G. T. U. trade unions. A certain amount of exertion, combined with skilful propaganda and firmer establishment of

the connection with the masses organised in the trade unions, would enable the paper to increase its circulation to one and a half times or doubles its present. The newspaper is however unfortunately deficient in the necessary prerequisite for this; up to now the "Humanité" has accorded but a very small part of its columns to workers' reports, and gives but scanty reports on the Soviet Union (a matter of intense interest to the working masses).

Germany. In this respect the press of our German Party is much in advance of others. The Conference of Worker Correspondents lately held, the number of similar local conferences (Hamburg), the founding of an editors' school for the instruction of worker journalists, all these are positive symptoms of the proletarianising of our press in Germany. At the present time the German CP counts about 30 daily newspapers, but the fact that the central organ, the "Rote Fahne" has a circulation of 30,000 only, shows, that our press in Germany is not yet a mass press. It must be recollected that at the last election the Communist Party received three million votes. For the "Rote Fahne" the slogan for the Communist Press Conference must be: "Double circulation!" The factory councils and the Party factory nuclei must form the foundation of this campaign in the shops and factories. Every worker reading the "Rote Fahne" must gain a new reader.

With respect to the provincial centres where no newspapers exist as yet, but where one could be founded, the campaign must be carried on under the slogan of gaining "readers for the publication of a local newspaper". As soon as 5000 readers are secured, a new communist local organ can be published.

Scandinavia. In Norway the Party possesses 15,000 members, and publishes five daily newspapers and four to five weekly newspapers, or papers appearing twice to three times a week. The total circulation of the communist press is 45,000 to 50,000 copies, the central organ publishing an edition of 8000. This shows that the number of daily newspapers published

is much too large for this small country. The number should be reduced, no readers of course being lost.

In Sweden 8000 Party members have two daily newspapers and five weeklies or semi-weeklies, total circulation about 30,000 copies.

Both in Norway and Sweden the ratio between the mass of readers and Party members is very unfavourable. This must be improved in such manner that there are at least ten non-party readers to every Party member. The attainment of this object means that the Scandinavian communist press must establish closer contact with the factories and workshops. Workers' reports have up to now been almost entirely absent from the Scandinavian press. For the Scandinavian Party press the main slogan for the Press Conference is thus the organisation of a comprehensive Worker Correspondent movement, and the proletarianising of the press.

Czechoslovakia. For Czechoslovakia the chief slogan must be: Deprovincialisation and politisation of the provincial press. The Czechish press must be converted into a really proletarian fighting press. The Party press possesses but few worker correspondents. Not even the whole of the members of the Party and of the revolutionary trade unions are to be counted among its readers.

This is the road to Bolshevisation to be followed by our press. The Russian "Pravda" was successful in gathering hundreds of thousands of proletarians around it, and in becoming a mighty source of revolutionary energy for the working class of Russia and its Bolshevik party. This was made possible solely by the fact that the "Pravda" did not follow in the ruts left by the bourgeois Menshevik press, but found the right way of establishing contact with the broad masses of the workers. In this way only, and by renouncing the influence of the "great" capitalist sensational press, is it possible for the communist press to penetrate into the masses, and for the Communist Parties to become really Bolshevik mass workers' organisations.

Information.

By **L. Magyar.**

The weakest side of the communist press is undoubtedly its informatory side. We are not concerned with the question of whether our press keeps its working class readers well or badly informed in the journalistic sense. We are not concerned with the various journalistic methods of dishing up information. But the fact remains that in point of actual information we are weak, extraordinarily weak. Our press is young, we have but few qualified collaborators at our disposal, our press is financially weak, depends solely upon the penny of the workers, refuses to share the wages of corruption which form the main source of income of the bourgeois and social democratic press. But information, news, — in a capitalist state of society these are a commodity, they cost money, and money is scarce in our press undertakings.

It is thus easily comprehensible that our press is badly off with regard to information, and that we cannot compete with the great guns of the bourgeois (and social democratic) press. We should be the victims of a delusion if we were to assume ourselves capable of competing. It is not the case, and will not be the case for a long time to come. With the exception of the press of the Soviet Union, whose information service, if not exactly brilliant, is at least better organised than that of the press of our Western (to say nothing at all of our Eastern) Parties, our news service is not only in a very sorry condition, but we have no communist foreign news service whatever. And this is the pivot upon which the whole matter depends. It is here that we must apply the lever if we are to accomplish anything.

The position must be faced openly, and the fact recognised that we possess no communist news service.

The bourgeoisie is thoroughly well aware of the value of information. The information service of the world is organised at the present time in such a manner that even the communist press is dependent for information on bourgeois sources. There is simply no other source of information. It is true that the "Rosta" furnishes information referring to the Soviet Union,

and overcomes incredible difficulties in the determined effort to fulfil its task. But for news from all other countries we are dependent on the bourgeois telegraphic agencies.

These bourgeois news agencies which represent as a general rule the most reactionary of capitalist groups, are under the control of the governments, or are frequently enough more reactionary in tendency than even the governments. This is the case in England, where the Reuter agency is completely in the hands of the South African diamond fields and gold mines, and of the groups of capitalists possessing large interests in India. It is again the case in France, where the Havas agency works hand in hand with the right wing of the bloc national.

Information from abroad is thus furnished by news agencies under the control of either reactionary capitalist groups or of their governments. In both cases the news agencies are influenced and inspired by the governments in questions of foreign politics. There is no need to point out the effect this is bound to have on the nature of the information imparted. Facts are passed over in silence, misrepresented, exaggerated, in accordance with the requirements and interests of the governments and ruling groups concerned. Even in Marx's lifetime this was so much the case that he was able to write in a letter to Kugelmann that the capitalist press of today is capable of creating legends and myths within a few weeks or months. And the up to-date legends of the capitalist press are as well adapted to supporting the interests of the up to date ruling class as the legends of the ancients and of the middle ages were adapted to maintaining the interests of the rulers of those days. Midgets are represented as elephants, and elephants as midgets, according to requirements.

The most dangerous part of it is that the news service of the world is so organised that the French, English, German, and other telegraphic agencies not only serve the ends of the French, English, German, and other governments, but the interests of all the governments of the world. This fact is but little recognised, and it is worth while to throw some detailed

light upon it. The most powerful news agencies of the world form a single concern, known under the name of the associated Telegraphic Agencies. The following agencies are members of this organisation:

Reuter (England), Official News Office (Austria), Agence Telegraphique Belge (Belgium), Agence Telegraphique (Bulgaria), Rihaus Buros (Denmark), Agenca Fabra (Spain), Finisko Notirbuuro (Finland), Agence d'Athene (Greece), Niederlande Telegraaf Agentschat (Holland), Agence Telegraphique Hongrois (Hungary), Agence Stefani (Italy), Norsk Telegrammburo (Norway), Agence Telegraphique Polonaise (Poland), Havas (France), Havas (Portugal), Orient Radio (Roumanii), Swedish Telegraph Agency (Sweden), Agence Suisse (Switzerland), Tscheteka (Czechoslovakia), Agence d'Antolie (Turkey), Agence d'Avala (Yugoslavia), Elta (Lithuania), Esta (Esthonia), Latvian Telegraph Agency (Latvia), Associated Press (North America), Havas (South America), Reuter (China) Wolff (Germany), Kokissai (Japan).

This list is sufficient evidence that this organisation spreads its ramifications all over the world. All these news agencies have contracts with one another. On the terms of these agreements these agencies "exchange" news with one another, each agency reserving the right in the first place of refusing to publish certain news, and secondly of having news whose publication and dissemination appear of special importance circulated, accompanied by a special notice, at the expense of the agency. In actual practice this agreement means that the Wolff office, Reuter, Havas, Stefani, etc. remit to Germany, England, France, Italy, etc. only such news of Yugoslavia as the Yugoslavian government wishes to be published, and whose publication does not run counter to the interests of the governments of the countries concerned. The formulation, standpoint, and journalistic political treatment of events is left to each individual agency. Thus we learn nothing about Japan except what the Japanese government wishes us to learn, and that in a form and elucidation which appears desirable to the Japanese government. And this does not apply to Japan only, but to the whole world.

It may of course be pointed out that these are not the only agencies in the world; there are a number of other and independent agencies. In the United States there is the United Press, in England the Exchange Company, in France the "Radio" and "San Fil", in Germany the Telegraphic Union, etc. But these agencies are again associated in cartels; some of them are even more reactionary than the members of the great concern, and they are in any case one and all bourgeois agencies.

Some feeble efforts have been made towards founding agencies better representing working class interests. Thus the "Federated Press" was formed in America, but its lack of capital scarcely permits it to compete with the great agencies. And in Germany there is the "social democratic parliament service", which has of late made the attempt to organise a foreign service. But these organisations are but weak, and the "social democratic parliament service" is naturally social democratic.

Up to now the Communist Parties have made no attempt at forming independent agencies for the news service. The

German CP forms a praiseworthy exception to this rule, for it has founded the "Communist Press Service", which at least reports the events of the German labour movement from their original sources. The telegraphic agency of the "Inprecorr" took up this work lately, but has so far been obliged to confine itself to reporting information on the most important events in the labour movement, on Party life in Soviet Russia, on the White terror, etc.

At the present time the communist press is thus dependent on the bourgeois sources for information regarding the most important events taking place in the labour movement of the West, and even for information on the revolutionary movement in the East. The fact that some few communist organs here and there possess their own reporters makes no difference to this, or at least very little.

What have we to do? It would be exceedingly simple to issue a slogan. We must have our own communist organisation, a communist telegraphic agency. But every prerequisite is lacking. At the present time our press cannot raise the money required by such an organisation and its running expenditure. We must of course strive towards the final goal of a communist news service. But we shall not attain this goal all at once, and meanwhile we must manage somehow. The following suggestions may be made for transitional measures:

1. We must continue to make use of the bourgeois sources of information. It must however not be permitted to make use of the news material supplied by the bourgeois agencies without elucidating it in such a manner as to render its real import clear to the workers. The comrades working up this material for our newspapers must themselves be thoroughly informed on questions of foreign politics. Otherwise we may continue in the future, as in the present, to permit our communist press to act as a channel for the propaganda of bourgeois governments.

2. Every Party must begin at once with the organisation of an inland information service, commissioned to report on the labour movement of the country.

3. The Parties must coordinate their information services, and the larger Parties must endeavour to send reporters to the more important among the neighbouring countries.

4. The editors of the central organs of the larger Parties must organise a daily exchange of information (with the aid of the "Inprecorr" telegraphic agency).

5. The "Inprecorr" telegraphic news agency must be extended.

The measures here proposed are by no means exhaustive, and do not lead rapidly to our goal. But they are at least capable of realisation, and they lead none the less to the goal, though slowly, — to the emancipation of the communist press from bourgeois influence. It is exceedingly difficult to solve this problem. Here we have merely drawn the rough outlines of the question, and briefly indicated the lines upon which it may be solved.

The problem must however be solved, if we are to have a Bolshevik press.

New Forms of Revolutionary Agitation.

By S.

Among the many forms of agitation and propaganda work the form of mass agitation may be said to be the most highly developed. The Communist Parties of the West have been born upon the waves of the tide of revolution, with revolutionary slogans on their lips. During the first years of the existence of the Party the whole energies of our organisations were devoted solely to agitation among the broad masses, so that we have gained much experience in this line. If we compare our organisation of agitatorial campaigns with our organisation of propaganda work or Party press, it must be acknowledged that we have already achieved much in the sphere of agitation. Every extensive campaign is thoroughly prepared. These are proclaimed, appeals and pamphlets published, the press utilised, numerous meetings organised. It must however be admitted that all the measures taken bear a somewhat uniform and monotonous character. There is a danger that these forms of agitation may

cease to exercise effect upon the broad masses, especially in periods of revolutionary ebbtide, during which the broad masses of the working class are roused to action with greater difficulty. For this reason we must endeavour to infuse as much variety as possible into our agitation; we must seek fresh ways and means of expanding our sphere of influence.

Bourgeois ideology percolates through a thousand holes down into the working class, through the medium of the shops and markets, the bars and theatres, cinemas and press. We must endeavour to overstep the confines of agitations as we have hitherto understood it, and to combat the corrupting influence of the bourgeoisie and of Philistine socialism everywhere by our communist influence. This is no easy task in face of the constant persecution to which the Communist Parties are exposed. It is a task which frequently cannot be accomplished at all by Parties obliged to work illegally. Nevertheless, the question is an urgent one for a number of

the Sections of the Comintern. The example set us by our Russian comrades shows us many new forms of mass agitation, such as may be employed with advantage by our Western Sections. Our Youth organisations have already learnt much from our Russian comrades in this respect. It thus seems very possible to us that many difficulties may be overcome.

Wherever it is possible, our organisations should form Workers' Clubs, so that premises are provided in which Party members and sympathisers may pass an occasional leisure hour, may read a book or newspaper, or exchange ideas with comrades. It is not always possible, or even desirable, to organise a club of this kind expressly as a Party club. The existence of a club is invariably secured if it is made the central point not only of the Party organisation, but of our Youth, and of the revolutionary labour organisations in sympathy with us. (Trade unions, co-operative societies, sport clubs, etc.) The Youth in particular must be induced to take part in the organisation of such clubs. For the Youth is the most active element, and experience shows that the Young members play a leading rôle in all club work. The Russian Workers' Clubs have already gathered much experience with respect to the independent work done by their members.

Every club is supplemented by a number of circles of various descriptions, adapted to the various inclinations and mental needs of the club members. There are political and theoretical circles for the study of the practical and theoretical questions of the labour movement. There are sport circles (physical culture). The best attended circles attached to the clubs are those bearing a purely artistic character: choral societies, circles for music and literature, etc. The creative energy of the revolutionary working class is offered opportunity of expression by these circles. They offer at the same time the material and the basis for various outlets of artistic activity: theatrical performances, recitations, etc. These circles furnish the club with extensive possibilities of organising new forms of mass agitation by the aid of art, and enable them to form centres of attraction irresistible to even the most backward and least developed strata of the working class. The clubs possess cinematograph apparatus, employed from time to time for showing films of revolutionary import. The extensive scale upon which club work is carried on is naturally proportional to the extensive means furnished for this purpose by the managements of the state factories and works, by the trade unions, and by the state itself (through its education authorities). Under the conditions imposed on our communist Sections in Western Europe, the scope of club work is of course much smaller.

With reference to the forms taken by mass agitation, two of these may be dealt with here in detail: **propagandist performances of a more or less theatrical nature, and the so-called verbal newspaper.** Both of these forms of agitation call for a certain amount of artistic effort, and both require a considerable amount of careful preparation. Our Russian comrades organise both of these forms of work in closest cooperation with the club circles. When the club undertakes some special campaign of agitation, it allots the various circles the tasks falling to their share. The circles decide who is to take part, divide the rôles, rehearse the whole, and practically undertake the work.

The simplest form of performance, and one invariably appealing to the whole public, is the so-called **agitation or political trial.** Any political question of the day may be made the subject of the trial. For instance, the Ebert lawsuit lately formed a centre of public interest. At the time when the trial was proceeding in Magdeburg, and the working class was greatly interested in the issue, an effective agitation could have been carried out by a mock trial at which the workers themselves tried Ebert. Much larger numbers could have been attracted to witness such a performance than to the ordinary meetings with communist speakers.

A similar trial with MacDonald as culprit could also be arranged. Not only individual persons, but whole corporations, may be placed in the prisoner's dock, for instance the social democratic party or the bourgeois government, or "left social democracy", or Fascism, etc.; in such cases living persons among the leaders of the organisations concerned must take the place of the accused.

These agitation or political mock trials are formed on the model of the revolutionary tribunal: three judges, a chairman, a public prosecutor a barrister for the defence. The whole procedure

and wording of the trial must however be exactly arranged beforehand: the indictment, the hearing of the witnesses, the evidence, the explanations offered by the accused, the speeches for the prosecution and defence, the closing words of the accused. The rôles must be carefully allotted, and every rôle must be learnt by heart. The verdict must be very carefully thought out. It must be remembered that when the performance is well carried out the audience follows with the intensest inner participation, and is roused to a high pitch of excitement, so that the verdict can have a very considerable effect.

A political agitatorial mock trial of this description can be easily developed into a real theatrical performance, with suitable costumes and disguises. Humour and satire may be extensively used. All this of course involves greater difficulties, and is by no means absolutely necessary; it can however be carried out with advantage where sufficient capable actors, and other means are available.

The organisation of such political agitation mock trials is not confined to the resources of any single club. A hall or other building frequented by the workers can be employed for the purpose, or other premises customarily used for meetings or entertainments.

The organisation of a **verbal newspaper** does not require such complicated preparations. This form of agitation is more mobile in every respect, requires a smaller number of participants, and can be arranged in the factory, restaurant, etc. The object of a verbal newspaper is to impart to the audience, within the shortest possible period of time — say half an hour — everything of importance for the political situation of the moment, but without degenerating into a wearisome and monotonous meeting. As a rule the verbal newspaper is arranged in the form of an editors' consultation. Those taking part are allotted rôles corresponding to the division of labour on an editorial staff: leading article, foreign editor, home politics editor, telegrams, factory notes, humorous supplement, scientific review, etc. The editor of the paper, in a few plain words, announces the contents of the newspaper, and calls upon each of the editors to narrate his share, no one person speaking for more than 5 minutes. The "leading article" then speaks, discussing the facts just heard, but for no longer than 10 minutes. A second article may follow, etc. A verbal newspaper must not last for longer than 30 to 40 minutes at longest. Preparative work is required if the whole is to be carried out effectively. The articles must not be read from manuscripts, but must be actually narrated, that is, they must be written down and learnt from memory beforehand.

The experience gained by our Russian comrades has shown that by means of these verbal newspapers it is possible to arouse the interest of even the most backward workers, those who as a rule read no newspaper whatever, but satisfy their natural political interest by every description of political rumour and gossip. The greater the variety offered by the newspaper, the less it wearies the hearer, and the oftener he comes to hear the paper again. Such verbal newspapers can be organised with a permanent staff, and at regular intervals in the same places. By this means the hearers gain an affection for their newspaper. An "Answers to correspondents" can also be arranged for, and questions from the audience collected. These are then replied to when the next number of the paper appears. The hearers can be induced to give the paper a certain name. A verbal newspaper of this kind gradually loses its attraction for a class-conscious workers' audience reading its own daily newspapers. Among our Russian comrades the newspaper has gradually been transformed into a so-called living newspaper, a form requiring a certain amount of artistic organisation.

It need not be said that we could obtain the most effective results if we could avail ourselves of the attractions of the "pictures", one of the mightiest means of influencing the masses. But it is exceedingly difficult to do this, especially under European conditions. Much has already been accomplished in this line in the Union of the SSR. Some few of the films issued by the Soviet cinematography have already been given in Europe.

A more detailed treatment of this subject would go too far. Our aim is to draw the attention of all active workers to this serious question, and to call the attention to fresh forms of agitation.

The Leninist Central Party School.

By M. J. Lonsky.

After the V. Congress, the necessity of a theoretical training for our Party functionaries induced various Sections of the Comintern to place the problem of the Leninist Central Party school on their agenda. For the expansion of Agitprop work involved the necessity of beginning and accompanying the education of the masses of the Party by the systematic training of propagandist and organisatory cadres in the communist vanguard. How is this object to be best attained, what type of school should be created? The past has taught us that as far as organisation is concerned practically nothing can be accomplished for the schooling of Party functionaries by means of short improvised courses of instruction given by visiting teachers. We have been realising more and more of late that the principle upon which instruction in Bolshevism is carried out must differ essentially from the methods of instruction formerly adopted by the social democratic institutions.

These are however negative conclusions, and must be supplemented by positive endeavours towards the establishment of a school based on the principle of Leninism. It is to the French Communist Party that the honour falls of being the first of our Sections to take the initiative in this matter, and thanks to the efforts of this Party we have already valuable data on Bolshevik education at our disposal.

The object of the following is thus chiefly to inform the international Party public on the results of the endeavours of our French comrades. The arising discussion should be made part of a detailed debate on the methodic thematic and organisatory forms of the Leninist Central Party Schools. It need not be emphasised that the questions raised at present can only be those pertaining to the working out of the most important factors of this problem. Special emphasis should be laid on the following factors: 1. The character of the Leninist Central Party School; 2. its syllabus of instruction; 3. the method of instruction; 4. the organisatory forms of the school.

It should be stated that the French comrades have already accomplished pioneer work with regard to all these points.

The character of the school is the first point for consideration. There is no doubt that in Bolshevik methods of education the centre of gravity lies in the activity of the scholars and in the actuality of the subjects taught, and that it must be the aim of all instruction to keep this fact in view, and to base subjects and methods on practical "experience" and on the solution of the acute and critical problems of the daily proletarian struggle, culminating in the final goal of revolution. This first prerequisite was put into actual practice at once by the Paris School, which proclaimed as its first principle: "Study is not to be academic, but polemic."

This means that in a Bolshevik educational institution, whether intended for the lowest or the highest functionaries, there must not be one moment's interruption in the living association between the scholars and the proletarian masses in their work places, in the shops and factories, and also in the street, where the petty bourgeois atmosphere surrounds and influences the worker at every step.

It is solely in this manner that we can undertake, an effective rupture with the social democratic traditions to which even our own ranks have a tendency to cling, traditions which demand that theory should be kept "clear" of practice within the walls of the school at least, with the alleged object of securing the objectivity of science. The first Leninist Central Party School outside of Russia led an immediate attack upon this false tradition of social democracy, which loves to drape itself in the cloak of "purity" and of classless scientific investigation, and chose as its motto the unity of Theory and Practice.

The theory of Marxism-Leninism is not to be presented to the proletarian students as a finished dogma, as a recipe which they have merely to swallow in order to become omniscient political or trade union leaders. No, the dialectic nature of Marxism-Leninism implies of necessity that it must be experienced and felt by the future leaders of the proletariat as a "guide to action", and the proletarian students must enter upon the complete consciousness that the teachings of our revolutionary past-master are based upon entirely concrete economic historical

processes in social evolution, and have thus attained universal validity of application, whilst at the same time they are to be verified and preserved by that same revolutionary actuality in which they originated. This confirmation and preservation renders it imperatively necessary that the Bolshevik Party itself and its functionaries are becoming familiar with the economic historical circumstances and situations of a social process, down to the smallest detail, in order to exercise effective revolutionary influence.

The general formulas forming the principles of the educational work undertaken by our French comrades have been based approximately upon these views. In order to put these principles into practice, the Paris school states it to be its chief endeavour to avoid the teaching of dead knowledge to its students, and to accomplish the revolutionary orientation of these students, applicable in every emergency and turning point of the present stage of the declining capitalist state of society, with the aid of a minimum of political and economic knowledge. "The attainment of the methods of dialectic materialism has been accorded the first place. The material comprising historical and economic statistical facts has thus had to be deliberately thrust into the background." Unfortunately it has not been possible for our French comrades to entirely realise these two leading principles, intended to characterise their system of education. The chief cause of this has been the great difficulties encountered in drawing up the syllabus, and in the selection of subjects of instruction and the fixing of the order in which they are to be studied; these are points which can only be settled by experience.

The character of the Paris school, as exponent of activity, demanded that the instruction should deal with the daily problems encountered by the students. The subject chosen for the preliminary hours of instruction was thus a discussion on the actual nature of imperialism, special reference being made to phenomena closely bound up with Party life. These themes had of course to be treated at first descriptively only. As soon as it was desired to explain them, it became necessary to trace them to their source, that is, to go back to the general theoretical prerequisites of the Marxist conception of history. Up to this point the order in which the subjects were studied corresponded to the object of the instruction.

Difficulties arose at once on the question of fixing the minimum of political and economic knowledge required for a thorough comprehension of actual problems. As neither the amount of knowledge already acquired by the students nor their abilities were known to the teachers, the endeavour was made to open out as many spheres of knowledge as possible, and to present living ideas and object lessons in place of abstract material. But this again led to the historical facts of the development of society, of the bourgeoisie, of the labour movement, etc. etc., until the question of imperialism once more arose as leading factor, and had of necessity to be split up again into the hundreds of different aspects and various representations of the main characteristics of Leninism, of the rôle played by the C. I., of the essential character of the Soviet state, and so forth. The result of such a syllabus of instruction has been however, so far as we can judge from observations up to the present: 1. a tremendous overburdening of the scholars with new knowledge and thoughts, and 2. in consequence of this a neglect of the problems of the utmost importance to the French Party.

The French school has thus by no means succeeded in finding the right method with regard to the syllabus of instruction. Here further experience must first be gathered, and thoroughly dealt with in the discussion anticipated on this matter. One point has however been ascertained, and that is that the character of our methods of education with regard to actuality and activity can only be fully maintained if the plan of instruction is confined to a certain number of subjects only. This alone would secure that "Attainment of the methods of dialectic materialism" which our French comrades have rightly made the aim of their school.

The main endeavour of the school must thus not be directed towards turning out general theoreticians and practitioners moving

with equal certainty, or rather with equal uncertainty, in every sphere (the brief duration of the courses of instruction renders this impossible in any case as a rule), but towards the training of specialists for definite departments and functions in propaganda and organisation work. Specialisation and differentiation of this kind, to the greatest possible degree, among the functionaries of the Bolshevik Parties, will alone enable us to issue slogans and carry on actions which are not only "general", but which are adapted to the given concrete political and social situation that political and concrete situation "which alters in the most direct and immediate manner the condition of an action, and in consequence the tasks of this action". (Lenin.)

To concentrate the programme of instruction for the Bolshevik Central School in a brief formula, we may say: The extensive exposition material on the part of the teachers must be replaced by its intensive assimilation on the part of the students.

We must now turn to the actual methodological and pedagogic problems of the Paris school. Instruction was divided into two parts. The morning was devoted to theory, the afternoon as a rule to the questions of practical Party work in France, and the evenings to practical work on the part of the students in the factory cells, public meetings, conferences, etc. This last department of work, the "applied" department, as our French comrades have designated it, has proved the most successful. A really fighting character has been imparted to the whole school by its means. The students have proved competent in every respect of carrying out the tasks allotted to them. It is obvious that the road thus pointed out by our French comrades, enabling constant contact to be maintained between the masses of Party members and the future Party leaders, is the road which must invariably be followed by all Central Party schools. All that is further required is to secure immediate activity for the students in the special sphere of propaganda or organisation for which their special training has prepared them. This is an excellent medium for testing the capabilities of the students. On the other hand, the line drawn by the French school between theoretical questions and questions of practical work appears to us of questionable advisability, and likely to lead to an overgrowth of the former at the expense of the latter. As soon as the syllabus of instruction has been concentrated upon a few definite subjects, and a corresponding specialisation and differentiation of instruction has been organised, this dividing line becomes superfluous for the most part.

With regard to the treatment of the various subjects, our comrades report that the employment of the "concrete, actual and known" as starting point has proved excellently adapted to its purpose. The student is gradually introduced to the abstract and theoretical. Thus for instance the exposition of the fundamental conceptions of political economy is commenced by first dealing with the "factory surroundings of the worker", and then

passing gradually to the abstract ideas of "labour as commodity", etc. The greatest difficulty arises however when the fear of excessive abstractions leads to the excessive use of the object lesson, and thence to the danger of vulgarisation. A similar danger is encountered in the attempt to describe the methods of dialectics by means of certain indications or "rules".

In the French school instruction has been given in the form of question and answer, followed by mutual criticism, thus avoiding long winded lectures on the subjects taught. An excellent explanatory medium for theoretical questions was found in the drawings, diagrams, and maps made by the students themselves in the course of their collective work.

The greatest importance has been attached to collective work, and the replies to questions summing up various subjects have for instance been required to be given as result of a collective consultation among the students. In the sphere of method our French comrades have indeed accomplished wonders in the way of "clarification work", and their success would have perhaps been still greater if their syllabus of instruction had not suffered from overloading with subject material.

In conclusion, a few words must be devoted to the forms of organisation of the school. The course of instruction lasted about two months, the number of students was considerable, and the lack of suitable teachers was thus acutely felt.

Much caution was exercised in selecting the students. Most of these were of course recruited from the ranks of the industrial workers, especially from the most developed and important districts. The ages of the students varied from 20 to 30 years. For the most part they had joined the French C. P. in the years 1920 and 1921. The conditions imposed for admittance to the school did not include any preliminary theoretical knowledge, but on the other hand a proof of active and capable participation in Party life. Valuable information is supplied by the autobiographies written by the students, for the most part statements of the reasons which induced them to join the C. P.; here excellent hints for individual pedagogic treatment may be obtained. The teachers appointed for the school first received full information from the Agitprop of the French C. P., by means of a programmatic letter, on the type, methods, and aims of the school. Co-operation among the teachers was secured by means of common consultations held by the lecturers before commencing instruction. In the course of time, the beginnings of a system of instruction as a complete complex developed, but were not carried through consistently.

To sum up the results of this endeavour on the part of our French comrades, it may be said that they have not only done pioneer work in this special sphere of carrying on a Leninist Central Party school, but have contributed to the solution of the general problem of the Bolshevik education of our non-Russian parties. Here we must once more emphasise that the above observations are intended as a basis for a detailed discussion of all the urgent problems thus raised.

The Compilation of Experiences gained by the Parties.

By Richard Cornbusch.

One of the fundamental principles distinguishing the Communist International from the social democratic International is the question of the relations maintained between the Communist Parties of the different countries. It is the endeavour of the CI to become a really communist world Party, that is, it strives to pursue one uniform political line, a line tested and approved by the World Congress. This aim can, however, only be attained if the various Sections do not remain isolated from one another, but make use of the experiences gained in the Party work of all the other Sections. To lead means at times adapting experience to the given moment. Hence the necessity and importance of an international exchange of the experiences gained in general political work, and especially in the Agitprop work done by the Parties. This necessity having been recognised, the Agitprop department of the ECCI organised, after the V. Congress, a special working department for the compilation of the experiences gained in Agitprop work in the various Sections.

The collection and generalisation of experiences on an international scale is of the utmost importance, for it transforms the formal relations existing among the Parties into a real contact originating in the actual import of Party work. It will thus be seen that what is required is not a mechanical and uniform transference of delineations of experiences from one Party to another, but a differentiation according to the economic and political structure of the different countries, and a corresponding adaptation to the political tasks and stages of development of the separate Sections.

The generalisation of experiences implies the necessity of its detailed study from definite points of view.

The rapid dispatch of all material relating to Agitprop work is naturally the fundamental prerequisite for a successful study and exchange of experiences. Unless we receive exhaustive and detailed information on the Agitprop work being carried on we can form no clear general survey of it. Fruitful criticism cannot be made on the basis of defective reports. The

main subject of study is the periodical reports sent in by the Agitprop departments of the different Sections. But apart from the fact that this drawing up of reports has not by any means been thoroughly organised as yet, it does not form an adequate foundation for the drawing of the necessary conclusions. The Parties, especially the large Parties, must draw up special reports on every campaign or propagandist action (founding of Party schools, organisation of students' circles, Party libraries, press publishing, etc.), as soon as the work has been set going, and send these to the Agitprop department of the ECCI.

When the material thus compiled is studied, attention must chiefly be given to the following points:

1. If and to what extent the total Agitprop work carried on by the Party follows the principles laid down by the CI, and supports in agitation and propaganda the political action of the Party;

2. what methods are being employed for this purpose;

3. ascertainment of the actual initiative exercised by the Party in question;

4. ascertainment of the fundamental political and methodological errors committed by the Party in question in the course of its activity;

5. ascertainment of the objective obstacles in the way of any given necessary measures;

6. ascertainment of the measures to be taken by the Agitprop department of the C. I. in support of the Agitprop work of the Parties.

All these factors can only be satisfactorily ascertained if we have the most carefully drawn up reports to go by; most reports, however, contain only a part of the exhaustive material imperatively required for an adequate examination.

The compilation of experiences in the Agitprop department of the C. I. is being carried on along normal lines to the extent that communication with the Parties is established. But although a certain amount of progress may be observed in the development of this communication, there still remains much to be desired. Some of the larger and politically decisive Parties are still not fully conscious of the importance and necessity of regular communication, to say nothing of the smaller Parties.

Reports sent by the Agitprop organs of our Sections are of course not the sole means of keeping up this communication; they are not even the most successful means. The experience gained up to now has proved that even the best of reports cannot give a concretely true picture of the work being done, and especially of the conditions under which it is done. The indispensable statements of the report are lacking in life and colour until we hear the personal report of a representative of the Party. The Agitprop department of the C. I. seizes every opportunity of receiving such personal reports, and does its utmost to encourage detailed consultation on Agitprop work, with the representatives of the different Sections, both in the sessions of the department and in separate consultations with the functionaries of the department. And we must admit that we have only been able to form a really concrete idea of the work being

done by those Parties with which we have come into personal communication.

A further measure which has aided us to gain a general conception of the Agitprop work of the Parties has been the distribution of question forms to the centrals, with the request for exhaustive replies. Such question forms were twice distributed to the Parties. The first was sent in on the occasion of the V. Congress; the second, the improved edition so to speak, some months later. Only very few of the Parties (and strangely enough the smaller Parties, and even the illegal ones) filled out the question forms in a manner enabling them to be used for a future control of work. The majority of the answers received were entirely vague and nebulous.

It thus becomes evident that the success of the second and most important fundamental task, the generalisation of the experiences gained, the conversion of the raw materials sent to us into the common property of the International, is entirely dependent on our obtaining exhaustive material and dealing with it efficiently. The gaps in communication above described show why the Agitprop department of the C. I., during the comparatively brief period which has elapsed since the V. World Congress, has been able to occupy itself with the accumulation of material, but has not yet enough at its disposal for purposes of generalisation. What are the initial methods of generalisation now being taken up? Various instructions have been given out with reference to the Agitprop work of the Parties. After large international campaigns critical descriptions of the campaign as carried out in the various countries have been sent to the Parties (for instance after the Anti-War week). It need not be said that the methods of generalising experience must be systematized and perfected. Here the international Party press is our most effectual instrument. A permanent column in the "Inprecorr", or better still a periodical supplement dealing with questions of agitation and propaganda, would be the best method towards the systematic generalisation of experiences, until such time as it will be possible to publish a special international periodical devoted to questions of agitation and educational work in the Parties.

This task of compiling and generalising our experiences is not only part of Agitprop work internationally, as well nationally. In the central committees of at least the large Parties a comrade must be specially commissioned with the task of studying the Agitprop work of the whole of the Party organisations, down to the nuclei, and generalising it within the frame of the Party.

The Agitprop department of the E. C. C. I. will make use of the opportunity offered by the impending Agitprop conference to be held by the representatives of the Parties for the purpose of explaining all questions connected with the compilation and generalisation of experience, and for laying down definite rules of work. Various types of reports, corresponding to the conditions under which work has to be done in the different countries, will be drawn up, and every realisable method of communication discussed in detail. There is no doubt whatever that the development of this field of activity signifies a mighty stride forward towards a systematic organisation of the Agitprop work of our Parties.

Our Publications.

(Critical Bibliography.)

On the Periodical "The Communist Review" (C. P. of Great Britain).

Extract from a letter sent by the Agitprop. Central of the British C. P.

The "Communist Review" is the official Party organ, and the duties incumbent upon it are implied in this designation. They may be approximately stated as follows: it is the task of the periodical to provide for the consistent revolutionary elucidation of all actual political and social problems, thus educating the English proletariat in a revolutionary sense, and at the same time utilising the natural reciprocal effect of this education for developing within the ranks of the Party itself a profounder theoretical understanding of the strategic and tactical tasks confronting the Party, and a clearer comprehension of the essential character of Leninism as the theory elucidating the present phase of capitalist development.

Merits and Faults of the "Communist Review".

In our opinion the best points of the "Communist Review" are the following:

Suitability of method in the examination of the many complicated economic and political problems of the present day. The periodical adopts the right method of invariably taking as starting point some concrete facts falling within the experience of the Party members of average enlightenment, and easily understood by them.

The periodical accompanies the raising of these problems by practical and sensible suggestions for their solution, thus gradually training its readers not to drag any "moral" allusions into the consideration of politics and economics, but to judge of these matters solely from the class war standpoint. In this manner the "Communist Review" has succeeded in drawing a definite boundary line between itself as a Marxist revolutionary periodical and the petty bourgeois sentimental press of the so-called English socialists, especially the "Socialist Review" and the "New Leader".

The "Communist Review" makes it its constant endeavour to widen the horizon of the proletarian and Party leaders to the utmost possible extent, and to emancipate them from the provincial limitation and narrow-mindedness so prevalent in England of all places...

The faults of the "Communist Review" are approximately as follows:

Compared with the detailed treatment of the multifarious questions of politics and economics, the discussion of matters of urgent importance for the development of the Party have been placed somewhat in the background. Here we refer especially to the problem of the reorganisation of the Party on the factory nucleus system, the struggle against the Trotskyist deviation, the tendency to liquidation, and the tactical attitude to be adopted towards the Labour Party.

Where theoretical questions have been raised, their representation and analysis has been merely descriptive. No attempt has been made to comprise these questions systematically into conceptions. The result has been that the functionaries and most advanced workers have not been able to learn anything of the theory of Leninism as a consistent Marxist revolutionary method for the proletarian struggle of our epoch.

The whole complex of educational questions is entirely neglected in the "Communist Review", although the present differences in the English labour movement between the Labour College and the W. E. A. could well have been used by the "Communist Review" for demonstrating the standpoint held by the Communist Party with respect to the education of the proletariat.

The rôle played by the Communist Party in the trade unions and among the proletarian masses has been but little discussed in its theoretical aspect, although this is among the most important tactical questions at present.

Suggestions for the Improvement of the "Communist Review".

Questions of Party politics should be dealt with more thoroughly and in greater detail than hitherto. Special attention should be devoted to the theoretical discussion and explanation of organisational tasks, the reorganisation of the Party on the factory nuclei basis, the tactics of the Party towards the left wing of the Labour Party, the relations of the C. P. to the trade union movement, etc.

Leninism, as the Marxist theory of the imperialist epoch, and as the method of revolutionary proletarian struggle, should be dealt with comprehensively as a subject for propaganda and educational effort among the members of the Party. No reliance should be placed upon the idea that other organs "sympathising" with communism, for instance the "Plebs", are either willing or able to perform this task for us. It is only in our own Party that our teachings can strike root and develop.

Questions of proletarian education, of the conflicts with petty bourgeois ideology in the sphere of modern science and art, and above all questions relating to the views of life and standpoints of the people, should be discussed in the columns of the "Communist Review".

Propaganda among the agricultural labourers of England is increasing in importance with the extension of the class front. It is noticeable that the Labour Party and the Trade Unions are also extending their efforts to country districts.

With regard to organisation, we may observe in conclusion that the editors of the periodical should attach eminent importance to securing a staff of collaborators among the most advanced strata of the functionaries and members of the Party.

On the Periodical "Die Internationale" (C. P. Germany).

Extract from a Letter sent by the Agitprop Department of the E. C. C. I. to the Central of the German C. P.

In the first place a few words on the good points of the "Internationale". These are as follows:

1. The urgent question of the Experts' Report and the Dawes plan is dealt with in detail.
2. The German C. P. is kept thoroughly informed both as to the preparations for and the results of the V. World Congress.
3. Good supplements (such as "Der Parteiarbeiter") and excellent complementary pamphlets on up to date questions are issued with the paper.

The Faults of the "Internationale".

1. The "Internationale" follows no consistent revolutionary Marxist (Leninist) line. A few examples may be adduced in proof of this:

a) Whilst number 19/20 contains a good article by comrade Maslow on Trotsky's Lenin book, the next number publishes another discussion of the same book (why a double review?) by A. Emel.

With respect to this latter review we should like to make the following observations:

Comrade A. Emel's discussion of the book contains a number of errors and shows that the reviewer is very inadequately informed on the subject of which he treats. Comrade Emel counts Trotsky to the "old guard". Trotsky never belonged to the "old guard" of the Russian C. P., and the reviewer of a Trotsky book published in 1924 should be aware that one of the main points of contention during the last great discussion in the winter 1923/24 was precisely the estimate made of the old Leninist guard attacked so severely by comrade Trotsky. Further:

Comrade Emel sees in Trotzky's pamphlet "a treasure for the biography and history of Lenin", whilst in the previous number comrade Maslov had rightly maintained precisely the contrary. (Which of these opinions is shared by the editors?)

Comrade Emel agrees with Trotzky's criticism of the C. C. of the Bolsheviks during the Kerensky period, as also with Trotzky's arguments in his comparison of October 1917 with October 1923. He would have done better to first inform himself as to the soundness of these arguments, before carrying — doubtless unconsciously — grist to Trotzky's mill.

Comrade Emel censures Trotzky's "many omissions", but does not state the nature of these omissions, nor does he expose the "onesided" and "misleading" statements which he admits Trotzky to have made. Comrade Emel should know that the resolution adopted by the XIII Party conference of the Russian C. P. against petty bourgeois tendencies in the Party (this resolution was published in the German language, and is known to the German C. P.) requires these tendencies to be energetically combatted. The Central of the German C. P. is fully conscious of the international importance of combatting Trotzkyism, and is an energetic supporter of the Russian C. P. in this combat. The exposure of the "one sided" and "misleading" statements in Trotzky's pamphlet is an urgent necessity, and at the present juncture (number 19/20 was published at the end of the summer of 1924, after the XIII Party conference) comrade Emel should not have "reported on the positive purport of the booklet only", but should rather have laid all emphasis on the negative import.

b) a further example:

In a review on comrade Maslov's pamphlet: "The new era of pacifism comrade Fogarasi treats us to the following nonsense, for which comrade Maslov's pamphlet offers him no justification whatever:

"The Labour Government in England is the parliamentary ideological form of transition from the rule of industrial capital to that of financial capital... This is a phenomenon taking place on an international scale... It is likely to be of decisive significance for the immediate future."

Comrade Fogarasi seems to believe that the "transition from the rule of industrial capital to that of financial capital" has only taken place quite recently in England. It is true that in England financial capital entered on its rule later than for instance in the United States or in Germany. But the transition had already taken place before the war, so that it is absurd, in the year 1924, to assume abruptly that the Labour Government is the "Parliamentary ideological form" of this transition.

Further: The rule of financial capital means the rule of imperialism. But the English Labour government, though representing a government of bourgeois influenced trade union bureaucracy and labour aristocracy, and though pursuing an imperialist policy, is not an example of an expressly imperialist policy of financial capital. The fact that imperialism, that is, financial capital, employs the services of the corrupt leaders of the Labour Party, does not by any means signify that these willing servants are better able to reproduce the ideology of their masters than these masters themselves. Lenin has expressly emphasised that imperialism can assume the most varied forms of rule. That British imperialism is willing to put up with the hypocritical pacifism of the Labour men at times, under certain circumstances, is no proof that it considers precisely these Labour men to be its most suitable and best representatives.

If comrade Fogarasi's new theory were right, it would signify nothing more nor less than the actual capitulation of financial capital to trade union bureaucracy and labour aristocracy. The history of class warfare shows that an ideological capitulation must be preceded by an economic capitulation. If we follow comrade Fogarasi, we must thus arrive at the conclusion that in England the rule of financial capital has actually ceased to exist. Besides this, comrade Fogarasi's "theory" implies of necessity the continuation of the "democratic pacifist era" (this a super-Trotzkyism!) until the social revolution, since the "Labour Government" is an important constituent of this "era", representing in Fogarasi's opinion the parliamentary ideological form of the rule of financial capitalism, and up to now no one has prophesied a further stage beyond that of financial capital.

The application of the English form of labour government to the whole world is again un-Marxist, for Marxism has to discover and make allowance for the various specific forms in

which the "democratic pacifist era" makes itself felt in the different countries.

And finally, the sentence stating that this "parliamentary ideological form" is a phenomenon "likely to be of decisive significance for the immediate future" is in direct opposition to the views held by the Comintern, which characterised the "democratic pacifist era", at the V. World Congress, as a mere phase, and not by any means as an epoch or era likely to be of long duration.

Whilst the Comintern conceives the proletarian revolution in Europe, as everywhere else, as the culmination of the acutest aggravation of those class antagonisms arising out of increased imperialist reaction (fresh wars and the like), comrade Fogarasi assumes that the labour government is going to provide the conditions for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the social revolution. He thus believes that a pacifist phase endeavouring to smooth away class antagonism (even if the pacifism involved is a mere pseudo pacifism, inconsistent and incomplete) creates the best preliminary conditions for the proletarian revolution. This is a purely Menshevik view, imagining that the transition to seizure of power by the proletariat can be carried out by passing from stage to stage, without a revolutionary rupture of ruling class conditions.

Comrade Maslov's pamphlet deserved a better review. Comrade Fogarasi would have done better to report on comrade Maslov's argumentation, and on the valuable data supplied by the pamphlet, than to present us with his own false theory.

c) Further examples of lack of the consistent pursuance of the line of revolutionary Marxism are furnished by the whole of the reviews written by comrade Lukacs. These are perfect models of dead and abstract criticism, based on purely literal Marxism. Lukacs' criticism of the articles written in celebration of Kautsky's 70th birthday, in number 21/22, contains a purely formalistic criticism of Kautsky, instead of a clear exposition of the ideological collapse of the "Marxism" of Kautsky's followers, that is, of the ideology of the II. International. Lukacs employs the same methods of criticism as Fogarasi, leaving the reader in the dark as to the actual purport of the book reviewed. A proper criticism of the birthday celebration writings required that striking passages should be quoted, and subjected to a thorough and concrete analysis.

The "Internationale" publishes nothing referring to important new publications in the spheres of bourgeois political economy, philosophy, sociology, history, natural science, and religion. Nothing, or at least nothing of value, in the way of enlightening criticism of that prostitution of Marxism which flourishes today more arrogantly than ever before. Bourgeois philosophy, natural science, and religion are today more prone than ever to mysticism. The belles lettres and art of the bourgeois, its most powerful weapons for the corruption of the mental powers of the working masses, are scarcely accorded any notice whatever in the "Internationale".

Last but not least it must be counted to be one of the greatest faults of the "Internationale" that it preserves silence on the subject of the many so-called "communist" pseudo Marxist publications sailing under the flag of proletarian revolution. Such scandalous productions as Wittvogel's writings should be subjected to annihilating criticism in the "Internationale", if this really wants to be considered as a periodical working for the Bolshevisation of the German C. P. This is literature of the worst possible character! A periodical cannot agitate for Stalin's book on "Lenin and Leninism" on the one hand, and on the other hand for such un-Marxist publications as Korsch' "Quintessence of Marxism"; Lukacs' works, or Wittvogel's elaborations. And it does not suffice to preserve silence on the subject. One path or the other must be taken. The Herculean tasks confronting the revolutionary proletarian vanguard, demands the best, the very best only, with regard to theory!

2. The "Internationale" is further lacking in a systematic campaign of protest against German social democracy. It devotes too little attention to the international problem of imperialism as expressed in its concrete successive stages, not only on the continent of Europe, but all over the world.

3. The space devoted to reviews does not mirror the publications playing the most conspicuous roles in the political and intellectual life of Germany. Reviews of periodical literature are entirely neglected.

4. There is an entire lack of system in the selection of the subjects, length of articles, and choice of literature to be reviewed. Whilst one and the same question is dealt with in

three or four articles (without any essentially new point of view being discussed), other equally urgent matters are not dealt with at all. Thus the "Internationale" has for instance not published one single article on the fundamentals of the Bolshevisation of the German C. P. in theory and practice since the V. World Congress, although comrade Ruth Fischer's detailed reports suggested ample material.

5. The print is too small, quite unbearably so in the literature column, especially for workers.

Suggestions for the Reform of the "Internationale".

1. The periodical should be converted into a weekly of the same size as the numbers now being published. The print should be improved.

2. The Central should better control the paper.

3. When Russian questions are dealt with the editor of the "Internationale" should in every case secure the collaboration of leading Russian Bolsheviks.

4. The Central of the German C. P. should urge that the "Internationale" should be written in a more vivid, energetic, and careful style, and the dogmatic, abstract, and formalist treatment of subjects be avoided. The periodical should be made accessible to the advanced worker.

5. The "Internationale" must arrange for a disposition of material permitting the application of revolutionary Marxism to every sphere of human interest, to political economy, philosophy, sociology, history, natural science, religion, literature, and art. The theory and practice of German social democracy must be combatted much more energetically, thoroughly, and comprehensively than has hitherto been the case. Above all the concrete requirements of propaganda work for the Bolshevisation of the German C. P. should invariably be kept in view.

6. The "Internationale" should have correspondents in the different brother parties, enabling the periodical to be kept au courant with regard to the development of these brother parties.

7. The "Internationale" should follow the example of the old "Neue Zeit" in publishing supplementary numbers dealing with the latest problems in politics and science, or even of literature and art. It would perhaps be possible to enclose a supplement in every fourth number (that is, once monthly), again following the example of the old "Neue Zeit", devoted especially to philosophy, problems of general interest in natural science, belles lettres, and art.

8. The "Internationale" must maintain the closest contact with the agitation and propaganda department of the Central of the German C. P.

On the Periodical "Les Cahiers du Bolshevisme" (C. P. of France).

Extract from a letter sent by the Agitprop Department of the E. C. C. I. to the Central of the C. P. of France*).

The publication of the "Cahiers du Bolchevisme", of which five numbers lie before us, induces us to offer you a few hints which we think may be likely to aid you in the organisation of your theoretical organ.

Some preliminary remarks:

The "Cahiers du Bolchevisme" claim to be the "theoretical organ of the Communist Party of France (Section of the C. I.)". This imposes certain duties upon you, no less than your acknowledgment (see No. 3, page 129) of the truth of Lenin's words: "No revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory." This means that your periodical should form the mirror, theoretical but not abstract, of every problem confronting the C. P. of France today and in the immediate future.

In the introduction in No. 1: "To the reader", we find the following passage:

"We are no communists unless we assimilate the teachings of that ideal thinker and incomparable leader Lenin, the sole real interpreter and successor of Marx, and unless we do this not merely literally but actually and completely. For this is the teaching whose sole aim is the attainment of one great goal: the completion of the social revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the end that communism may finally be realised."

The general trend of these ideas is right, but we miss a realisation on the part of the editors that in France the struggle for Marxism and Leninism should be mainly concentrated on combatting the theoretical backwardness of the French C. P., and that the Bolshevisation of the Party demands above all a thorough revolutionary Marxist treatment of the problems facing the French proletariat and the French working peasantry.

This same editorial introduction, when speaking of the "Bulletin Communiste", mentions no other fault of this paper beyond its having published more articles by Trotzky than by Lenin. We read further:

"The "Bulletin Communiste" of yesterday made an attempt at the scientific Marxist preparation of its readers. But it did this in an inadequate and fragmentary manner, almost verging on dilettantism. And above all it accorded Leninism a very subordinate position, to all appearances the corner reserved for poor relations."

We are of the opinion that the new "Cahiers du Bolchevisme" share at the present time the error of providing inadequately for the "scientific Marxist preparation of their readers", for they deal little or not at all with French life and

the tasks of the French proletariat in theory and practice. It must be said that your periodical gives the impression of tending to neglect French tasks and French questions. In this respect the "Cahiers du Bolchevisme" are no improvement on the last numbers of the "Bulletin Communiste", in which we find at most theses or brief reports on French questions.

It need not be emphasised that the struggle against opportunism is an international one, and that the theoretical organ of the French C. P. must keep the French proletariat informed with regard to its development and progress. But the success of the international fight against opportunism depends chiefly on a successful ideological combatting of opportunism within the individual section and in the camp of the working class of the individual country. Stated concretely, in the struggle against Trotzkyism it does not suffice by any means if we convince the French proletariat that the French C. P. is carrying on this struggle brilliantly. The most important point is to show the working classes of France that the French C. P. is capable of carrying the struggle further, and of forcing a decisive combat against all adversaries, above all against the social patriotic traitors in the French section of the II. International.

Although the French Party acted unanimously and determinedly in repulsing the Monatte, Rosmer Delagarde opposition, still your theoretical periodical should have made a detailed statement of the actual bases and fundamental roots of the differences between the Party and the Rosmer group. We must first understand the opportunism obtaining in our own country, and prove ourselves capable of forming a correct estimate of it and combatting it energetically, before we can understand and combat the opportunism of other countries. It is not sufficient for the Party to reject the opportunism of the Rosmer group, however unitedly. Opportunism must not only be rejected, it must be fought. And more than this: the whole Party must take part in the fight, not merely the heads of the Party or even merely the political bureau alone. We must go still further: the whole of the French proletariat, not omitting the syndicalist and social democratic workers; must learn the real nature of the struggle in the French C. P., the avowed vanguard of the French working class.

Bolshevism has grown and become stronger in Russia itself chiefly in the course of a continuous struggle against every description of opportunism and every nuance of un Marxist tendency. And how have the Bolsheviks conducted this struggle? Not merely by referring to Marx and Engels, but by the simultaneous, comprehensive, thorough, and concrete Marxist analysis of every contested Russian problem both in the sphere of theory and of practice. The Bolshevism of the French C. P. will only become a true Bolshevism: after it has adopted the same methods for France, and after the French bourgeoisie and

* Numbers 1 to 5, 1924, are here dealt with. We may observe that later numbers show a distinct change in accordance with the suggestions made here. "Agitprop of the E. C. C. I."

their social democratic footmen have accustomed themselves to recognising in the Bolshevism of the French Party a revolutionary force and danger arising out of the depths of the French proletariat.

Another necessary factor for the realisation of this aim is a firmer connection between the revolutionary fighting ideas of the communist movement in France today with the glorious revolutionary struggles of former epochs of French history. Just as the Bolsheviki are proud of being the executors of Russia's champions of liberty, the French communist worker should be proud to look back upon the great revolutionary movements which have been enacted by the exploited classes of France, and which are enshrined in the history of France from the times of Hébert and Babeuf to the times of the heroic champions of the Commune.

An important point on the agenda of the coming Party conference of the French C. P. is "The ideological struggle against pacifist idealism (Jaurèsism) in the C. P." This is an extremely important point. You are right in laying special emphasis upon combatting Jaurèsism as one of the first necessities of the fight against opportunism, for Jaurèsism is a pacific idealism.

But the struggle against Jaurèsism should not be confined to fighting political pacifism, but must extend to the philosophical idealism of Jaurès, Proudhonism and Sorelism. The French proletariat should be given a clear idea of this struggle by means of a determined fight against every description of fashionable French idealism (Bergson, Duhem, Renouvier, Poincaré, etc.). The present is an eminently suitable moment for the wide dissemination of Paul Lafargue's excellent materialistic writings. You must demonstrate that Renaudel, Longuet, Frossard, and their like have no right to refer to Lafargue; you must show how they are not only political traitors, but are following theoretically in the footsteps of Eduard Bernstein, deserting to the camp of the reactionary idealistic, bourgeois French philosophy.

The fight for the dialectic materialism of Marx and Engels signifies the development in the proletariat of that revolutionary viewpoint and that revolutionary theory without which there can be no revolutionary Leninist vanguard. But again we repeat that on French soil the first necessity of the struggle is the fight against every variety of French materialism. (It need not be said that this does not exclude, but rather include, propaganda for materialist works already translated from the productions of other nations, or the undertaking of translations of materialist writings from other languages.)

* * *

We make a brief summing up of what appear to us to be the main defects of your periodical:

1. A lack of articles characterising the concrete tasks to be accomplished by the French C. P., politically, economically, and ideologically.

2. Entire lack of collaboration on the part of leading French comrades. (With the exception of comrade Treint.)

3. A complete lack of information for the readers with references to current French politics, the attitudes of the various parties, parliament, etc.

4. A lack of clear and precise delineation of the tasks involved by the Bolshevisation of the French C. P., in view of French actuality and French tasks.

5. The lack of a bibliography of French literature, books and newspapers.

And now our advice:

1. The "Cahiers du Bolchevisme" must be made into a French theoretical fighting periodical, the contributions being predominantly French.

2. The periodical must carry on an intense and comprehensive propaganda for the Bolshevisation of the Party in the sphere of theory, the actual problems of the France of today being held in view. For this purpose the editors must secure as far as possible the services of French collaborators.

3. A theoretical communist organ must accord a maximum of attention to Marxism (Leninism) in the sphere of philosophy (dialectic materialism), to political economy, to sociology, to history, and to the latest achievements of natural science. Belles lettres and art should also be represented by Marxist criticism of the works of influential writers and artists.

4. The periodical must publish efficiently reasoned articles exposing the class character and class policy of Herriot's govern-

ment, unmasking the policy of the French socialists, the imperialist colonial policy of France, its rôle in the League of Nations, etc. This should not be done in a general form, but by a constant criticism of every actual step taken by our class enemies.

5. The periodical should carry on thorough propaganda for revolutionary parliamentarism. This should be done not only by reference to examples of revolutionary parliamentary politics in other countries (Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht 1870, Bolshevist Duma fraction 1914, Karl Liebknecht 1914, German C. P. parliamentary fraction 1924, Repossi in Italy, November 1924, Lantsucky and Vassiltschuk in Poland, December 1924, and so forth) but by throwing light upon all revolutionary tactical questions connected with revolutionary parliamentarism in France at the present time (methods of mass mobilisation, line of conduct to be pursued by deputies outside of parliament, and so forth).

6. Bolshevism means relentless self-criticism and severest self-control.

The periodical should therefore march at the head of every endeavour to expose the weaknesses and faults of the C. P. of France. Enthusiasm and propaganda for worthy slogans is not sufficient, the Party must learn to lay its hand in every instance upon the weak spots hindering the realisation of the slogans in every stage of development. Decided and candid self criticism is the best antidote to Rosmerism.

7. Special attention must be devoted to the trade union question. Here too the specific problems of the French trade union struggle must be dealt with in concord with the general directions laid down by the C. I. and the R. I. L. U. The question of the standpoint and tactics of our trade union fractions should be dealt with in the periodical by comrades playing a leading rôle in the trade unions.

8. The slogan of: "Go to the masses"; without which no Bolshevism gets further than paper, must be concretely elucidated from every possible aspect in the periodical. Not only must the Party attitude toward the broad masses of the working class still outside of the Party be discussed, but at the same time the ways and means to be adopted for gaining as allies the working and petty bourgeois masses still giving their allegiance to other parties. The question of agitation and propaganda among the workers, among the various classes of the peasantry, civil servants and private employees, the intelligencia, women, and youth, must be accorded special treatment. The peasantry question in particular must be given careful discussion.

9. The periodical should devote special attention to the various varieties of French chauvinism, not omitting the Fascist reaction extending its organisation under the leadership of Millerand, and should expose its class character and its economic roots.

10. The struggle against Trotzkyism must not be carried on solely by means of the propagation of articles and writings translated from the Russian, but should be aided by a detailed criticism of the French allies of Trotzkyism. The conflict with Monatte, Rosmer, and Delagarde must be so conducted that the workers of France are thoroughly enlightened as to the fundamental differences between the French C. P. and this group. The passing of resolutions does not suffice for this.

11. The "Cahiers du Bolchevisme" should be written in a more powerful and vivid style. Even theory should be so treated as to arouse the interest of the more advanced French workers.

12. Information given to the French proletariat on the successes and the fighting problems of the Russian C. P. and the Union of Soviet Republics attach special importance to showing how the economic situation of the proletariat has been improved.

13. Your periodical should follow the example of the old German Marxist periodical the "Neue Zeit", and publish supplementary numbers dealing with questions of the day in politics and science, if possible in literature and art as well. (Translations from the Russian might be employed here, in so far as the subjects and treatment are sure of gaining the interest of the advanced French workers.)

It might at the same time be made possible for the periodical to issue a monthly supplement (again similar to the monthly supplement to the old "Neue Zeit". This should be devoted specially to philosophy, problems in natural science of general interest (the atomic theory, evolution, Darwinism, cosmology, etc.), belles lettres, and art. (The Bolsheviki, especially Lenin, have always attached the greatest importance to the application

of orthodox Marxist criticism to these subjects. Lenin himself [Georg Plechanov, L. Axelrod, and others also devoted attention to this line of work] wrote three brilliant articles on Leo Tolstoy, besides articles on Alexander Herzen and others, and a whole book on dialectic materialism.)

14. The "Cahiers du Bolshevisme" should possess correspondents in the most important sister parties, so that the periodical is in constant receipt of brief synoptic articles, com-

prehensible to the advanced French worker, on important questions and stages of development in the sister parties in question.

15. Your periodical must maintain close and constant contact with the agitation and propaganda section of the Central of the French C. P.

16. The editors should secure the permanent collaboration of the best theoretical men in the Party.

On the Reichenberg "Vorwärts" (C. P. Czechoslovakia).

Report of the Agitprop Department of the E. C. C. I.

I.

From the journalist's point of view, the Reichenberg "Vorwärts" is the best conducted paper run by the Czechish C. P. Its style of diction is full of life, it strives to raise the level of its readers in international questions, and shows a decided tendency to rid itself of the provincialism which is one of the unhappiest legacies bequeathed by a social democratic past to the Party press of the Czechish C. P. But the "Vorwärts" is too much under the influence of the labour movement in the German Reich. Without doubt it is its duty to act as connecting link between the revolutionary German workers of Czechoslovakia and those of Germany, but this should not by any means be done at the expense of the actual and urgent problems of Czechish politics. The "Vorwärts" gives the impression of inability to follow the Czechish Party press or the press printed in the Czechish language. It reacts slowly and clumsily to the politics of the Czechish government. There is a lack of immediate actual contact with the struggles and peculiar characteristics of the non German workers of Czechoslovakia.

II.

The Political Line of the Paper.

Whilst the "Vorwärts" maintains one continuous line in questions of international politics, this cannot be said of it with regard to Czechish politics. Before all there is lacking a persistent carrying through of the general campaign of the Party (this is a characteristic of the whole Czechish Party press). For instance, the "Vorwärts" publishes the decisions arrived at by the Congress on the question of unity, and presents them in a form excellent for purposes of agitation. But instead of continuing the campaign thus commenced, not merely in the form of articles, but with the additional aid of headlines, short notes, etc., the "Vorwärts" permits the unity campaign to disappear from its columns for days and weeks, and it only reappears when some external cause brings it to the surface again. There is a lack of concrete application of international decisions to Czechish conditions. There is an almost entire lack of agitation for the unity of all Czechish trade union centrals. The slogan of unity is not carried into the actual struggle, for instance in the recent wage struggle in the Mährisch Ostrau district. The result of this is that the agitation made by the "Vorwärts" for the unity of the trade unions is stereotyped and abstract in character.

In this connection it may be pointed out that much too little significance was attached to the attitude of the English delegates in Moscow. Precisely in Czechoslovakia much should have been made of the fact that Purcell is not only an English trade union leader, but at the same time chairman of the Amsterdam Trade Union International.

The attitude adopted by the "Vorwärts" to the factory council movement shows similar faults. The lengthy decisions of the National Executive Committee have not been sufficiently popularised in the "Vorwärts". It is entirely inadequate merely to reprint the resolutions and theses in one or two leading articles. The decisions should be impressed again and again upon the memories of the workers by popular articles on each separate demand, by headlines, blocked notices, etc. Such methods of popularisation are an indispensable prerequisite for the inauguration of so young a movement as the Czechish factory council movement. But the "Vorwärts" omits them entirely.

The "Vorwärts" devotes too little attention to the politics pursued by the German social democrats in Czechoslovakia.

Polemics against social democracy confined to brief notes or to the local column. This is a fault. The "Vorwärts" should carry on a systematic campaign against social democracy, especially against its central organ, the Prague "Sozialdemokrat".

The "Vorwärts" omits to carry on an energetic and emphatic campaign for the recognition of Soviet Russia by the Czechish government. The recognition of the U. S. S. R. by France should have been used for an energetic campaign.

The Second Party Conference of the Czechish C. P. was not sufficiently dealt with by the "Vorwärts". General articles are absolutely inadequate. And the same must be said of general appeals to work, etc. Above all, the slogan of "Bolshevisation" and the Party decisions on the national question are not sufficiently popularised and explained. Precisely at the present juncture the "Vorwärts" should deal energetically and continuously with the ideological and organisatory aspects of the slogan: "Bolshevisation of the Czechish C. P.". The phrase: "We are no longer concerned with speaking of Bolshevisation, but with its execution" is wrong. On the contrary. Our Czechish Party press must speak and agitate a very great deal more with respect to Bolshevisation in order to be understood by the masses. The same applies to the national question. Brief notices and popular paragraphs must draw the attention of the German workers constantly to the new character of the decisions on the national question. Every national movement among other nationalities must be placed in the foreground of agitation. The political change in the line pursued by the Party since the Second Party Conference must be demonstrated by the "Vorwärts" through the medium of its application by the new Party leadership.

III.

The "Vorwärts" and the Organisation Life of the Party.

The organisation life of the Party is insufficiently expressed in the "Vorwärts". It is frequently relegated to the local reports, and drags on a wretched existence amidst the municipal and other local affairs. There is an entire lack of a concrete reflection of the organisatory events in the Party, which should be dealt with in the political column. The supplement for the factories and works is a praiseworthy initiative, but it published too many general articles instead of reports sent directly from the workshops and factories by worker correspondents. The organisation of a network of worker correspondents is among the first tasks of the "Vorwärts".

IV.

Technical Questions.

We have the impression that the adoption of the new political line has not been carried out with sufficient care. It frequently occurs that the "Vorwärts" publishes important and urgent notices on the last page of the paper, under "wires". And it occurs even more frequently that the first page of the "Vorwärts" is filled with lengthy articles of much less urgency, so that the so important first page is lost as far as agitation is concerned. This is one of the main technical faults of the "Vorwärts". Too little attention is given to the first page of the paper. The reverse should be the case. The first page is the most important of the paper. The most important news must be concentrated here as far as possible. The first page must be utilised for agitation. Long articles, filling the whole page, should not be printed as continuous letterpress, but must be made effective for agitation. (Interruptions by means of headlines, etc. etc.) It is incomprehensible to us why the "Vorwärts" almost invariably prints the

political section in bourgeois or long primer type. The use of smaller types would impart a much more striking appearance to the paper. A further mistake is the provincialist divisions into home, abroad, etc. It is a matter of experience that a division of matter according to subject is much more effective than a geographical division.

In our opinion the local section of the paper should be completely reformed. The reports on the proceedings in the local councils, etc. are accorded too much space. They should be substituted by reports on events affecting the workers more directly. The local section should accord the greatest possible space to letters from worker correspondents.

“Under the Banner of Marxism”.

(A bi-monthly periodical for controversial materialism. Published by the Communist International. No. 1. 1925.)

By **Max Levien.**

Revolutionary Marxism, founded on the dialectic materialism of Marx and Engels, is the view of life held by the most advanced section of the international proletariat, the view of life held by the revolutionary vanguard of this proletariat in its capacity of the most determined and most class-conscious champion of socialism.

The new theoretical periodical appearing under the above title aims at being a scientific fighting organ of revolutionary Marxism, and at gathering around it all those revolutionary forces which are repelled and revolted by that prostitution of Marxism now raising its head more insolently than ever, and by the present general disintegration of bourgeois science and philosophy.

In the editor's preface to the first number we read as follows:

“The first number of our periodical appears at a time when social democratic “Marxism” has already drawn the theoretical balance of its treachery. We see the “living Marxism” of social democracy emerge from our epoch of tempest upon the turbid waves of reawakened mysticism, of sickly philosophical idealism, subtle pornography, religious mania, decadent “art”, apocalyptic mendacity, sexual saturnalias, and “sublime” slogans. But this ideological nullity, enveloped in the effluvia of a putrid corpse, still contrives to hobble forward on the crutches lent by delusions of the past. These crutches must be broken; the wretched eclectic conglomeration named “constructive socialism” by such lamentable figures as MacDonald and Bernstein (and by Messrs Kautsky, Hilferding, and the others hanging to the coat tails of such as MacDonald and Bernstein) must be opposed by true revolutionary Marxism. This opposition, in its form of theoretical expression of communism, arises as a threatening giant before the confused and terrified consciousness of the bourgeoisie and the socialist reformists.”

The new periodical is thus not merely a weapon defending the legacies left us by Marx, Engels, and Lenin: it is to be at the same time a weapon of attack against every obscurantism, every priesthood, every philosophical idealism, and will declare war on all these, under whatever flag they may sail. This implies a threefold struggle: firstly against that bourgeois science which serves for the glorification of imperialism and the perpetuation of capitalist rule; secondly against the falsification of the scientific principles of the revolutionary socialism based upon the logically inevitable class struggle of the proletariat, a falsification now being carried on by the “Marxists” of that international social patriotic league known as the II. International; thirdly against vacillation, inconsequence, and deviation from Marxist theory within our own ranks, the natural accompaniment of the growth of the international communist movement, the increasing acuteness of class antagonisms, and the increasing complication of the problems to be solved.

The task of criticism thus placed in the foreground must be accompanied by the positive work of developing the Marxist view of life in the spirit of Vladimir Ilytch Lenin, the most gifted follower of Marx and Engels. This development is one of the first premises for the further victorious advance of the international working class.

A glance at the contents of the first number of the new periodical shows it to be fully conscious of the above named tasks. It contains the following contributions:

A preface characterising in suitable terms the miserable “philosophy” and “science” of the bourgeoisie, and especially of social democracy, is followed by an essay from the pen of Lenin, pointing out in his own masterly manner the road of

struggle for dialectic materialism and atheism. True to the train of thought developed in the preface, N. Bucharin contributes a theoretical essay on the question of the theory of accumulation and imperialism, in which he combats the false conceptions of the economic bases and objective driving forces of imperialist development still cropping up here and there in our own ranks, at the basis of a criticism of Rosa Luxemburg's theory of accumulation. A. Debordin contributes an article on “The last wisdom of revisionism”, showing the complete collapse of German social democratic “philosophy” as preached by such ideological parasites of the working class as Max Adler, Albert Kranold, and the Philistine clique of literates using the “Sozialistische Monatshefte” as a means for the spread of the new tidings of salvation: “socialisation of religion” and “social catholicism”. A somewhat longer essay by V. Jurinetz on “Psychology and Marxism” shows that today bourgeois science is devoting particularly zealous effort to the counter-revolutionary exploitation of even such departments of science as appear at a first glance to be far removed from the sphere of politics. Jurinetz' article illuminates the dangers to which materialism is exposed by an uncritical acceptance of Freud's ideas.

We have to thank the unwearying historical research work of D. Rjasanov for two contributions of extraordinary importance. The present number contains two contributions by Rjasanov, one treating of Engel's famous introduction to Marx's “Class struggles in France”, and at last giving us Engel's preface in its original and unfalsified form. The falsification of the real wording of Engel's introduction, a falsification necessary to Bernstein and his collaborators as a cloak for their revisionism and reformism, is here finally exposed by the complete reproduction of the real original text of the preface. D. Rjasanov's second contribution contains the complete text of a hitherto unpublished article by Marx on wages. The manuscript dates from the year 1847, and is closely related to the essays published by Marx on “Wage labour and capital”. This manuscript affords valuable aid to the formation of a judgment on the trains of economic thought which later found their classic expression in “Capital”.

In connection with these two contributions, we draw the special attention of the readers of this new periodical to M. Jablonsky's discussion of the “Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels Archives” edited by Rjasanov. To all real Marxist the publication of these archives is in fact an event of paramount importance, for it supplies a number of unpublished essays, fragments, and letters, whose immense importance cannot be too highly estimated.

The first number contains, besides all this, two comprehensive and competently compiled collective reports on Russian Marxist literature on the Kant jubilee and on Marxist periodical literature on Einstein's theory of relativity.

The second number will appear at the beginning of May, and will include the following contributions: the continuation of N. Bucharin's polemics against Rosa Luxemburg's theory of accumulation, an essay by N. Ossinsky on American agriculture, an essay by A. Maletzky on Sombart's latest efforts in the sphere of sociology, essays by Max Levien on the “realism” of the mathematician Study and by L. Rudas on Max Weber, and a comprehensive bibliography.

We believe that these brief indications of the contents of the first two numbers will be sufficient to show the importance of this new periodical in its capacity of leading theoretical organ of revolutionary Marxism. We have no doubt whatever that the periodical will speedily succeed in becoming the target of the

angriest attacks of narrow bourgeois science and of all falsifiers of Marx, and in becoming with this the friend and guide of all true adherents of the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, aiding the still backward workers to rid themselves of their last illusions, to overcome their weakness and discouragement, and to go forward under the leadership of their Marxist vanguard towards that dialectic materialism which forms the view of life upon which a free humanity will create real cultural values. Let the lapdogs of the bourgeoisie — to use Lenin's words — the social democratic Barbat heroes and the new Catholics, whine

and howl about social revolution; let them combine with capital and the church to mobilise all the forces of religious darkness and idealistic mysticism against us, we shall pursue our way undeviatingly through the vapours of decomposing bourgeois ideology, and shall gather the advanced workers around the banner of controversial materialism and atheism. For we alone have proved by historical action that we are the guardians of the inheritance left by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. And it is their inheritance, their banner, which leads the way to the final victory of the world proletariat over all parasites and exploiters.

Organisation.

The Organisation of the Apparatus for Agitprop Work in the Sections of the C. I.

Draft drawn up by the Agitprop Department of the E. C. C. I.

a) Central Committee.

1. The consistent leadership of the agitational and propagandist work of the Party, in all its forms and expressions, verbal and written, requires that special Agitprop departments be affiliated to the central committees of all the Sections of the Comintern, without consideration of the influence possessed by the Party or of the political conditions under which it works.

2. The Agitprop, acting under the directions of the C. C. of the Party, drafts a complete plan of every branch of agitational and propagandist Party work, and controls the carrying out, in every local organisation, of every decision made with regard to these questions by the Party conference or by the C. C.

3. The C. C. of the Party appoints one of its members as head of the Agitprop department.

4. The head of the Agitprop department of the C. C. is assisted by an Agitprop commission, consisting of four to eight members appointed by the C. C. of the Party with the head of the Agitprop department as chairman. This commission carries out the whole of the preliminary work in general questions of agitation and propaganda, drafts the plan of work for the departments, and distributes the work amongst the members of the commission. The commission should meet regularly, at least once weekly.

5. In order to maintain communication between the work of the Agitprop department of the C. C. and the other departments of the C. C., and with the organisations related to the Communist Party, and to render this work consistent in character, the commission will be participated in by representatives of the organisation department of the C. C., of the women's secretariat, of the Young Communist League, of the Red Sport Organisations, of the International Red Relief, etc. Care should be taken that the members appointed to the commission are comrades familiar with educational work in the trade union and cooperative organisations. The head of the Agitprop department of the Party organisation in the capital city is to be called upon to attend the sessions of the commission.

6. When dividing work into various functions within the Agitprop commission, the department should observe the following chief forms of agitation and propaganda work a) agitation among the masses; b) work in the sphere of propaganda or Party education, and c) the political periodic press. The Agitprop commission may form special subcommissions ensuring consistent work in these various branches. The members and responsible leader of these subcommissions are appointed by the Agitprop commission, subject to the approval of the C. C. of the Party. The comrades forming these subcommissions need not necessarily be members of the Agitprop commission.

7. The organisation of the subcommissions mentioned under 6. is by no means compulsory, but must be made to depend upon the real stage of development and actual differentiation of the work in hand. In the case of Sections in which no great amount of work has been accomplished as yet, it suffices to form a small Agitprop department, consisting of three members (including the leader), without any subdivision into subcommissions. A press

subcommission only becomes necessary where the Party press is already well developed, or where good opportunity is offered for our comrades to participate in the trade union press. The subcommission for propaganda should be formed in every important Party.

8. Where the financial position of the Section renders it possible, it is desirable to supplement the department with a small technical apparatus: one or two secretaries, an assistant for clerical work. It is also desirable that two or three of the leading workers receive a fixed salary from the Party, enabling them to devote themselves exclusively to their work.

9. The whole of the work done by the Agitprop department of the C. C. must be based upon the most careful study of the working experience won in the whole of the local organisations of the Party. Should the Agitprop department issue instructions or circulars, it should require the execution of its instructions with the utmost strictness, and should insist for this purpose of being supplied with all material and full reports from all subordinate organisations. The department must organise the study of all locally compiled material, must be capable of pronouncing a critical judgment on every document and organisation belonging to a local organisation. The maintenance of active communication with the local organisations is the leading task of the department.

10. The C. C. of the Party will call enlarged consultations about twice a year for the discussion of general questions pertaining to the Agitprop department (or its separate branches). These conferences will be participated in by the Agitprop department of the C. C. and by the leaders of Agitprop work in the leading district and local committees of the Party, and by the Agitprop organisers from three to five of the most important Party factory nuclei. The agenda of these conferences, as also the whole of the preparatory material, must be decided upon by the Agitprop commission beforehand, and placed in good time at the disposal of the local organisations.

b) District committees.

11. In accordance with the decisions of the C. C. of the Party, Agitprop departments will again be affiliated to the district committees. These departments will be similar in construction to the Agitprop department of the C. C., but on a smaller scale, care being taken to avoid excessive ramification and differentiation, or the employment of paid assistance.

c) Local committees.

12. It is absolutely necessary that a comrade be selected from the presidium, or from the bureau of the local Party committee, as leader of the whole work of agitation and propaganda in the local organisation, and responsible to the Party committee for this work. This must be remembered when the Party Committee and its presidium are being formed, and these bodies must include a comrade thoroughly qualified in every respect, and perfectly firm in principles, capable of undertaking the position of

responsible leader of the whole Agitprop department of the local organisation.

13. The Party Committees is assisted by an Agitprop department in the preliminary work referring to all questions of agitation and propaganda. This department consists of the leader of the Agitprop work referred to under point 12, and of a commission of five to seven members with the leader as chairman. It is absolutely necessary that one of the comrades in this commission should be thoroughly versed in the questions of Marxist Leninist theory, who has to lead the whole work of the local organisation in the sphere of propaganda work (Party education). Some of the Agitprop organisers of the largest factory nuclei belonging to the local organisation concerned are also included as members of the commission. Besides this, the Agitprop organisers of the nuclei are required to report to every session of the commission upon the Agitprop work of their nucleus, and to take part in the discussion of and decision on the general questions of the commission work.

14. The Agitprop commission distributes the various branches of work among its permanent members, and organises at the same time two subcommissions: a) for agitation, b) for propaganda (Party education).

15. Decisions made by the Agitprop commission and its subcommissions, if of a general character, are subject to the approval of the presidium or of the committee, in accordance with the report given by the responsible leader of the Agitprop work. Communications bearing the character of circulars must be signed by the secretary of the committee.

16. In order to establish communication with other departments of the committee, and with related organisations (Young Communist League, Organisation Department, Women's Secretariat, etc.), the representatives of these bodies are invariably called upon to take part in the session of the Agitprop commission.

17. The Party committee convokes meetings of the secretaries and Agitprop organisers of the factory nuclei and residential committees at least once in two months, in order to receive the reports on the work of the Agitprop department, and to discuss the principles of the Agitprop work.

18. The Agitprop department of the local committee must hold strictly to its duty of forwarding reports of its work in good time to the central Agitprop department of the Party; it should forward the whole of its material to the central committee immediately on its receipt, and should send in a short and comprehensive report every month, stating the statistic data referring to the number of agitation meetings called and actions carried out by the committee or by the residential committees and nuclei, to the number of participators in these actions, the number of pamphlets issued, slogans printed, etc.

d) Residential Committee.

19. Should the local organisation of the Party be subdivided into residential committees, these should be assisted, in the same manner as the local committee, by similar Agitprop departments, consisting for instance of a commission of three members and chairman, this last one being a member of the bureau, or of

the presidium of the residential committee, and responsible to this last for the whole of the Agitprop work.

20. In all organisations to which residential committees belong, the leaders of the Agitprop work in this committee are members of the Agitprop commission of the local committee. The participation of the Agitprop organisers of the nuclei in the sessions of this commission remains in force. The convocation of consultations among the nuclei Agitprop organisers is the task of the residential committees. The local committee calls enlarged conferences on Agitprop work once in three months, and the residential committees and the leading factory nuclei take part in these conferences.

21. The Agitprop department of the residential committee must organise the closest collaboration with the Agitprop organisers of the nuclei controlling the work on the spot, and receiving the verbal reports of the Agitprop organisers at the sessions of the Agitprop commission of the residence.

e) Factory Nuclei.

22. It is extremely necessary, at the very commencement of work for the organisation of factory nuclei, to devote the very greatest attention to communist agitation and propaganda among the working mass in the works or factory, and to ensure proper direction for this work. This applies especially to Party educational work among the members of the Party, among sympathisers and candidates. It is necessary for this purpose to appoint a comrade belonging to the bureau of the nucleus, commissioned as "Agitprop organiser" to include the whole of this work in his field of activity, to lead the work, and to control the execution of all decisions.

23. The Agitprop organiser of a nucleus has the following duties:

a) the keeping of a list of the whole of those members of the factory nuclei who are suitable for propaganda and agitation work;

b) the organisation of circles for the study of questions of Party programme and Party tactics;

c) the organisation of individual agitation among non party workers, and especially among workers sympathising with the Party;

d) the performance of the preparation work required by meetings and gatherings held for purposes of agitation;

e) the organisation of our appearance at gatherings and meetings held by trade union and other organisations;

f) the organisation of the dissemination of Party literature, etc.

24. The Agitprop organiser may be assisted by a small commission, consisting of the most active members of the nucleus; not of members of the bureau. This commission undertakes the organisation of the distribution of our literature, and appoints special comrades for this work.

25. The Agitprop organiser and the commission carry on their work in closest collaboration with the nuclei of the Young Communist League, and with the organiser of work among women, where these nuclei and organisations exist.

The Activity of the Central Agitprop Department of the German C. P.

By **Max Engel** (Berlin).

The activity of the Central Agitprop of the German C. P. has passed through three epochs since first coming into existence, each epoch representing a definite stage of development.

The first epoch comprises the time during which the department was founded: August 1923 till December 1923; the second epoch extends from January until December 1924; the third from January 1925 until now.

In August 1923 it was decided to form a special Agitprop department for the centralisation of the whole of our agitational and propagandist work. At the time of the founding of the Agitprop no definite working plans had however been made; the limits of the field of activity had not yet been drawn. The

vague ideas circulated as to the extent of work, and especially as to the coordination of work with the various departments of the Party. Questions of method and technics were dealt with solely by means of small discussions on special examples (the organisation of a meeting or demonstration, debates on the method of educational work in the Party.) The essential difference between propaganda and agitation was not even clear to the leaders of the Party.

One example of the defective organisation and deficient knowledge of the essential character of Agitprop work may be seen in the fact that although the Party publishers were subordinate to the Agitprop in every branch of their work, the

other departments of the Party Central (trade unions, cooperatives, land propaganda etc.) were not coordinated to the Agitprop in any way. And it was not until November 1923 that the whole of the printing orders received by these Agitprop departments were carried out by the Central Agitprop. The Agitprop was however responsible for the technical side only (make up, printing, etc.) Material for agitation was produced in large numbers. Leaflets ran into editions of millions, and pamphlets such as "Civil War", "Hooked Cross or Soviet Star" were issued in editions of 100,000 each, almost all of which were sold, as the prices had been rendered exceedingly low by the inflation. A systematic use of the material did however not take place.

In the first epoch of Agitprop work it was not yet possible to achieve any substantial progress in the centralisation of our whole agitation and propaganda. The Agitprop was affiliated to the organisation bureau; the political bureau issued handbills without previous consultation with the Agitprop, published appeals, and carried on every description of this kind of political work quite independent of the Agitprop.

This lack of system was not changed by the events in October, and the first months of Agitprop activity passed without that more being done than placards and posters being brought out, and attempts being made by the Agitprop to create for itself an independent printing apparatus, and to centralise the printing possibilities already offered by the Party printing offices all over the Reich.

In January 1924 a member of the Central was appointed to lead the Agitprop department. The Agitprop was brought into closer contact with the entire work being done by the Party central and its organs.

In the course of the epoch lasting until December 1924 the Agitprop had three great tasks to accomplish:

- a) the electoral campaign for the Reichstag election on 4. May 1924,
- b) the international campaign against war in August 1924,
- c) the electoral campaign for the Reichstag election on 7. December 1924.

These last two campaigns had to be carried on in the midst of the struggles of the German Party against the Experts' Report, against the London Conference, and against the Dawes Plan. During this year the Agitprop accomplished the task of drafting in detail the plans for the campaign, of transmitting corresponding instructions to the other departments of the Party, of producing the whole of the material, and of controlling the organisation and execution of the campaigns in the Party organs (districts and local groups). The political slogans and campaigns, leaflets and appeals, were passed on to the Agitprop department by the political bureau. The Agitprop was affiliated to the organisation bureau; the contact with the collective work of the Party became much closer than during the first epoch.

The best example of more systematic and concentrated agitation work was furnished by the anti war campaign in August 1924. This was thoroughly prepared for weeks beforehand by the whole Party. The Central Agitprop issued a detailed plan of campaign, containing concrete instructions for every sphere of work (trade unions, cooperatives, parliaments, women's secretariat, cultural and sporting clubs, etc.). This plan of campaign was introduced by political instructions given by the political bureau, organisatory instructions from the organisation bureau, and special instructions from the Central Agitprop department. The complete working plan comprised a pamphlet of 32 printed octavo pages, and an edition of 8000 copies was distributed gratis among the most important Party functionaries a few weeks before the campaign opened.

Thus the whole of the Party functionaries were not only informed on the political slogans of the campaign (including the international ones, since the political instructions issued by the Executive were included in the pamphlet as appendix), but were enabled to obtain a comprehensive survey of the work falling to their share in their capacity as trade union, cooperative, or other functionary, and of the work which their fellow functionaries were called upon to perform. This coherent formulation of the whole plan of the campaign prepared the way for the highest possible degree of coordination in the cooperation among the different organs of the Party. Special instructions were also given for the most important branches of agitation (press, meeting campaigns, organisation of demonstrations, etc.).

The Central Agitprop published the following agitation material for this campaign:

	Copies
Circulars to the various Party organs	19,500
Material for speakers	13,000
7 different handbills, totalling	5,350,000
1 poster	50,000
7 different bills	700,000
8 pamphlets, for sale, totalling	93,000
3 illustrated papers, totalling	540,000
1 satirical paper	283,750
Total	7,049,250

As a result of this excellent organisatory preparation, the campaign was exceedingly successful, although we were obliged to state in our final report to the E. C. C. I. "that a serious defect in the organisation of the campaign consisted of the fact that coordination was still insufficiently developed with respect to the work of the different Party organs".

We give below a further table showing the material provided for the Reichstag election on 7. December 1924.

	Copies
Instructive material	122,700
Handbills	14,460,500
Leaflets	1,261,000
Posters	1,032,500
Pamphlets	970,000
Miscellaneous	14,866,500
Total	32,713,200

The Agitprop thus emerged in its second epoch from the embryonic state of its first, established the confines of its sphere of activity, secured its influence upon every branch of work. Questions relating to the method and technics of agitation and propaganda were discussed upon the basis of actual experience. The chief defects still hampering the work of the department lay in the circumstance that the subordination of the Agitprop under the organisation bureau forced organisatory and technical questions into the foreground so that propaganda (educational work in the Party) was accorded too little attention.

The third period of Agitprop work began in January 1925 with the reorganisation of the Agitprop department. The Agitprop became the organ of the political bureau, organising, carrying out, and controlling the whole of the agitation and propaganda conducted by the Party in every department of work.

This fundamental definition of the actual sphere of work, and the position of the Agitprop department in the apparatus of the Party as a political organ, as an organ of the political bureau, was the most important prerequisite for thorough and systematic agitational and propagandist work throughout the whole Party. This form of organisation is the only guarantee of a consistent centralisation of all agitation and propaganda, ensuring their political guidance, and bringing the individual tasks of the other departments into correct relations with the plans and principles of the Party Central. The work of agitation and propaganda within the trade unions, cooperatives, etc., must be subordinated in methods and technics to a central leadership which sees not only the narrow limits of Agitprop work. The slogans and aims of this work must be consistently coordinated with those of the work of the other departments, in accordance with the principles laid down by the decisions of the Party Central. This centralisation is the sole guarantee that the whole of the forces in the Party, the whole of our means and possibilities of agitation, are concentrated and directed under the consistent leadership of the Party Central towards our ultimate aims.

The work falling to the share of the Agitprop may now be classified under two main headings, these being again subdivided into various minor categories.

The chief department of agitation comprises the whole of the general agitation carried on by the Party in every sphere, the organising of international and national campaigns, the organisation of elections, etc.; it further comprises the subdepartments for press and publishing work, and a special subdepartment for the production of the whole of the material required for the work of agitation and propaganda.

The chief department of propaganda comprises the whole of the educational work carried on within the Party, in related and sympathising organisations, and in trade unions, cooperatives, etc. This department controls the editorship of the theoretical organ issued by the Party Central. It possesses a sub-department for archives and libraries. It organises the courses of instruction in Leninism and the educational circles in the whole Party. A further subdepartment for statistics has recently been added. This last department not only collects and publishes important political and economic statistical material, but compiles statistics on the results of elections, census of the population, etc.

The actual Central Agitprop department organises and leads both the whole of the general agitation and the special campaigns (at present: for the unity of the trade unions, factory council elections, election to the presidency). The Agitprop draws up the plans for these campaigns, and after these have been approved by the Party Central they are sent (8000 copies) to the leading Party functionaries. The whole of the material required for these campaigns, the Party material needed by public speakers and debaters, for the press service, and the posters handbills, etc., required as agitation material, are produced and published on the instructions and under the control of the Central Agitprop, in accordance with the established plan of campaign. Besides these tasks, the organisation of suitable Agitprop departments in the districts, local groups, and factory cells, is an urgent necessity, and must be carried out by the central Agitprop department. The organisation plans for the German Agitprop, as also the principles to be pursued in the systematic organisation of international campaigns, are sub-

mitted to the International Agitprop Conference which will be held in the middle of March. The work of organisation must be made to run parallel with the giving of instruction on the method and technics of propaganda and agitation within the functionary corporation and among the members, by means of instructive pamphlets, conferences, and courses of study.

The gigantic apparatus in the hands of our opponents (press, cinema, theatre, school, family, army) is something with which we cannot in the least compete as far as quantity is concerned. If we are to break the influence of this apparatus, this can only be by enlisting everything and everybody in our service; that is, when every functionary in the Party, every member, and every person in sympathy with the Party, ceases to carry on the work of agitation in a merely accidental manner, but pursues it in accordance with a definite plan concentrating all forces under one consistent leadership; when we have learnt to make use of, and organise the use of, every technical auxiliary means available for agitation (leaflets, posters, bills, handbills, placards, factory nuclei newspapers, theatres, cinemas, wireless) in such a manner that the highest degree of success is ensured.

The success of these efforts towards increasing and deepening the influence of the Communist Party is not so much dependent upon the material means available, as upon the degree of organisation, the utmost acme of centralisation in the whole of the work of agitation and propaganda. Accident is but a feeble ally. It is the organisation of all available powers, the systematic utilisation of all available forces, and the central leadership of agitation, which will enable us to defeat our adversaries.