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Theses and Resolutions.

Adopted at the Session of the Enlarged E. C. C. I.

CONTENTS

1. Resolution on the Report of the Executive of the C. I.
2. Theses on the Bolshevisation of the Parties of the Comintern.
3. Theses on the Peasant Question.
4. Resolution on Unity in the International Trade Union Movement.
5. Resolution on the Discussion in the Russian Communist Party.
6. Resolution on the Czechoslovak Question.
7. Resolution on the American Question.
8. Resolution on the Italian Question.
9. Resolution of the Central Control Commission of the Russian C. P. in the Case of Brandler, Thalheimer, Radek and Others.
10. Resolution on the Declaration of Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer.
11. Resolution on the Reports of the Organisation Conference of the Sections of the Comintern and Young Communist International.
12. Resolution on the Immediate Agitational and Propaganda Work of the Sections of the Comintern.

Resolution on the Report of the Executive of the C. I.

I.

The Plenum of the Executive of the Comintern declares that the decisions of the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International on the political and economic situation and on the tactic of the Communist Parties have proved to be absolutely correct and have been completely justified by the development of international relations since the Fifth World Congress.

The Plenum declares that the Executive of the C. I. has carried on its entire activity in the spirit of the decisions of the Fifth World Congress and through its activity has expedited the Bolshevisation of the Communist Movement and the defeat of opportunist tendencies.

The Plenum lays special stress on the significance of the international campaign for unity of the trade union movement, which strengthened the Left tendencies in the Amsterdam International Trade Union Federation, undermined the influence of the Right trade union leaders, and accelerated the revolutionisation of the masses organised in trade unions.

The Plenum repels the attacks of the Right elements on the activity of the E. C. C. I. with the greatest determination. The Plenum declares that the E. C. C. I., by its intervention in a number of Parties, assisted them to overcome opportunist tendencies. The action of the E. C. C. I. in dealing with the Czechoslovakian question especially was absolutely correct.

II.

In the extremely difficult international situation between two revolutionary waves, in the period of a temporary depression in the labour movement in some countries, the Executive helped the Communist Parties to preserve their mass character, to strengthen and extend their influence on the masses of workers and peasants, and to increase their capability to carry on active work.

The Plenum expresses its confidence in the Executive and calls upon all the Sections of the Communist International resolutely and energetically to continue to support the fight of the E. C. C. I. for the Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties.

Theses on the Bolshevisation of the Parties of the Comintern.

Part I.

The Presentation of the Question.

1. The Resolution of the Second World Congress of the Comintern on the Role of the Party in the Proletarian Revolution.

The resolution of the Second World Congress of the Comintern on the rôle of the Party in the proletarian revolution, drawn up with the closest cooperation of Comrade Lenin, is one of the most important documents of the Communist International which has maintained its importance unimpaired up to the present. This resolution was drawn up at a time when the Communist International was just in process of formation and when it still included in its ranks semi-sindicalist and semi-anarchist groups; when the Communist International had only just outlined the 21 conditions and was conducting negotiations with the German Independents and other semi-social democratic organisations for their affiliation. This resolution described the character and role of the Party in proletarian revolutions **Generally**. At the present time, when the Communist International has taken definite shape, when it has conducted serious work against both the Right and against the ultra-Left tendencies, when in a number of countries mass Communist Parties have been formed and have become consolidated, the necessity arises for formulating the policy of the Communist International, not only on the question of the rôle of the Communist Party in proletarian revolutions generally, but also as to what should be done to transform our Parties in the shortest time possible into fully developed **Bolshevik Parties**.

It must not be forgotten that in 1919—1920 we had in Germany and in Italy, Parties affiliated to the Comintern, but these Parties were unable to handle the tasks with which history confronted them, in spite of the tremendous and spontaneous movements of the masses, just because they were not completely **Bolshevik Parties**.

2. The Slowing Down of World Revolution and the Slogan of Bolshevisation.

Already at the Third world Congress of the Comintern, it became clear that we were on the eve of a more or less protracted development of the world revolution. This became still more evident at the Fifth Congress.

With the slowing down and protracted rate of development of the revolution, the slogan of Bolshevisation gains rather than diminishes in importance.

A Bolshevik is not one who joins the Party when the revolutionary wave is at its height. A Bolshevik is he who participates in the work of building a Communist Party during long years and if need be, decades, in years of depression, and in years of slow development of the revolution. This does not mean that those comrades who join the Party when the revolutionary tide is rising are inferior to those who already joined the Party previously.

A Bolshevik Party does not spring up suddenly when the revolutionary wave has reached its climax. A Bolshevik Party participates in all struggles and is formed during the process of such struggles. Right Wing and wavering elements in the Comintern and amongst those sympathetic, are of the opinion that the slogan of Bolshevising the Party is inopportune, since revolutionary events are not developing rapidly. They fail to understand that if the tempo of revolutionary development flags, if in connection with this, vacillation among certain sections of the proletariat increases, and the tendency in favour of counter-revolutionary Social Democracy increases, then the necessity for the slogan of the Bolshevisation of the Party becomes all the more actual. It is precisely under these conditions that Communists must work with greater perseverance to create a bulwark against this wavering, to retain the best elements of the proletarian vanguard in our ranks, increase their number, hold aloft the banner of the proletarian revolution, and in this way be capable in very difficult circumstances to weld together a proletarian nucleus fitted to prepare for, and organise the proletarian revolution under all and any conditions. The Communist Party must be sufficiently flexible to go underground,

when circumstances demand, in an orderly manner and without panic, not to surrender its legality easily, it must be able to combine illegal work with legal work, to utilise every, even the most insignificant "legal" hook in order to break through the limitations of underground work, it must take the lead in public mass movements, preparing the road for revolution, remaining all the time true to its fundamental revolutionary tasks.

In such circumstances, Communist Parties must bear in mind two fundamental dangers: on the one hand, the danger of becoming a small sect of "pure" Communists with "excellent" principles, incapable of establishing contact with the contemporary mass movements of the workers. On the other hand, there is the danger of falling to the level of an amorphous semi-Social Democratic Party, when the Party fails to combine the fight for winning over the masses of the workers, with the maintenance of loyalty to the principles of Communism. To be able to avoid the Scylla of narrow sectarianism and the Charibdis of amorphousness and vagueness means to facilitate the Bolshevisation of the Party.

3. Right Wing Dangers and Ultra-Left Deviations.

The slogan of Bolshevising the Party arose in the struggle against **Right wing dangers**. If the Fifth Congress of the Comintern had not so resolutely opposed the opportunist distortions of the tactics of the United Front and the Workers' Government, we would be confronted by the immediate danger of certain Parties of the Comintern degenerating into opportunism. The correct slogan of the Third Congress — "To the Masses" — has been interpreted in a number of countries so incorrectly for two years that the real danger arose of the independent tactics of Communism being substituted by a policy of "coalition" between Communists and counter-revolutionary Social Democracy.

The Bolshevisation of the Parties must first of all and above all be directed in the future against these right wing distortions which threaten to foil the historic mission of the Comintern.

But Bolshevisation is impossible without combating also the ultra-Left deviations which frequently are nothing more nor less than **opportunism turned inside out**. At the moment when all efforts of the bourgeoisie and Social Democracy are directed towards liquidating the "Communist menace" among the masses, the ultra-Left deviations objectively aid the pressure of bourgeois Social Democratic reaction. The mistake of the ultra-Lefts for example on the question of Communists belonging to reformist or reactionary trade unions, could absolutely destroy the Communist Parties for years to come. Russian Bolshevism also took definite shape in the struggle against both opportunism and petty bourgeois "Left" revolutionism.

4. Communist Parties and Bolshevik Parties.

Speaking generally, Communism, Marxism and Bolshevism are one and the same thing. "Communist Party" and "Bolshevik Party" are in themselves synonymous terms. In practice, however, they are not always the same thing. Several important sections of the Comintern had and partly still have to undergo a process of gradual evolution from left Social Democracy (in some cases from anarcho-sindicalist ideology) to genuine Communism, to Bolshevism. In a certain sense the whole work of the Comintern may be described as the Bolshevisation of the **Labour Parties**. The Communist International has incorporated into its ranks a considerable number of Parties, groups and individual comrades who formerly belonged to the Second International; this, of course, could not be otherwise. The Russian Bolshevik Party, too, was in the ranks of the Second International, which of course was unavoidable. But, owing to a combination of circumstances, the Russian Bolsheviks were able sooner than other Parties to break with the Second International. The objective revolutionary conditions in Russia helped Russian Bolshevism, under the leadership of Comrade Lenin, sooner than the others to take the form of a Bolshevik Party, i. e. of a genuine Communist Party. Even to-day it is possible to find in a number of sections of the Comintern, considerable

groups of comrades who regard themselves as Communists, but not Bolsheviks. Bolshevisation consists in making all the Sections of the Communist International and all their sub-sections communists, i. e. Bolsheviks.

5. Bolshevisation and the Concrete Conditions of the Struggle.

It must not be supposed, however, that there is a panacea suitable for the Bolshevisation of all the Parties of the Comintern. Genuine Bolshevism demands above all a precise estimate of all the concrete circumstances of place and time. The Parties affiliated to the Comintern may be divided tentatively into the following three groups:

a) Parties who are only just passing through a predominantly propagandist period and are taking the first steps along the path of rallying the broad masses around the banner of Communism;

b) Parties which are already in the zone of more or less acute fighting and who have the support of considerable sections (sometimes the majority) of the masses of the workers;

c) Parties which have already conquered political power and are in the period of consolidating that power.

The first group includes a number of Parties which are still relatively weak.

The second group contains Parties like the German, French, Czechoslovakian, Bulgarian and Italian Parties, etc.

To the third group, as yet, only the Russian Communist Party belongs.

The Bolshevisation of the Sections of the Comintern is the study and the application of the experiences of the Russian Communist Party in the three Russian revolutions and also, of course, the experiences of every other section which has engaged in serious fighting. All the Sections of the Comintern must study the tasks that confront them in the light of these experiences and generalise their own experiences. It would be a serious error, however, to apply mechanically the experiences of Russia to the other countries, an error against which Comrade Lenin already uttered a warning. In the experiences of the Russian Revolution there is much which Comrade Lenin described as of universal significance for other countries (Soviets, etc.). In his "Left Wing Communism" Comrade Lenin wrote: "We now have a fair amount of international experience which quite definitely indicates that certain fundamental features of our revolution are not merely local, not peculiarly national, not merely Russian, but of international significance. I speak here of international significance not in the broad sense of the word: not several, but all the fundamental and many secondary features of our revolution have international significance in the sense that it has influenced all countries. No, it is in the narrowest sense of the word, i. e. understanding by international significance the international application, or historically inevitable repetition on an international scale of what happened in Russia, that certain fundamental features of our revolution must be regarded as of international significance. . . . But, in the present historical moment, the situation is such that the Russian example shows to all countries something very essential in their inevitable and not distant future. The progressive workers in all countries have long ago understood, more frequently they have not so much understood as sensed this with their revolutionary class instinct. Hence, the international "significance" (in the narrow sense of the word) of the Soviet system and also of the principles of Bolshevik theory and tactics. . . . Of course, there is much in the experience of the Russian Revolution, which will not be repeated in other countries."

Comrade Lenin emphasised the peculiar conditions of the transition from capitalism to proletarian dictatorship in the various countries which arise from the peculiarity of the present epoch:

"Any Marxist", wrote Comrade Lenin, "if asked if the transition from capitalism to the dictatorship of the proletariat will be even and equally harmonious in all countries will undoubtedly reply in the negative. Evenness, harmony and proportion never existed, and never could exist in the capitalist world: each country developed prominently some particular feature or group of features peculiar to capitalism and the labour movement" ("The Third International and its Place in History").

Bolshevisation means the ability to apply the general principles of Leninism to given concrete conditions in a particular country. Bolshevisation means the ability to grasp at the principal "link" by which it will be possible to drag the whole "chain". This "link" cannot be the same in every country, in view of the

variety of the milieu and political conditions apparent in them.

Bolshevisation is a **prolonged and continuous process**, which has only just been initiated in the best of the European Parties of the Comintern. The work which confronts us in this sphere is enormous and demands many years for its accomplishment.

Part II.

Marxism and Leninism.

6. Marxism and Leninism.

The sections of the Comintern can become genuine Communist Parties in the present epoch only by rallying to the banner of Leninism.

It is a matter of course that under no circumstances is Leninism to be contrasted with Marxism. Lenin was the most eminent pupil of Marx. Without Marxism there is no Leninism. But Leninism enriched Marxism first of all with the experience of three Russian revolutions and also with the experience of a number of other revolutionary movements in the period between the beginning of the 20th century and the present day. Above all, Leninism enriched the general doctrines of Marxism by the solution of the following questions:

1. The theory of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution.
2. The conditions and the forms of realising the dictatorship of the proletariat.
3. The mutual relations between the proletariat and the peasantry.
4. The significance of the national question generally.
5. Particularly the significance for the world proletarian revolution of national movements in colonial and semi-colonial countries.
6. The role of the Party.
7. The tactics of the proletariat in the epoch of imperialist wars.
8. The role of the proletarian State in the transition period.
9. The Soviet State as a concrete type of proletarian State in that period.
10. The problem of social sub-divisions in the proletariat itself as a source of the division of the labour movement into an opportunist and a revolutionary tendency etc.
11. Overcoming both the Right Social Democratic tendencies and Left deviations in the Communist movement ("Left Wing Communism").

Marx and Engels summarise mainly the experience of the social movements in France, England and Germany. Leninism, which has its source in the doctrines of Marx and Western experiences, fought in the front ranks against the distortions of Marxism by Western European Social democracy (Lenin's fight against opportunism generally and against Kautskyism in particular) employing the method of Marx, it summarised at the same time the experience of the great revolutionary movements in the Near and Far East and on the frontiers of the Orient — in Russia, China, India, etc.

The first epoch of Marxism: from the "Communist Manifesto" to the death of Marx.

The second epoch — the epoch of the Epigones of "Marxism": from the foundation of the Second International to the outbreak of the imperialist war. This epoch, particularly in its first half gave proof of some strong phases: the formation of mass proletarian organisations, considerable educational work, etc. Taken as a whole, however, the '90's represent an epoch of the distortion of marxism. From 1907 approximately an international revolutionary wing of the labour movement began to be consolidated within the Second International.

The third epoch — the Leninist epoch. — Leninism commences approximately on the eve of the first Russian Revolution (1903—04) and in 1917 wins its first world historical victory.

Without Marxism there is no Leninism, but after what the leaders of the Second International have done with Marxism; after the "revision" of Marxism made by Kautsky and Co., under the banner of marxism (particularly the fight these renegades of Marxism conducted against the proletarian dictatorship in Russia) it must be said that under present conditions there can be no revolutionary Marxism without Leninism.

Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of monopolist capitalism. Imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions. The victory of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia, the growth of the proletarian and peasants movements almost throughout the whole world, the growing revolutionary movements for liberation of

the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, all this in toto represents the beginning of the world revolution.

Leninism obtained its first direct victory in a country with a predominantly peasant population (Russia). But just as the Russian Revolution arose out of the general international situation, so Leninism is a product of the entire international proletarian movement. Ridding Marx's appreciation of the great proletarian movements of the 19th century (Chartism, the Paris Commune) of the distortions of the opportunists, completing this appreciation by a Marxist criticism of the experiences of the growing new mass proletarian movements in Europe, America, and other parts of the world, weighing the great significance of the peasant and national revolutionary movements, which appeared with special force at the beginning of the 20th century, — Lenin developed the doctrine of Marx to a new level.

Leninism represents the consistent further development of the idea of the **hegemony of the proletariat** — in conditions when the dictatorship of the proletariat is beginning to take the place of the dictatorship of imperialism.

The view that Marxism is only theory and that Leninism is only practice is incorrect, Leninism is the theory and practice of Marxism in the period of imperialism, imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions opened by the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia. The Comintern has set itself the task of becoming an international organisation embodying the theory and practice of Leninism.

7. Bolshevisation and Revolutionary Traditions.

Bolshevisation does not by any means reject the heritage of previous generations of revolutionaries. The study of the history of the revolutionary struggle in one's own country and in other countries is absolutely necessary for conscious activity in a Bolshevik Party at the present day. It should not occur that a French Communist be ignorant of the works of Lafargue and the better works of Guesdes written when he was still a Marxist. It should not happen that British Communists are not trained to respect Chartism and are ignorant of the most important documents of the Chartist movement. German Communists must not forget the experience of the struggle conducted by the better sections of Social Democracy in the period of the anti-socialist laws. The better works of Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel must be used by the German Communists against the Social Democrats. Russian Communists must not forget the more brilliant pages of the activity of Plekhanov in the days when he was still a Marxist.

To bolshevise the Party means to enable it consciously to continue all that which was genuinely revolutionary and genuinely Marxian in both the First and the Second Internationals — on the basis of Leninism.

8. Bolshevisation and Certain Theoretical Errors Committed in the Communist Camp.

(Particularly Luxemburgist Errors).

The genuine assimilation of Leninism and its practical application in the construction of Communist Parties throughout the world is impossible without taking into consideration the errors of very prominent Marxists who strove to apply Marxism to the conditions of a new epoch, without being wholly successful in so doing.

Among these errors must be included those of the "left" Communists in Russia, the group of Dutch Marxians (Gorter and Pannekoek) and also those of Rosa Luxemburg. The nearer these political leaders are to Leninism, the more dangerous are those of their views which, being erroneous, do not coincide with Leninism.

The situation today is such that a number of Parties of the Comintern will find it impossible now to become genuinely Bolshevised unless they overcome for instance Luxemburgist errors, which owing to historical conditions, play an important part in the movement of the respective countries. Among the most important Luxemburgist errors of real importance at the present time, are:

a) The non-Bolshevik method of presenting the question of "spontaneity", "consciousness", "organisation" and the "mass". The incorrect estimation of conditions made by the Luxemburgists who in their time, under the influence of the experience of the German Social Democratic Party, which frequently hampered the revolutionary development of the class

struggle, were prevented from properly understanding the role of the Party in the revolution.

b) The under-estimation of the **technical side** of preparing for revolt hampered, and in some places even now hampers, the proper presentation of the question of "organising revolution".

c) The error in the question of attitude towards the peasantry. In the last article written by Rosa Luxemburg, after the suppression of the Spartakus rising in January 1919, she was on the verge of realising her mistake in underestimating the role of the peasantry. In a number of her previous writings, Rosa Luxemburg underestimated the rôle of the peasantry, i. e. presented the peasant question, not in the Bolshevik spirit, but made a number of ideological concessions to the Social Democrats.

In practice, similar Social Democratic errors in connection with the peasant question were committed by the **Hungarian Communists** while in power, by the **Polish Communist Party**, by the **Bulgarian Communist Party** in 1923, by the **Italian Maximalists**, by the pseudo-Left Communist Labour Party of Germany and are being committed now by a number of Sections of the Comintern.

d) Equally serious were the errors committed by Rosa Luxemburg and a number of Polish, Dutch and Russian Marxists on the **national question**. The repudiation of the slogan of self-determination of nations (the right to form independent states) on the ground that under imperialism it is "impossible" to solve the national question, led in fact to a sort of nihilism in the national question which extremely hampered Communist work in a number of countries.

e) The propaganda of the party-political character of **trade unions** as was insisted upon for a number of years by the Polish Party under the leadership of Rosa Luxemburg, was a great mistake which evidenced the failure to understand the role of the trade unions as organisations embracing all wage workers. This mistake seriously hampered and still hampers the proper approach of the vanguard to the working class as a whole. The mistake which a section of the German Communists made prior to the Frankfurt Party Congress, in 1924, on the question of the trade unions was of an analogous character.

While paying just tribute to the greatness of the work of Rosa Luxemburg, one of the founders of the Communist International, the Comintern believes that it will be acting in the spirit of Rosa Luxemburg herself, if it will now help the Parties of the Comintern to draw the lessons from the errors made by this great revolutionary.

Without overcoming the erroneous aspects of Luxemburgism, genuine Bolshevisation is impossible. Only Leninism can serve as the guiding star of the Communist Parties throughout the world. Every deviation from Leninism is at the same time a deviation from Marxism.

It is equally necessary to combat resolutely all deviations from Leninism in the sphere of so-called "pure theory" — philosophy, theory of political economy, etc.

The inadequate attention which some Parties devote to theory is the greatest hindrance to the genuine Bolshevisation of the Parties of the Comintern. As long as this "tolerant" attitude towards theoretical deviations etc., is maintained, genuine Bolshevisation of the Party is out of the question. **Trotskyism** is a particularly dangerous deviation from Leninism which is a species of Menshevism representing a combination of "European" opportunism and "Left Radical" phrases, thereby frequently concealing its political passivity. Trotskyism is no mere individual deviation towards Menshevism, but a system of fighting Leninism of many years standing. Neither is Trotskyism merely a Russian phenomenon but an international one. To realise Leninism in the Comintern, means to expose Trotskyism in all the Parties and to liquidate it as a tendency.

PART III.

Bolshevisation and Winning over the Majority of the Working Class.

9. Bolshevisation and the Slogan. — "To the Masses".

Social Democracy also created a mass movement, but that was a **Reformist** mass movement. Reduced to a general formula, Bolshevisation may be defined as the creation of a

mass proletarian revolutionary movement under the banner of the ideas of Marx and Lenin.

First of all and above all a Bolshevik is one who works among the masses. The slogan issued by the Third International Congress, — "To the Masses, — in order to win the majority of the most important sections of the proletariat" still remains in full force. The Fifth Congress did not only repeat this slogan, but on the contrary developed and lent it more profound significance.

10. Bolshevisation and Work in the Trade Unions.

Deviations on the question of work of Communists in trade unions conceal the greatest dangers for the work of really Bolshevising our Parties. Throughout the entire capitalist world, the trade unions represent the most important form of mass organisation of the proletariat. Other forms of mass organisation (factory councils, etc.), are extremely valuable and have certainly a great revolutionary future; but these new forms of mass organisation are just beginning to win general recognition among the masses of the workers. New forms of mass proletarian organisations like Soviets, only become feasible just at the beginning of the revolution. To foster the belief that Communists will be able, under the capitalist system to devise mass labour organisations other than trade unions is to abandon the realms of reality.

One of the most important integral parts of the doctrine of Leninism is the axiom of the necessity for communists to work even in the most reactionary unions. Communists have paid very dearly (the best example is Germany) for departures from this policy. Vacillation in this respect has resulted in the fact that the young Communist Parties throughout Europe have not yet properly commenced their work in the trade unions. One of the most important component parts of Bolshevisation consists in devoting to the work in existing Social Democratic and other trade unions (yellow, national-socialist, Christian and fascist) a hundred times more attention than they received hitherto. Only when this is done, can the monopoly in the hands of the reformist leaders (the labour bureaucracy) in the trade unions be really broken. Only if this is done will the trade unions really be freed from the corrupting influence of reformism which is striving to destroy the significance of the trade unions as reliable weapons in the class struggle. The same argument, of course applies to factory councils where they exist or wherever the possibility exists of creating them on a mass scale.

Communists will increase their influence and will gain authority over the workers by defending immediate demands: higher wages, defence of the eight-hour day, struggle against unemployment etc., and by conscientiously and boldly taking the lead in all conflicts against employers.

This attitude is all the more necessary since the Social Democratic trade union "leaders" systematically betray the interests of the workers in all countries and do not scruple to take sides with the capitalists to sabotage or make null and void strike movements begun in spite of them.

To enable Communists to take up a correct attitude in all movements which bring the workers into conflict with capitalism, Communist Parties must make a careful examination of all the factors of the concrete conditions of all such struggles: the nature of the business of the factory or factory groups, the bulk and genuineness of orders placed, the connection and mutual intertwining of the various factories, syndicates and trusts, the organised strength and capacity for resistance of the employers and also the strength of the trade union organisations and the readiness for the struggle of both organised and unorganised workers, the possibility of the strike spreading and its political consequences. All this is essential to enable Communists to be in a position to give exact directions and to ensure that they take the lead in all proletarian encounters with capitalism.

11. Bolshevisation and the Correct Tactics of the United Front.

The Bolshevisation of the Parties of the Comintern does not exclude, but really presupposes the application by these Parties of the tactics of the United Front. The ability to find a correct method of approach to the masses and to have a clear view of the tasks of the vanguard in relation to the whole class — are characteristic features of Bolshevism. The tactics of the United Front have been and remain an actual method of revolutionary agitation and organisation of the masses, i. e. a correct method of approach for Communists to the masses of the workers in the

present stage of the movement, when Social Democracy still has the support of the majority of the workers in a number of countries. The tactics of the United Front are by no means the monopoly of Right Wing elements in the Comintern. These elements may lay claim only to one thing: A monopoly of opportunist errors in the application of the tactics of the United Front. These tactics however themselves wholly and essentially appertain to Leninism.

The fight for the unity of the international trade union movement supported by the Comintern will be the principal fight in the next few years. The idea of the unity of the international trade union movement is beginning to gain ground among broad sections of the masses of the workers. The time is not far distant, when this question will become the most burning question in every trade union in every country.

The Comintern is only at the beginning of the application of the tactics of the United Front (and particularly the slogan of Workers' and Peasants' Government as interpreted by the Fifth International Congress). The discarding of the tactics of the United Front is incompatible with Bolshevisation.

12. Bolshevisation and Partial Demands.

"The Bolshevik Party is a Party of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and not "a Party of partial demands"; this is how the "ultra-Left" elements sometimes present the question. The Bolshevik Party is a Party of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and precisely for that reason it systematically puts forward partial demands and links them up with its revolutionary tasks in order to win over the majority of the proletariat — this is the reply of Leninism. The reformists take every opportunity to put forward partial demands as a substitute for genuine revolutionary struggle. Bolsheviks utilise every partial demand in order to enlighten the masses on the necessity for revolution, and in order, by means of concrete facts to make clear to the masses the impossibility of any radical and lasting improvement of their conditions within the capitalist system. Bolsheviks put forward every concrete demand around which the masses rally in the light of the struggle for the revolution. To refuse to put forward partial demands generally, is the abandonment of the tactics of the United Front and what is more than that, — it is a repudiation of the slogan, "To the masses".

Simultaneously Communists should prove by examples to the masses that it is really the Reformists who sabotage every earnest fight for partial demands, that only the Communist Party — because of its orientation — is capable of leading the workers in their struggle for their daily interests and understands how to protect the toiling masses from all attacks on their standard of living.

The repudiation of partial demands is incompatible with Bolshevisation.

13. Work Among the Workers Affiliated to the Second and Amsterdam Internationals.

In the majority of countries the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals in one way or another still have in their ranks considerable sections of the workers. The tasks of Bolshevising our own Parties undoubtedly include constant work among those proletarians who are still affiliated to the organisations hostile to us. The methods of work among these sections of the proletariat cannot, of course, be uniform and depend entirely upon the concrete circumstances prevailing in the given country or even in the given industry. But the obligation to conduct such work equally concerns all Parties affiliated to the Comintern.

14. Bolshevisation and the Youth Movement.

Communist Parties do not yet devote sufficient attention to work among the youth. Even in large Communist Parties there are scores of local organisations which have not yet been able to organise Communist Youth Groups in their respective localities.

One of the tasks connected with Bolshevisation, is to win over the whole of the working class youth in all countries, — that generation of the working class which grew up amidst conditions of world imperialist wars and the beginning of world revolution. While Social Democracy relies mainly upon the more bourgeois sections of the labour aristocracy, which arose in the peace epoch, the Communist Parties of all countries, on the contrary, among their other tasks, must strive to organise the whole of the proletarian youth of the new epoch under our banner.

15. Bolshevisation and Work Among Women.

The more profound a given popular movement, the more active are the women toilers in it.

The work of enlisting the hundreds of thousands and millions of women of the working class into the struggle, is also one of the most important premises of Bolshevisation. This Meeting of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Comintern declares that in this sphere our work is extremely unsatisfactory. The enlistment of proletarian women for active work and in the struggle is one of the premises for winning over the majority of the working class. Our victory in the civil war is impossible, if the proletarian women, the women workers, do not fight shoulder to shoulder with us, just as the building up of Communist society is impossible without the active, conscious cooperation of the women of the working class.

The Enlarged Executive, therefore, impresses upon all sections the duty of carrying out the decisions of the Fifth World Congress and of the Third Conference of Communist Women on this point. Work amongst women must be completely incorporated into general Party work, both organisationally and ideologically. Moreover, auxiliary organs or organisations (committees of action and of control, delegates' bodies, etc.) must be created to organise the masses of women under Communist leadership, to bring them under the influence of the Party and to maintain them in permanent contact with it.

16. Work Among the Unemployed.

The Communist Parties of all countries must devote most serious attention to work among the unemployed. In view of the attitude of the bourgeoisie and Social Democracy towards the millions of unemployed, the Communist Parties, by devoting proper attention to this work, could gain decisive influence among this section of the proletariat.

17. Bolshevisation and our Press.

A state of affairs such as that which exists in Berlin, Paris and Milan for example, where there is a comparatively extensive circle of Communist readers, but a comparatively small number of constant readers of our press, is intolerable. An analogous (and even worse) position is evident in other countries. Bolshevisation demands that our press becomes a popular press in the best sense of the word, i. e. that it penetrates into every working class home, and that every one who sympathises with us should read our newspapers. It is necessary to take measures both of an organisational and literary character in order to secure the permeation of our press into the very heart of the masses of the workers, and in this manner convert it into an instrument for the Bolshevisation of the masses. Questions of worker (and peasant) correspondents, the publication of wall newspapers, factory journals, the training of proletarian writers, etc., must receive the most far-reaching attention.

PART IV.

Bolshevisation and the Question of the Allies of the Proletariat in Revolution.

18. The Allies of the Proletariat in Revolution.

The basic attitude of Communists to the petty bourgeoisie as a possible ally of the proletariat in revolution is exhaustively and clearly defined in the classical works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin — from the "Communist Manifesto" down to Lenin's latest works.

One of the most important tasks of Bolshevisation consists in the proper application of this principle to the conditions under which a given Communist Party has to carry on its struggle.

One of the strongest points in Leninism, ensuring victory to Bolshevism in the revolution, has always consisted in the ability to discover a concrete ally for a given concrete task: in Russia — alliance with the entire peasantry against czarism, and subsequently alliance with certain sections of the peasantry against the bourgeoisie, etc.

Leninism always considered it one of its main tasks to estimate correctly what intermediate strata are suitable as allies of the proletariat in the given stage of revolutionary development, and what are the main demands which form a link between these strata and the proletariat in the given situation.

It is precisely because Leninism considers the problem of proletarian dictatorship a practical task of the immediate future

that it gives prominence to the question of possible allies for the working class in time of revolution as one of the most important immediate tactical problems.

Basically, Leninism subdivides the petty bourgeoisie into three groups: some strata of the petty bourgeoisie can and therefore must be won over in the capacity of direct allies of the proletariat, even if only temporarily; other strata must be neutralised; against the third strata (the upper section of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie) an energetic fight must be waged.

In a number of countries of Western Europe (for instance in Germany) considerable sections of minor urban office workers — clerks, officials, the technical intellectuals, etc., under the existing correlation of forces between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, may to a certain degree become the allies of the struggling proletariat. These sections could under certain circumstances play more or less the same role as the peasantry in certain stages of the proletarian revolution in Russia.

One of the most important component parts of Bolshevisation is the adoption of correct and skilful tactics with respect to the intermediate strata of the population which vacillate between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but sections of whom under definite conditions may partially throw in their lot with the working class.

19. Bolshevisation and Proletarian Policy Towards the Peasantry.

The Bolshevik Party is a Workers' Party. The doctrine of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is the fundamental teaching of Bolshevism. Yet the question of the peasantry as the class which is nearest to the proletariat and as the most important of all possible allies of the proletariat in the revolution, is of paramount importance to Bolshevism, prior as well as after the conquest of political power by the proletariat.

"The proletariat becomes a truly revolutionary class, truly Socialist in its actions, only by acting as the vanguard of all those who work and are exploited and as their leader in the struggle for the overthrow of the exploiters; this cannot be achieved without carrying the class struggle into the rural districts, without making the labouring masses of the countryside gather round the Communist Party of the urban proletariat, without the peasants being educated by the urban proletariat." (Comrade Lenin's Theses on the Agrarian Question, adopted at the Second Congress of the Communist International).

The fundamental partial problem of the Communist Parties may be summarised as follows:

1. Struggles of the proletarian vanguard against the Social-democrats for the capture of the majority of the proletariat.
2. Struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie, (imperialism) for the capture of the majority of the peasantry — in the final analysis this constitutes the basic problem of the tactics of the Communist Party.

The Leninist view of the role of the peasantry not only in Russia, but throughout the world is expounded in Comrade Lenin's resolution adopted by the Second World Congress of the Communist International. This document internationalises Leninist views on the role of the peasantry. It is one of the most remarkable and unsurpassed Leninist documents.

According to this resolution, the rural population throughout the capitalist world is divided into three groups which together form the majority of the countryside and which can, and therefore must, be won over by the proletariat.

"The toiling and exploited masses of the countryside whom the urban proletariat must lead into the struggle, or at least win over, are represented in all capitalist countries by the following groups:

First, the agricultural proletariat, the hired labourers (by the day, by the year and for the season) who have to earn their living by hiring themselves out to capitalist agricultural enterprises, and to industrial enterprises connected therewith.

Secondly, semi-proletarians or semi-peasants, i. e. those who earn their living partly by hiring themselves out to capitalist agricultural enterprises and partly by working on their own or rented plot of land which yields only part of the foodstuffs necessary for the maintenance of the family. This group of the rural working class population is very numerous in all capitalist countries. However, the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the Socialists adhering to the Second International do their utmost to ignore the existence of the position of this group of workers, partly deliberately deceiving the workers and partly submitting

blindly to customary petty bourgeois views and merging this group with the general mass of peasantry.

Thirdly, the small peasants, i. e. those who own or lease small plots of land, which are just sufficient to meet their requirements and eliminate the necessity of employing hired labour. This section of the rural population certainly stands to gain from the victory of the proletariat.

These three groups taken together form in all countries the majority of the rural population. Therefore, the ultimate success of the proletarian revolution is guaranteed not only in towns, but also in the country . . ."

One of the most important premises for the genuine Bolshevisation of our Parties is the systematic work necessary to carry out this resolution. First of all, it is essential for every worker, every rank and file Communist to know and to understand this resolution. Moreover, every section of the Comintern should consider it its foremost duty to familiarise the masses with the views expressed in this resolution and to take practical steps for its realisation. We must admit that the majority of Communist Parties has not yet taken this work seriously in hand.

20. Bolshevisation and Proletarian Policy on the National Question.

The national question in colonial and semi-colonial countries, and by no means in these alone, is to a great extent a peasant question, in as far as the peasantry forms the majority of the population of these countries. Bolshevik policy in the colonial question cannot be carried out unless the national question is properly presented. The experience of the last few years has shown that in various countries and under varying conditions, Communists make the same mistake, namely to underestimate the national question — a mistake which makes it impossible for them to win over to their side considerable sections of the population, which are at times of decisive importance. Nihilism and indifference in connection with the national questions (or above all concessions to the "imperialist" viewpoint of the dominant national group) have greatly injured the German Communist Party and some Balkan Sections of the Comintern, as well as the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, etc.

The resolution of the Second World Congress on the national question, together with subsequent decisions of the Communist International, give very clear theoretical and tactical directions to the Communists throughout the world on this question. There can be no Bolshevisation without a correct policy on the national question.

Part V.

Concrete Tasks of the Various Parties.

21. The Immediate Concrete Tasks of the Various Parties.

Approximately these tasks are as follows: (The most important points are given):

A. **The USSR.** At the present juncture the task of Bolshevisation must concentrate on the following.

1) **Complete Liquidation of Trotskyism as an internal Party tendency.** This liquidation is a primary condition for guaranteeing a correct policy for the RCP. on the following points: a) attitude towards the peasantry, b) complete supremacy of the Party in the State apparatus, in economic organs also during the present Nep period, etc.

2) In carrying out the absolutely correct and obligatory policy of the Party on the peasant question, to take all measures (inter alia with the help of the Dictatorship) for the systematic development of the elements of socialist economy, and to strengthen thereby the economic base of the proletarian dictatorship and to help forward the transformation of Russia from a Nep into a socialist country.

B. **Great Britain:** The Communist Party, in making its first serious efforts in the direction of becoming a mass Communist Party, must regard the following as its central task in Bolshevisation:

1) **Work in the trade unions.** Special attention to be paid to the Minority Movement; the masses to be imbued with the Marxist viewpoint on the connection between economics and politics. In view of the peculiar inter-relationships between the British trade unions and the Labour Party, the idea prevails in many trade union circles that the trade unions play the leading role and that the leaders of the Labour Party are so to speak only the executors of the will of the trade unions, — whilst in reality the contrary is the case.

2) **Agitation against imperialist tendencies** which have also become entrenched among the British labour aristocracy, (the colonial question) and especially adequate attention to the Irish question.

3) Establishment of a firmly-knit **centralised Party** organisation and liquidation of dilettante working methods.

4) Systematic application of the **United Front tactics.**

C. **France:** Bolshevisation at the present juncture implies the following:

1) Campaign for Trade Union Unity.

2) Establishment of trade unions of a more mass character generally; consideration of the fact that France has become very much industrialised during the past few years and that its working class has grown considerably in numerical strength. The existing trade unions, however, are as yet numerically very weak.

3) Establishment of the closest contact at all costs between the Party and the United General Confederation of Labour (CGTU.) on the basis of the tactics and policy outlined by the Comintern.

4) In spite of all former French traditions, establishment of a well organised Communist Mass Party. Forty to fifty thousand new members should be added to the Party.

5) Organisational consolidation of the mass influence which the Party exercises over the Paris workers.

6) Utmost efforts to be made to bring the influence of the Party in the most important industrial centres (Departments) up to the level of the influence of the Party in Paris.

7) Serious influence among the peasantry to be secured.

8) Anti-militarist propaganda to be carried on primarily through the peasantry and the Young Communist League.

9) Special attention to be paid to immigrant workers.

10) Energetic work to be conducted in the Colonies.

D. **Germany:** Here the task of Bolshevisation implies the following:

1) Liquidation of "Left" mistakes on the trade union question not only in theory but also in practice.

2) Party agitation and propaganda to be placed on a more concrete basis in order to terminate all vacillations whatsoever as to the admissibility of partial demands.

3) Application of United Front tactics, which in the present situation (exposure of the corruption of some of the most prominent Social Democratic leaders, etc.) promises to give good results.

4) Greater attention to the work of the **organised capturing of the masses**, (not only agitational campaigns in the press).

5) Greater attention to the work among petty officials, clerks, etc.

6) A practical treatment of the question of work among the peasantry.

7) Propagation of the slogan: "Workers' and Peasants Government" as interpreted by the Fifth Congress, i. e. in the revolutionary sense which excludes every opportunist interpretation of the slogan.

8) The adoption of every means to secure sound and normal internal Party development and the removal of all the effects of previous fractional conflicts, the firm maintenance of Party unity against any fresh attempts to create fractions.

9) Further struggle against all fresh deviations now when the political policy of the Party has become sufficiently consolidated and organised. This should be attained by means of an extensive ideological and political educational campaign to train fresh Party functionaries, by systematically enlarging the cadres of active Party workers, and by enlisting and assimilating still more than formerly the best forces of the former opposition elements, in as far as these comrades can be won over for loyal cooperation in the spirit of the resolution passed by the Party.

10) Execution of the political policy of the Party, while at the same time observing the methods of internal Party democracy, and conducting systematic educational work, so that through discussions, wide sections of the Party membership may become convinced of the correctness of the policy adopted by the Party.

E. **Czechoslovakia.** Here the process of Bolshevisation implies the following:

1) The raising of the fighting capacity of the Party, abolition of parliamentary-municipal opportunism, and generally speaking the liquidation of the Right tendency within the Party composed of people of the Bubnik type.

2) Inception of the campaign for the Federation of all trade unions not only in name, but in reality.

3) The Party must learn to conduct concentrated political campaigns, extending and developing its slogans in accordance with the development of the movement.

4) All efforts should be concentrated on obtaining unanimity based on Bolshevik lines at all costs in organisations such as those of Prague, Kladno, Brünn, etc.

5) Incomparably more attention should be paid to the Youth Movement.

6) A bolder and more revolutionary attitude towards the National and Peasant questions and more attention to organisational work on this field.

7) Special attention to the formation of Party cadres trained in a truly Leninist spirit.

F. Italy:

1) Still further increase of Party agitational influence on the masses of the workers, by means of breaking through the limitations of underground activity necessitated by Fascism.

2) Regular political campaigns to be conducted more systematically.

3) Trade unions to be permeated more effectively than hitherto and to develop the fight for Trade Union Unity in spite of the provocative attitude of the reformists, who have begun to expel members of the Communist Party.

4) Systematic work to be undertaken to establish, consolidate and capture factory and workshop committees.

5) The slogan of establishing peasant committees should not be the limit, but at all costs actual penetration right into the villages by means of the workers and the progressive peasants.

6) Greater attention to be paid to questions of Marxian ideology.

7) Struggle against all ideological deviations, against the doctrinaire and theoretical conceptions of Bordiga and against the reformism represented in Graziadei's economic theory.

G. Poland.

1) In spite of extremely difficult conditions created by terrorism and provocation, efforts must be made for the more effective permeation of trade unions and for the organisation of a campaign for Trade Union Unity.

2) Adoption once and for all of bold and decisive lines on the national peasant questions in a true spirit of Leninism.

3) Concentration of untiring attention on the need for giving the increasingly developing peasant movement a revolutionary organised character.

4) Greater attention to be paid to the establishment of a single centralised Party out of the various component sections — on the basis of a correct national policy.

This task also confronts a number of other countries, such as Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, etc.

H. America.

1) More intensive work must be conducted in trade unions and better organisation of our influence on them (Communist fractions).

2) Fusion of all national groups of the Party into a real homogeneous Party.

3) Greater attention to be paid to agitation connected with everyday conditions of working class life (application of United Front tactics).

I. The Balkans.

1) Presentation both of the peasant and national questions in their concrete form in the Balkans, and the role of imperialism in the Balkan countries from the Leninist viewpoint.

2) Utilisation of the experiences of the peasant and national movements in the Balkans to secure a correct attitude in respect of the peasant and national organisations.

3) Struggle for the liquidation of the illegality of the Communist Parties and of working class organisations, and coordination of legal and illegal activities.

4) Mobilisation of the Parties for the struggle for the immediate demands of the masses.

5) Consolidation of the Communist Parties under conditions of illegality. Introduction of more working class elements into their ranks and formation of united and energetic executives. Increased centralisation and strict discipline in the Parties.

6) Consolidation of Party influence in the trade unions and cooperatives. Struggle for Trade Union Unity.

7) Liquidation of fractional struggle by laying down correct political lines for the action of Communist Parties in agreement with the CI and by the methodical education of the rank and file Party members (Yugoslavia).

8) Coordination of the actions of the Communist Parties through the consolidation of the Communist Balkan Federation.

22. Bolshevisation and Anti-Monarchist Agitation.

It is erroneous to refrain from anti-monarchist propaganda on the ground that it is the bourgeoisie which actually rules under the aegis of the monarchy. Communists should lay stress on the slogan "Down with the Monarchy in Great Britain, in Italy, in the Balkan countries, etc. but also in Germany, Communists must be able to combine their anti-monarchist agitation with the everyday economic and political struggle. Bolshevism does not mean to refrain from republican-democratic agitation against the monarchy, but implies ability to combine this agitation with socialist demands and to explain to the workers generally the transformation of the revolutionary-democratic movement into the socialist movement.

23. Numerical Growth of Certain Communist Parties — Illegal Parties.

In a number of countries — in France, Germany, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Sweden, Norway and America, Communist Parties are working now under circumstances in which they could and ought to have increased their membership considerably. Such a numerical growth (its importance is at times under-estimated by Party leaders) far from hindering the Bolshevisation of these Parties, could on the contrary facilitate it.

Those Parties forced to work under illegal conditions must utilise every means to bring their organised influence to bear on the masses of the workers and peasants generally in an ever increasing degree. If every constitutional illusion — that is the illusion that legal activity will be tolerated by the bourgeoisie without an illegal organisation — is of extreme danger, still illegal parties must take advantage of every passing opportunity to group sympathetic workers even loosely together, in order to ensure a basis for legal Party work in the agitation and propaganda spheres.

Part. VI.

Bolshevisation and Organisational Questions.

24. Bolshevisation and Organisational Questions.

The most important premise of Bolshevisation is a correct Bolshevik policy, a policy enabling us to capture the masses. No organisational form will be of any avail without a correct Bolshevik policy capable of guaranteeing first and foremost correct relations between the Party and the entire class, between the Party and non-party workers. But even the best policy of a Communist Party will not be able to reach the entire Party membership and through these the masses if the Party lacks a well-knit and suitable organising apparatus. But on the basis of its revolutionary experience, Leninism has elaborated a whole system of views on various questions including the question of organisation, which are of the utmost importance for the Bolshevisation of the Parties.

The principle and fundamental organisational form of every Bolshevik Party is the factory Party nucleus. The old principle of organisation borrowed from the Social Democrats, according to which the Party is constructed on the basis of constituencies, convenient for parliamentary elections, is not acceptable to Communists. It is impossible to establish a real Bolshevik Party unless the organisation is placed on the basis of factory and workshop nuclei.

In addition to factory and workshop Party nuclei in such organisations as trade unions, factory and workshop committees, cooperatives, etc., one can, and in fact, one should proceed to the creation of a whole series of auxiliary and non-Party organisations: tenants, unemployed, ex-soldiers, etc. (with Communist nuclei within them). Bolshevisation demands that our Parties take advantage of every opportunity for making the network of workers' organisations as close and intertwined as possible. Advantage should be taken of every significant topic of the day to create auxiliary loosely formed organisations, provided they have vitality.

The initiative for the creation of such organisations must be taken by the Party Executives through Party members who then must take the superintendence of these organisations into their own hands. Communists should form Communist fractions in these organisations, which then receive directions from the Party executives.

The respective Party executives must pay special attention to work in the nuclei, establish a close connection with them, issue instructions to them, prepare and elaborate material for them and

make them participate in the discussion and decision of all political, economic and Party questions.

The campaign commenced for the reorganisation of our Parties on a factory and workshop nuclei basis should be energetically pursued and brought to a conclusion*) with as little delay as possible. But our Parties must not forget that this reorganisation in itself alone is not by any means complete Bolshevisation. It is only part of it. They must above all bear in mind that organisation of factory and workshop nuclei is only the first step, for the Party must imbue these nuclei with political life, provide them with trained leaders who must be recruited in the factories and workshops for this work. The nucleus should also be taught to adopt methods in its work capable of increasing the influence of our Party among the workers employed in enterprises, factories, and workshops, etc.

25. Bolshevisation and the Resolution of the Third Congress of the Communist International on Organisation Questions.

The resolution of the Third World Congress on the organisation question has by no means been carried out in its entirety. One of its most important paragraphs is that which deals with the necessity to conduct the work in such a way that every rank and file members of the Party should feel the obligation of working for the Party, and that the entire Party apparatus should gradually draw as many rank and file communists as possible into its work. The Enlarged Executive Committee of the Comintern draws attention once more to this paragraph of the resolution, and is of the opinion that it must be put into practice as a premise to ensure Bolshevisation. The Enlarged Executive draws the attention of the Communist Parties to the resolutions adopted by the Fifth World Congress on the question of organisation. It also endorses the resolution adopted by the organisation conference of the sections of the C. I. and recommends its application in every detail.

26. Bolshevisation and the Problem of Party Cadres.

In order to establish a Bolshevik Party, it is necessary to be able to build up in the course of years Party cadres fit for this work. Such cadres are formed not only by means of organised elections, but mainly by selecting suitable workers on the strength of their activity. The process of such selection is necessarily slow. From factory and workshop nuclei to the Central Committee of the Party only workers who have stood the test of political activity and struggle should be selected for these cadres. One of the foremost tasks of every Communist Party should consist in selecting very carefully the leading cadres among the more advanced workers distinguished by their energy, capability, knowledge and devotion to the Party. Communist cadres of working class organisers should be imbued with the idea that they are not preparing the revolution as a side issue, but that they have to give themselves up body and soul to the revolutionary struggle and must place themselves completely at the disposal of the Party. A Communist organiser must not resemble a Social Democratic "official". A Communist organiser must live and work among the masses — in factories, workshops and mines — always ready to be sent by the Party wherever he or she is most needed. These workers must be systematically helped to become real organisers of the masses, Party and trade union leaders.

The importance of the vanguard is enormous. But it stands to reason that the vanguard and the Party cadres, to do justice to their historic task, must really get into contact with the non-Party masses. A Communist Party which forgets this and holds itself aloof ceases to be a vanguard.

It is essential to impart a more working class character to the leading institutions of the Party. Working class leaders should be treated with patience and care and encouraged to work for their own improvement, given opportunities to prove their worth by the allocation of more important and increasingly responsible work.

27. Bolshevisation, Internal Party Democracy and Discipline.

The Bolshevik Party does not regard internal Party democracy as an abstract "principle" but presents the question concretely. The Estonian, or the Bulgarian Communist Parties,

*) There are cases when such reorganisation should not be forced, for example: small Parties in big industrial countries.

for instance, cannot apply internal Party democracy as the French or the British Communist Parties can. The German Communist Party cannot act in accordance with the methods of Party cleaning and the conditions of acceptance into the Party adopted by the Russian Communist Party. The forms of internal Party organisation must be subordinated to the fundamental interests of the struggle for proletarian dictatorship. Under all circumstances, however, the Communist Party must preserve a certain amount of freedom of internal Party criticism, must inculcate its spirit of equality among the members, the superior bodies of the Party must be attentive and helpful to lower nuclei, the principle of election must be maintained, etc. This will stimulate the activity of the Party masses and secure the cooperation of the lower bodies and all the nuclei of the Party in the political and organisational life of the Party, thus fostering initiative on the part of the workers in the Party.

Iron proletarian discipline is one of the most important premises of Bolshevisation. Parties displaying on their banners the device: "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" must understand that victorious proletarian dictatorship cannot be achieved without iron Party discipline — discipline which it takes years and years to acquire. For Bolsheviks it is not a case of reiterating the stereotyped Social Democratic phrases about the advantage of discipline in general, but rather of making workers realise that without exercising the strictest Party discipline, based on ideological power, and to maintain and consolidate proletarian dictatorship, that without such discipline civil war is doomed to failure.

28. Bolshevisation and the Party Apparatus.

One cannot have a centralised, well organised and strongly welded Bolshevik Party without a proper Party apparatus.

At present some sections of the Comintern are burdened with an unwieldy Party apparatus out of all proportion with the Party itself and therefore frequently bureaucratic. Other sections again have hardly any Party apparatus at all.

The Enlarged E. C. C. I instructs the Presidium in conjunction with the OrgBureau and the representatives of the respective Parties to devise measures to enable every one of the Comintern Parties to form for themselves an apparatus in accordance with the interests of the work.

29. Bolshevisation and Self-Criticism.

Struggle against what Comrade Lenin called "Communist Boastfulness" against smug self-content and conceit in the Communist ranks, is one of the most important premises of Bolshevisation. Without healthy self-criticism in our own ranks, dictated by concern for the interests of the proletarian revolution, struggle against overestimating our forces and successes, (but also against faint-hearted grousing) without realistic and sober estimation of the forces of the opponent — there can be no true Bolshevisation.

30. Scheduled Work and Control of its Execution.

In countries where the work of the Communist Parties can be carried out under normal conditions it is essential to elaborate a general plan of work for six or twelve months ahead, in order to learn to concentrate the forces of the Party on the main and fundamental tasks.

Instances may be observed where central and local organisations make many correct decisions, but are unable to put them into practice. It must become an integral part of all our organisations to keep control over the execution of all decisions made. It is better to make fewer decisions, and to ensure that they are actually executed. "Quality rather than quantity" (Lenin).

PART VII.

Bolshevisation and International Leadership.

The establishment of a homogeneous world Communist Party based on democratic centralism demands serious efforts on the part of all sections affiliated to the Comintern. Bolshevisation is incompatible with separate and federalist tendencies. The World Party of Leninism must not be welded by mechanical discipline, but by unity of Party will and Party action. It is absolutely necessary to eliminate all tendencies towards isolation, group sectarianism, and narrow circle psychology. Every Party affiliated to the Comintern must give its best forces to international leadership. It is essential to instil into the minds of the

masses the conviction that in the present epoch the great economic and political struggles of the working class can only be won if they are controlled on an international scale from one centre.

No Communist Party should recoil from illegal work. Illegality is a condition in which many Communist Parties must now work and which in the epoch of the increased intensification of the social struggles might extend to many Parties of the Comintern which today are still legal.

Every Communist Party must reckon with illegality as a possible and probable condition, and must be prepared to transfer to illegal work. Whenever the political situation becomes seriously acute, it must take the proper measures which will enable it to continue its work illegally after its organisation has been prohibited; it must keep its whole technical apparatus for illegality in readiness. But all unnecessary playing with illegality must be avoided and the Party must defend its legality to the bitter end.

On the other hand the Parties which are compelled to work illegality in readiness. But all unnecessary playing with illegality of conducting legal activity and for the extension of such opportunities.

The Party should not allow any form of legal activity to be taken from it (election campaigns, parliamentary activity, the legal press, factory councils, trade unions, educational societies, cooperatives, sick benefit societies, etc.). The masses of workers and peasants must become accustomed to protect the legal opportunities of their Party and to meet every attack of the bourgeoisie and the social traitors against these opportunities with mass demonstrations (strikes, demonstrations, etc.).

The principal basis of the activity of an illegal Party is strict Party discipline, which must be much more strict than that of the legal Parties. But this discipline should not be confounded

with bureaucratisation. Even under the most extreme illegality, there is still the possibility of Party democracy, freedom of discussion, and of election of all Party representatives. Any unnecessary limitation to this democracy would cause the separation of the Party from the masses, would make it pedantic and transform it into a group of conspirators. But once the Party officials have been elected, they must be able to count in all their activities on the iron discipline of the Party membership, and Party discussion may be carried on only until the Party comes into action.

Party discipline in an illegal Party also includes the strictest methods of conspiracy. The composition of the Party organs, the internal Party affairs and such like, must be kept strictly secret from the Party members. Any breach of conspiracy must be ruthlessly punished, by the dismissal of the responsible Party officials, Party trial and expulsion from the Party.

In the illegal Parties, more care must be exercised in the acceptance of new members. The moral value of the new Party members, their strength of character, etc. must be very carefully investigated. The behaviour of Communists under arrest, cross-examination and in prison is extremely important; such situations serve as the fiery ordeal for the firmness of a Communist and his devotion to the Party, and are of extreme importance for the authority of the whole Party. Especially during cross-examination a revolutionary must be doubly careful in his demeanour; every word carelessly dropped might endanger both the Party and the Communist movement.

One of the most important tasks of illegal Parties is the fight against spying and provocation. The most important weapon in the fight against provocation is to mobilise the opinion of the working class against it and to train the workers to react to all acts of provocation and denunciation with the most determined methods. In factories we must continually be on the watch to discover and drive out police informers.

Theses on the Peasant Question.

Introduction.

1. The general communistic line of policy towards the peasantry was outlined by the Second Congress of the Comintern in the Theses on the Agrarian Question written by Comrade Lenin. The Fourth Congress re-endorsed these theses and made certain conditions which arose out of the subsequent experience of the Communist Parties in the various countries. The Theses of the Second Congress remain to this day, the fundamental postulates which all the parties affiliated to the Comintern must follow.

2. To-day, the enormous importance of the peasant question for the proletarian revolution stands out in even still greater relief. The more international the communist movement becomes, the more clear become the prospects of the world revolution of the proletariat, the clearer stand the various shades of the concrete progress of the revolution, in which the peasant population of the colonies and semi-colonies and also the various sections of the peasantry, in the so-called "civilised" States, must inevitably play an important role. Insofar as the peasantry represents the enormous majority of the population of the globe, the question of the fight to win over the peasantry becomes one of the central questions of politics: both from the point of view of the fight of the proletariat for political power and from the point of view of consolidating this power and its economic basis. A question like the Colonial question, for example, is essentially a question of the relations between the town world and the rural world, which latter exists under the triple oppression of feudal landlordism, capitalist exploitation and national inequality.

3. The instability of capitalist relations brings to the front the question of the peasantry in all its acuteness also for the dominant classes, i. e., the bourgeoisie and the great agrarians. Almost in every country, in various ways utilising different methods and means, including social democracy, the dominant classes are really striving to carry out a peculiar sort of "tactics of united front" with the peasantry, to turn the latter against the proletariat. Relying first of all upon the more wealthy sections of the peasantry, the dominant classes strive, through these, to consolidate their influence along the whole peasant front, for the purpose of opposing this front to the front of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

4. On the other hand, with regard to the U. S. S. R. also, where the working class has managed to consolidate its domination, thanks to its alliance with the broad masses of the pea-

santry, and its leadership of the latter, the whole of the political staff of the bourgeoisie and counter-revolutionary quasi-socialist parties are gambling on the peasantry breaking away from the proletariat. Thus, current events, to a high degree, render more acute the question of the peasantry and confront the Comintern with the task of carrying on more active and thought-out work in this sphere. A distinct theoretical presentation of the agrarian peasant question and intense practical activity is more than ever a necessary condition for the future successes of the Communist Party.

I. The Proletariat and the Peasantry as Social-Economic Categories.

5. The proletariat is one of the fundamental classes of capitalist society. Deprived of the means of production, selling its labour power for wages, the proletariat largely works in conditions in which it is organised by the very mechanism of capitalist production. The conditions of its social existence (the diametrical opposition of its interests to the interests of the bourgeoisie, the absence of private property in it, the collective character of labour, and finally, its continuous numerical growth) make the proletariat the social class bearer of the Communist revolution.

6. The peasantry, which in the past was the fundamental class of feudal society, is not a class in the real sense of the word in capitalist society. Caught in the grip of the laws of commodity society, drawn into the orbit of capitalist exploitation, the peasantry, while preserving the more or less firm stratum of the working small producer, is continually undergoing a process of one stratum separating from another, scaling off, on the one hand, the stratum of agricultural labourers, forcing the surplus population into the towns where this class largely enters the ranks of the industrial workers, and on the other hand scales off an agricultural bourgeoisie which, to an increasing degree, changes its form of enterprises from so-called "worker" farms (cultivation by its own efforts) to farms of the capitalist type, i. e., to the systematic employment of wage labour. Thus, in capitalist society, the peasantry as a whole is not a class. However, insofar as we have a society in the stage of transition from relations of a feudal type to productive relations of the capitalist type, the peasantry as a whole is also in a contradictory position;

in relation to the feudal landlords, it is a class; to the extent that it is affected by capitalist relations and is being corroded by them, to that extent it ceases to be a class. For that reason, in countries where considerable remnants of feudal landownership exist, the peasants, whose interests as a class are in sharp contradiction to the interests of the landlords, may, at a definite stage of the revolution, as a single body, become the allies of the proletariat. Such is the situation first of all in the colonies and semi-colonies, and also in the economically backward countries of Europe, where the immediate question is still that of an agrarian revolution against feudal landownership, and which is only partly becoming capitalist.

7. The variegated character of social strata and even classes among the peasantry, the varying proportion of these strata and classes in the various countries, which is determined by the difference in the stages of economic development; finally, the variation that takes place in both the one and the other, according to concrete historical circumstances, renders the analysis of class relations in the rural districts particularly difficult and requiring particular care.

8. What principally causes the profound difference between the interests of the proletariat and the **Wealthy** peasantry are — the interests of **capitalist** property, i. e. the antagonism between the purchaser of labour power and the seller of labour power, between the capitalist and the wage worker. For that reason, in the process of the proletarian revolution, i. e., the revolution which abolishes capitalist property, the large peasantry becomes a reserve of anti-proletarian forces against the proletariat. However, in these countries where the immediate question is the agrarian revolution against feudal landownership, even the large peasantry may rise against the landlords.

9. What fundamentally divides the interests of the **middle peasantry** from the working class are the interests of private commodity production based on private property, even if conducted by the labour of the peasant himself. The interests of the seller of grain (the peasant) and of the purchaser of grain (the worker) along this line, are antagonistic. However, there are a number of points of agreement arising from the subordination of the middle peasantry to the process of capitalist-exploitation (usury, the policy of high prices conducted by the industrial Trusts, taxes, the oppression of the imperialist States, wars, etc.) which far exceed the points of difference with the proletariat. For that reason, these strata may be neutralised, and in those places where capitalist oppression is particularly powerful, or where it is complicated by feudal oppression, the middle peasantry may even march together with the proletariat.

10. The differences between the **small** peasantry and the proletariat also arise from the character of private commodity interests. However, the proportion between the points of agreement and the points of difference are altogether different in this case from that of the middle peasantry. The small farmer frequently has to buy grain, and also not infrequently acts as a temporary wage-worker. The **fundamental** interests of the small peasant consequently run along the line of fighting the big capitalists. For that reason, the small peasantry may be attracted to the side of the proletariat and prove to be its determined ally.

11. The differences between the **rural poor** and the proletariat arises from the private property owned by the rural poor. But these differences are quite insignificant, and are wholly overshadowed by the community of interests between the two classes. Being independent only in form, this stratum is really wholly dependent upon capital, and represents a working class, exploited by capital. Consequently, they take the side of the proletariat, and represent, in a concealed form, the reserves of the latter.

12. The **agricultural labourer** represents a section of the proletariat. However, this stratum possesses a peculiar feature, which not infrequently hampers its struggle against the capitalist system. An objective reason for this is the scattered character of agricultural labourers in the labour process and the large "patriarchal" element in rural relations. These special conditions hamper the understanding of class interests and converts the agricultural proletariat into a "backward" stratum of the working class. It is self-understood that it is the task of the proletarian parties to win this class over first of all.

13. The attitude of the proletariat towards the small, and to a considerable extent (particularly in agrarian countries) to the middle peasantry should be that of alliance and leadership. This is a specific betwixt-class relation, which, while not removing class distinctions, is nevertheless based upon community of interests in the fight against the large landowners and capitalists. It assumes various forms, and finally, from a definite point after

the capture and consolidation of proletarian power and its economic basis, dissolves itself in proportion as class relations generally begin to die out.

Consequently, it is necessary to present the problem as a whole, historically.

II. The Agrarian-Peasant Problem in the "Organic Period of Capitalism" (prior to the war of 1914).

14. In the majority of capitalist countries, at the time when the problem of capturing political power was not yet a pressing one for the proletariat, revolutionary Marxists first of all had to disperse petty-bourgeois illusions, theoretical prejudices and incorrect views concerning the process of capitalist development. In contra-distinction to the opportunists, the Marxists always defended the technical-economic advantages of large scale production, the law of concentration and centralisation in agriculture, the inevitability of the class differentiation of the peasantry, and the capitalisation of agricultural production generally.

15. The fundamental point of view in that epoch was the forecasting of the future paths of capitalist development. Revolutionary Marxists first of all had to break down the theory of so-called "non-capitalist development" of agriculture, which consisted of the doctrine of the alleged completely special paths of development of agriculture in contradistinction to the development of industry.

16. This struggle, conducted by revolutionary Marxists against the petty-bourgeois utopia, consisted in severely criticising the idea of agrarian and agrarian-co-operative socialism which asserted that land reform or agricultural co-operation will be the lever by which capitalistic relations will be overcome, that co-operation will develop into socialism etc. Marxists had to expose this doctrine, which concealed the fact of the universal degeneration of agricultural co-operation into collective enterprises of a capitalist type, their becoming more and more grafted to the general economic apparatus of the dominant classes and inevitably falling under the guidance of the big agrarians and capitalists.

17. The Marxists were obliged ruthlessly to expose the sentimental petty-bourgeois attempts of petty-bourgeois utopians to minimise the fact of the class differentiation of the peasantry, the growing class struggle in the rural districts, wage labour relations, etc. The removal of obstacles from the path of this growing class struggle in the rural districts, was the principal "standard" of practical politics in that period.

18. In those countries where, taken as whole, the problems of bourgeois revolution had been solved already, Marxists were obliged, as Engels has already pointed out, "resolutely to stand on the side of the small peasantry", defend it from all kinds of exploitation arising in the process of capitalist development, and assist it to emancipate itself from capitalist influence. This task of defending the interests of the small peasantry was either not fulfilled at all, or fulfilled from the point of view, not of fighting against capitalism, but for strengthening capitalism (the Revisionist wing of the Social Democratic Parties).

19. In those countries where the problems of bourgeois revolution have not been solved, (for example, Russia in 1903) Marxists, in combatting the petty-bourgeois Utopia of capitalism coming to an end without the dictatorship of the proletariat, also had to stand for the complete abolition of feudal manors, for the confiscation of land and its transference to the peasantry for the purpose of most completely and widely developing the future struggle for socialism on the basis of the most "free" (i. e. eliminating remnants of feudalism), development of capitalism.

III. The Agrarian-Peasant Problem on the Eve of the Seizure of Power by the Working Class.

20. The period of proletarian revolutions gives rise to the conditions in which the working class and its party must inevitably, from the point of view of correct revolutionary strategy, radically change the method of presentation of the question. While in the previous periods, the Party of the revolutionary proletariat, in order to achieve the most complete development of the class struggle, aided the removal of the obstacles to the free development of capitalism and collected the forces of its own class, at the present time the task ahead is the direct breakup of capitalist relations, and the question of a class ally becomes particularly acute. Consequently in this period, everything must be subordinated to the task of the capture of political power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is a ne-

cessary, fundamental and most important condition for the progress of society towards socialism.

21. In countries with large-scale capitalist production, the proletariat must strive to convert the manorial estates, cultivated with the aid of wage labour, into State enterprises. However, the technical economic advantages of large-scale production in agriculture should not prevent communists from dividing up large estates (the size of the parts should be determined by the system prevailing in the country) for the benefit of the small and sometimes of the middle peasantry, if that is called forth by revolutionary necessity. In order to achieve socialism — which is large-scale, rational production, with all the technical economic advantages of the latter, — it is necessary to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat which, in the majority of countries, cannot be established without the direct aid of the small peasantry, and the neutralisation of the middle peasantry. The unfavourable experiences of the Hungarian, Italian and Polish movements and the favourable experiences of the Russian movement show that to commit errors in this respect is positively fatal.

22. The question of utopias concerning non-capitalist development presents itself differently. As under the dictatorship of the proletariat the framework and direction of social development radically changes, it is necessary for Communists, in the period directly prior to the seizure of power, to concentrate their criticism of petty-bourgeois parties not from the point of view of their anti-capitalist utopias, but from the point of view of their capitalist utopias leading to compromises with the bourgeoisie and to the practical betrayal of the interests of the small peasantry.

23. Similarly, the presentation of the question is altered with regard to colonial and semi-colonial countries. As the dictatorship of the proletariat in the most important industrial countries creates the conditions for a different type of development in the former colonies, so the fundamental tasks is the fight, not against anti-capitalist, pro-capitalist and other utopias, but to criticise all half-heartedness in the struggle against foreign capital and feudal landlordism and to give to the movement the maximum breadth and scope.

IV. Presentation of the Question after the Conquest of Power.

24. With the conquest of power by the working class, with the expropriation of the capitalists and landlords, with the nationalisation of the most important strategical points of economic life (banks, large industries, transport, etc.) a radical change takes place in the conditions of economic life generally and in rural life particularly, — including also the conditions of development of peasant agriculture.

25. These new conditions render possible the non-capitalist evolution of peasant economy. This development, although in contradictory forms, may now proceed through co-operation to socialism, for the co-operative organisation of peasant farms, (which under capitalism, — if they have any vitality at all — are converted into capitalist enterprises, because they are dependent upon capitalist industry, capitalist banks and capitalist economic environment generally), under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship develop a system of other relations depending upon proletarian industry, proletarian banks etc. In other words, if under capitalism they became grafted to the capitalist economic organisations, under the new conditions, — if a proper policy is conducted by the proletarian State — they will become grafted to the system of socialist economic relations.

26. It is understood, of course, that the process of "grafting" will be carried out only as a result of the conflict of various economic forms, which will reflect the conflict of classes. The proletarian State, actively supporting the socialist forms of economy and the corresponding economic tendencies, and assisting these forms in the employment of high technique, must regulate the capitalist relations, which must inevitably arise, in order, finally, to secure the victory of socialism. Consequently, the policy of the proletarian State is a mighty instrument, with the aid of which the proletariat — in the conditions of its dictatorship — continues its class struggle. In the conflict between two principles, two tendencies, two antagonistic class forces, — the principles of socialism versus the principles of capitalism — the proletarian State is an absolute condition for the victory of socialism.

27. Equally, it becomes possible for colonial countries to "leap across" the stage of capitalistic development, if the developing revolution of the proletariat secures to the latter the domination in powerful industrial centres. Marx has already pointed out the

theoretical possibility of "leaping across", if a victorious revolution of the proletariat has taken place. This does not mean that there will be no capitalist development in those countries at all. The whole process will proceed in contradictory forms and the capitalistic form will inevitably protrude itself in the process of this development. But on the other hand, there will be a powerful tendency of a socialist character, which will determine the process as a whole.

28. The guiding principle for the dominant proletarian party should be: get on well with the peasantry. It must be distinctly understood that this problem cannot be evaded, for the peasantry represents the majority of the population of the globe, and the specific gravity of the peasantry in production is still enormous. It is possible to get on well with the peasantry only when the economic policy of the proletarian State bears in mind the private-economic stimulus of the small producer, and starting out from this, it gradually leads to organising the small producer towards continually improved forms of collective economy.

29. Carefully bearing in mind the differentiation of strata among the peasantry, and guaranteeing the constant growth of the socialist elements of economy; directly financing various forms of collectivism, aiming at developing co-operation, etc. freed from bourgeois influence, the proletarian State and the dominant proletarian party must unite, and in every way support the organisations of agricultural labourers, the rural poor and the middle peasants as a counter balance to the rising new bourgeois capitalistic strata of the peasantry.

30. The economic alliance between the working class and the peasantry, or definite strata of the peasantry, must be based upon the active aid rendered by industry, which must develop its productive forces to the stage when, finally, it will be more advantageous to the peasantry than capitalist industry.

31. The relations between the working class and the peasantry, in the period of proletarian dictatorship, is a relation as between allies. The working class "constituting itself as a political power" concludes an agreement with, "relies upon" the peasantry (the small peasantry, in certain countries the small and middle peasantry or sections of the middle peasantry). Co-operation with the peasantry does not in the least imply sharing power with it. However, to the extent that the peasantry is actually drawn into the process of socialist construction, and in this undergoes social retraining — it will be necessary to proceed to attract the progressive elements of the peasantry into the apparatus of the State. The peasantry will constantly approach closer to the proletariat and the class differences will become more and more obliterated. The soviet form of the proletarian dictatorship, as the experience of the Russian Revolution has shown, is precisely such a form of State organisation which, on the one hand, preserves its proletarian class character, and on the other hand, renders possible the continually increasing attraction of the peasantry into the process of socialistic construction.

32. The Communist Party must distinctly understand that the whole period of proletarian dictatorship has its own special laws: with a favourable process of development, class contradictions, at a certain point of time, begin to be reproduced in a diminishing degree, while socialistic elements increase in an evolutionary manner; the proletariat directs its policy, not towards the break up of the social whole, but towards its consolidation. Meanwhile, hostile bourgeois forms are gradually transformed (through co-operation and through the growth of all forms of collective combinations, etc.). This peculiar law of development lies at the basis of our tactics for this period.

33. The ultimate aim of the movement is to organise large, collective agricultural production, to abolish the antagonism between town and country, to overcome the backwardness of agriculture, which under capitalism was one of the laws of its development.

V. The Present Period and the State of the Agrarian Peasant Question.

34. The war and the progress of events after the war, in a number of countries, were accompanied by a decline in productive forces and a disturbance of the former relations between town and country. The economic power of the countryside, as the producer of foodstuffs, was increasing exceedingly. At the same time, the specific gravity of the rural classes, particularly the peasantry, in society rose also.

35. One the other hand, the shock to the economic regime as a whole, and the enormous widening of the intellectual hori-

zons of the peasantry, which took place during the war and the post-war revolutionary ferment, extremely increased the activity of the peasantry — including the poor and middle peasantry — and also its bourgeois sections. Finally, the undermining of the power of imperialism to a high degree intensified the colonial movements in which the peasants play an important role.

36. The world agrarian crisis, which arose as a result of the breakdown of world economy — and one of its reflections, the "scissors", arose partly as a result of the policy of high prices, practised by the monopolistic organisations of the capitalists. This crisis seriously affected the peasantry, and in some places (for example, United States) caused mass ruination among them.

37. All these phenomena gave rise to most varied forms of peasant movements. In countries of a backward agrarian type, (Roumania, Poland, Esthonia, Hungary, not to mention pre-revolutionary Russia, etc., etc.) we had, and partly still have to this day, agrarian peasant movements, which at times assume clearly revolutionary forms. In other countries the struggle assumed other forms and sometimes the peasantry formed a bloc with the landlords (demands for high grain prices, protective tariffs etc.) and where even the leadership was in the hands of the landlord classes. On the other hand, the "scissors" in the agrarian crisis in the United States gave rise to a movement against the policy of the trusts, which ruined the peasantry by charging monopoly prices for the products of industry. In a number of countries, peasant movements arose as a consequence of the increased exploitation of the latter by usury and commercial capital (wholesale purchasing companies and banks). In those places where the general state of economic disorganisation led to serious failure of the harvest (for example in certain parts of Germany) movements of the small peasantry arose demanding aid in various forms. Finally, after the stabilisation of the currency, the burden of taxation, the burden of the unproductive expenditure of imperialist States assumed great significance; the danger increased of fresh wars breaking out in which the peasantry stand to lose more of their number than other class of social stratum.

38. On the grounds of this broad, although to a high degree mixed and heterogeneous movement, there have recently appeared new phenomena in the sphere of organisation of the peasantry. Here it is necessary to observe, as a most interesting phenomenon, the rise of governments (for example, the Stamboulisky Government in Bulgaria) and semi-peasant governments (Esthonia, Latvia, etc.). Also we have the extraordinary growth of all kinds of peasant organisations (numerous parties in Poland and Czechoslovakia; the rise of new organisations in Germany; the strengthening of peasant organisations in the Balkans, the rise of the farmers' movement and the new LaFollette Party in the United States etc.); and the attempt to establish international organisations ("The Green International").

39. Almost everywhere is observed a process of differentiation within peasant organisations; the small peasantry gradually separates from the general peasant organisations, and emancipates itself from the leadership of the rich peasants and large agrarian elements (the Left Wing farmers in Bulgaria, the "Independent Farmers" in Czechoslovakia, the "Emancipation" in Poland, the working peasants' organisations in Germany, certain farmers organisations in the United States etc.). In this connection, there is the growth of the influence of the Communists among the peasantry.

40. Bourgeois agrarian circles at the present time are exerting all efforts to retain the peasantry under their influence. The agrarian reforms (Roumania, Poland, Baltic States, Czechoslovakia, etc.); the financial aid given to co-operatives; whole series of minor concessions; protective tariffs, etc. these represent the main forms these efforts take. This feverish effort on the part of the dominant classes imperatively calls for the energetic activity of the Communist Party among the peasantry.

VI. The Peasant Movement and the Communist Parties.

41. The most elementary problem to be solved by the Communist Parties is that of studying the agrarian question in their respective countries and in "their" colonies. Very little has been done hitherto in this respect, and neither the daily press nor the periodicals deal with this question to the extent that is necessary.

42. The principal aim of the work of the Communist Party is to emancipate the respective strata of the peasantry from the influence of the bourgeoisie and the landlords. In agrarian countries having considerable remnants of feudalism, the agrarian question should be given first place. It is necessary to follow the concrete progress of agrarian reforms, ruthlessly to criticise their

half-heartedness and bourgeois character, and the fact that they ignore the interests of the poorest sections of the rural population etc., and as against this method of "solving" the agrarian question to put forward our own revolutionary solution (the confiscation of the landlords' land, etc.).

43. In the majority of countries having large capitalist cultivation, our agitation and propaganda should centre round three questions: the question of taxation, the question of trust prices of the products of industry, and finally the question of the pressure of Imperialist States and future wars.

44. It is totally incorrect to contrast slogans following along this line to the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat or the slogan of workers' and peasants' government, which generalise our fight for influence over the peasantry. It is necessary to remember that the peasantry must be brought to the side of the proletariat exclusively on the ground of its practical, direct and obvious interests. All nihilism in these questions is intolerable and unbolshevistic.

45. Similarly incorrect is it to start out from the assumption that reduction of taxation for the peasantry implies increased taxes for the proletariat. We must draw the very opposite conclusion in our work: As both the peasantry and the proletariat are interested in reducing the burden of taxation, they should jointly fight against the Imperialist State. It is precisely the question of taxation that brings the peasantry face to face with the whole apparatus of the bourgeois State, and thus it serves as a bridge for the presentation of the question of the workers' and peasants' government.

46. On the question of the prices of articles of urban industry, it is necessary to raise the slogan of an energetic campaign against the power of the industrial trusts which inevitably arises under capitalism. The fight against trust profiteering should serve to bind the proletariat and the peasantry in a common struggle against monopolist capital.

47. A very important question, concerning which it is necessary to conduct propaganda and agitation, is the question of war. In spite of the fact that the war has strengthened the position of the rural districts, nevertheless, it imposed the greatest losses upon them (loss of life, direct material destruction, etc.). On these grounds there arises in some places a peculiar peasant anti-militarism (for example in France). Every effort must be made to support this movement and develop it into active struggle.

48. In the colonies, all these questions exist, but in a more acute form: the oppression of feudal landlordism and land hunger, high prices, excessive taxes and dues and the menace of war. All this is still further complicated by the additional exploitation by foreign capital and national oppression. Consequently, the task of the Communist Party to unfold the battle in all these directions.

49. Throughout the whole work of the Communist Parties among the peasantry it is necessary to bear in mind the heterogeneous character of the peasantry. The tactics outlined by the Second Congress towards various strata of the peasantry must serve as a basis in the solution of the concrete questions of the present day. At the same time it is necessary strongly to emphasise the fact the communists do not in the least threaten small and middle sized property, but that they desire to relieve this property from the burdens imposed upon it by the usurers, the capitalist creditors, the landlords, the bourgeois State etc.

VII. Work among the Peasantry and our Attitude Towards Peasant Organisations.

50. In those places where various strata of the peasantry are organised in the same organisation under the leadership of the landlords and capitalist "peasants" (Grossbauer in German, Kulak in Russian, etc.) the Communist Parties must strive to emancipate the small peasants (and where possible the middle peasants) from their leadership. If it is impossible to capture such organisations, i. e., to overthrow the landlord leaders (and such is the case in the majority of cases) then efforts should be made to form separate organisations of the small peasantry and all its strata, able to march with the proletariat. For this it is necessary to adopt the tactics of a bloc between the Communist Party and the small peasant unions.

51. In those capitalist countries where the small peasantry is badly organised or not organised at all, efforts should be made to organise them in the form of peasant unions, peasant committees etc. in which the Party should wield influence through Party fractions. The formation of special, political peasant parties by the Communists is inadvisable and cannot be recommended. Moreover, by peasant unions, irrespective of the names they bear,

should be understood, broader organisations than political parties in the special sense of the term. These Unions have no definitely defined programmes, discipline or strict organisational forms. For that reason they permit, on the one hand, of embracing a larger section of the masses, and on the other of the existence in their ranks of various political tendencies and shades.

52. Where the peasantry is organised in political parties, heterogeneous in class composition, the Communist Party must support the left small-peasant wing and at the necessary moment, facilitate its organising independently.

53. The Communist Party should *form a bloc* with the small peasant parties and strive to bring it under its intellectual influence, everywhere advocating the idea of the necessity for an alliance between the workers and the peasants as the necessary pre-requisite for the triumphant struggle of the toilers against the exploiters.

54. The Communist Party must devote serious attention to the industrial organisations of agricultural labourers and employ these organisations as its base in the villages. As far as possible, these organisations must be closely connected with the trade union organisations of the industrial proletariat, on the one hand, and with the small peasant organisations on the other. The affiliation to the latter is quite permissible, as long as the independence of the former is preserved.

55. Where the peasant question is bound up with the national question, the Communist Party must devote special attention to the latter. To ignore the national aspect, in such cases would not only be a political error but a political crime.

56. Propaganda and agitation among the peasantry must serve as a means for drawing the latter into the common struggle. It is necessary to call the attention of all Communist Parties to the need for conducting energetic work in this direction. Particularly should reference be made to the necessity for action in parliament on this question.

57. All the Parties must direct their work towards securing the affiliation of the peasant organisations to the **International Peasant Council**. It is the duty of the Parties to help the growth of this International Peasant organisation, to help in extending and intensifying its work, in organising the study of the peasant question; the really scientific investigation of the problems of the peasant movement etc.

58. Throughout the whole of the work among the peasantry, the Communists must do everything to avoid **social democratic deviations** (passivity in the peasant question on the one hand, and engaging quick remedies and surrendering all Maxian positions on the other) and also populist (democratic) deviations (obliterating lines of demarcation between the proletariat and the peasantry, glossing over the question of the separation of strata among the peasantry, the absence of the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat). The Communist must everywhere explain to the peasantry that, as the experience of all revolutions have

shown, the peasantry is inevitably defeated and deceived whenever it attempts to act as an independent third power without the alliance with, and guidance of the proletariat. The experience of the so-called peasant governments (Stamboullisky) similarly have shown that the peasantry is unable to hold power. Consequently, only the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the peasantry can really guarantee the victorious struggle of both classes against the exploiters. Communists will be able to fulfil their tasks only if they will be guided by the doctrines of the relation between the working class and the peasantry, as drawn up by Comrade Lenin.

Conclusion.

59. The present period of history may be quite justly defined as the period of desperate struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, not only to capture the backward sections of the proletariat, but also broad strata of the peasantry. Those Communist Parties who fail to understand the fundamental disposition of class forces, will consequently fail to understand the enormous danger which threatens the proletarian movement in the event of the bourgeoisie being able more strongly to attach to itself broad strata of the peasantry.

60. It is absolutely absurd to speak of bolshevising the Communist Parties without real work being carried on in the sphere of the struggle for the masses of the peasantry. The non-Bolshevist and even anti-Bolshevist deviations observed in some Communist Parties are expressed, first of all, in the failure to understand the importance of agrarian peasant problems and the questions of the colonies connected with them.

61. It is necessary to understand that at the present moment it is not a question exclusively or even principally of conducting propaganda on behalf of the measures we will adopt after we have seized power, but of active and real efforts to gain influence among the peasantry by means of real, economic and political slogans on the basis of which it is necessary to enlist the peasantry into the fight against capitalism.

62. Relying on the rural districts, in the first place, upon the agricultural proletariat, the propertyless and small peasants, the Communist Party must already at the present time conduct energetic work directed towards neutralising the middle peasantry. The circumstance that the middle peasantry may permanently come over to the side of the proletariat under no circumstances should serve as a pretext for ignoring this work at the present time. The difficulties connected with it call, not for passivity, but on the contrary, exceptional concentration of effort on our part.

63. Only by conducting such a policy at the present time, can the Communist Party prepare for the victory of the proletariat in revolution and for that link between the working class and small agricultural producers, on the basis of which alone will it be possible successfully to advance towards socialism in the conditions of the proletarian dictatorship.

Resolution on Unity in the International Trade Union Movement.

The profound response which the campaign for unity has met among the wide masses of the proletariat strikingly confirms the policy laid down by the Fifth Congress of the Communist International. The development of the class struggle under existing conditions is intensifying the desire for unity and strengthening the interest of the working class masses who are not under communist influence in the organisations which are unselfishly and consistently fighting for the restoration of international unity among the trade unions. The Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International therefore regards it as essential to insist upon the necessity for a systematic and determined fight for unity, since the fight for unity is a fight for the masses against the bourgeoisie and its henchmen.

The Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International attributed extreme importance to the movement for closer contact between the **British and Soviet Trade Unions**, which it regards as a proof that the cause of international trade union unity is beginning to assume practical shape.

The Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International welcomes the work of the **Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Unity Conference** and calls upon the workers of all countries, whatever their politics, to give determined and energetic support to the Anglo-Soviet trade union collaboration and to work indefatigably for the restoration of unity in the trade union movement.

Resolution on the Discussion in the Russian Communist Party.

The Enlarged Plenum asserts that Comrade Trotsky's conduct, which served as the cause of the outbreak of a fresh discussion in the ranks of the Russian Communist Party, signified an attempt to revise Leninism and to disrupt the leadership in the Russian Communist Party.

The Enlarged Plenum asserts that this action was supported by all the forces hostile to Bolshevism. Inside the Comintern, it was supported by all the Right Wings in the Communist Parties, by those elements, whose tactics have been frequently condemned at International Congresses, as being semi-social democratic. Outside the Comintern, this action was supported by a number of persons who have been expelled from the communist ranks (Levi, Rosmer, Monnatte, Balabanova, Höglund and others).

Finally the social-democratic and bourgeois press did their utmost to take advantage of Trotsky's conduct.

Consequently, objectively, this action was not only an attempt to disrupt the ranks of the Russian Communist Party, but caused the greatest injury to the whole of the Comintern.

The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. declares that it wholly associates itself with the resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party in both the part giving an estimation of the principles of Trotskyism and the part indicating the measures taken.

The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. is of the opinion that the Russian Communist Party must continue in the future to put up a similar resistance against all attacks upon the Leninist theory and practice. The Plenum welcomes the educational campaign by the Russian Communist Party and considers that an educational campaign of an equally high level against anti-Leninist deviations, should be conducted by the Communist Parties of other countries.

The Plenum is of the opinion that only by maintaining complete unity of leadership, can the Russian Communist Party fulfil its great historical mission to the end. Every attempt to shake this unity must cause extreme injury to the whole of the Communist International, and will therefore meet with the most stern and determined condemnation on its part.

Resolution on the Czechoslovak Question.

1. The crisis in the Czechoslovakian Communist Party is by no means a casual episode, but rather an **expression of the struggle which the Right elements in the Communist International** have been conducting for many years against Leninist strategy and tactics. In Czechoslovakia the struggle is aggravated by a number of specific causes, the sources of which are to be sought in the composition of the Party itself and the national conflicts proceeding within it. In spite of the symptoms of a certain stabilisation of Capitalism lately observed internationally, the economic position of Czechoslovakia is not becoming stabilised. New frontiers, which cut across the united economic territories of pre-war days, the national struggle, the continual formation of new national states since the war, all this is retarding the process of capitalist stabilisation in Czechoslovakia. The attempt of the bourgeoisie to solve the contradictions by means of the brutal exploitation of the toiling masses and by placing the whole burden of taxation upon the shoulders of the workers and peasants, is being opposed by the proletariat and is aggravating the class struggle between labour and capital in Czechoslovakia. The recent demonstrations against the high cost of living in Czechoslovakia and the growing strike movement in Moravian Ostrau show that the temporary calm which reigns in Europe does not exclude the possibility of an offensive on the part of the working class on this sector of the international front. Recognising the mood of the working class, the Czechoslovakian Communist Party through its Central Committee called upon the masses to come out on to the streets and thereby wrote one of the best pages in the history of the Czechoslovakian working class movement. The fact that at that very moment a crisis broke out in the Czechoslovakian Communist Party clearly points to the source of that crisis. At the very moment when the working class masses were called upon to come out on to the streets, the Right elements represented by Bubnik and his small following in the Party dealt the working class a blow in the back, and attempted to disorganise its attack and break the workers' ranks. The Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International characterises the conduct of Bubnik under such circumstances as an act of political treachery, and wholly endorses the decision of the Central Committee and its PolitBureau to expel him from the Party. At the same time the Enlarged Executive Committee desires to point out that the crisis in the Czechoslovak Communist Party began to develop more acutely not with the expulsion of Bubnik, but when a number of responsible comrades within the Central Committee committed the political error of not acting with sufficient determination against the Bubnik group. Bubnik is endeavouring to take advantage of that support in order, under the pretext of a so-called moral cleansing of the Party, to undermine the confidence of the Party masses in the Central Committee, to discredit

its members and its political policy and to swamp the political discussion in petty scandals and personal attacks. The Enlarged Executive Committee notes that at a moment when the concentration of forces was required in the fight against the Right danger, the Control Commission of the Party itself became objectively the weapon of fractional warfare. The whole conduct of Bubnik subsequent to his expulsion from the Party demonstrates that Bubnik was able to exploit the action of the Control Commission in order to undermine the confidence of the working class masses of the Party.

2. The second cause of the crisis in the Czechoslovak Communist Party is to be sought in the **composition of the Party**. The Czechoslovak Communist Party is a great mass organisation 75 percent of the members of which were formerly social democrats. The fact that the composition of our Party in Czechoslovakia contains the basic proletarian cadres of the former social democratic party, that we actually succeeded in winning over to the banner of Communism the best and honest elements in the ranks of the working class, and in isolating the social democrats from the proletariat, represents one of the greatest merits of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in comparison with other sections of the Communist International. But, at the same time, these old cadres brought with them not only many years fighting experience, not only excellent organisational training but also certain social democratic prejudices which are hindering the Bolshevisation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. The Bolshevisation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party does not merely mean fatalistically to recognise the fact and to bend before it, but to carry on an active and determined campaign within the Party against the burden of the social democratic heritage. This task has not been understood by a section of the leaders of the Party, who instead of a frank and friendly criticism of errors and deviations, in fact, submit to their influence and are carried away by them and artificially hinder the recovery of the party. The Enlarged Executive Committee believes that only by wide political discussion within the Party and by bringing all its errors to light will it be possible to overcome the crisis in the Czechoslovak Party most successfully and beneficially. On the other hand, only in the course of the mass action of the Party will it be possible seriously to test its cadres, to effect a selection of the best revolutionary elements and to cleanse it of social democratic traditions. The Party, without running the risk of ossification and loss of fighting capacity, cannot ignore the new and young sections of the proletariat who are bringing fresh fighting energies into the ranks of the Communist Party. Only by a synthesis of the two generations, by an organic fusion of them within the one organisation, will it be possible to create fighting cadres and to lead them firmly and bolshevistically.

3. The third cause of the crisis is the existence of **national antagonisms**. The Czechoslovak Communist Party is made up of workers of various nationalities. The struggle which these nationalities are carrying on outside the Party involuntarily penetrate into the Party, poisoning the Party atmosphere and facilitating the formation of anti-Communist deviations. The Party cannot ignore the fact that there are many nationalist illusions and prejudices among the Czech workers, who during the course of many years have felt the yoke of nationalist oppression and who as a result of the European war obtained national independence in the Czechoslovak State. The process of Bolshevisation and training of the Czech proletariat in the spirit of internationalism is proceeding much more slowly than among the proletariat of regions occupied by national minorities who are suffering not only from capitalist exploitation but also from nationalist oppression. It would be a misfortune for the Party if it were to construct its tactics solely in relation to one section of the proletariat. Such tactics would lead to the breaking of organisational contacts within the Party and would intensify the Party crisis. To know how to combine the various rates of Bolshevisation of the Party, to bring the Czech toiling masses up to the level of the vanguard — such is the immediate task in healing the crisis within the Czechoslovakian Party. The Enlarged Executive has to record that the leading Czech comrades did not fight with sufficient energy against the nationalist survivals within the Czech working class and calls upon them, as well as the leading comrades in other national groups to work amicably together to eliminate the spirit of national exclusiveness and for the international training of the Party and the working class masses.

4. In these complex circumstances **two groups formed themselves within the Czechoslovak Communist Party**, the mutual struggle between which considerably hampers the normal development of the Party. The task of the Communist International in this conflict has been, and is to diminish the intensity of the struggle and at the critical moment to intervene as an authoritative body and to prevent the disintegration of the Party upon national or other lines. The Enlarged Executive of the Communist International has to observe that the Communist International and its representatives have played only such a role and that the accusations of mechanical Bolshevisation made against the Communist International are totally without foundation.

5. The **danger menacing the Czechoslovak Communist Party from the Right** found expression in a political document presented to the Enlarged Executive Committee by the leaders of the Brunn organisation, in which the Brunn provincial committee advances political arguments in an endeavour to justify its disorganising tactics as expressed in the arbitrary seizure of the Party organ and in denying the Central Committee the right of guiding the local organisations. The Enlarged Executive has to observe that this document represents a political platform which contradicts all the decisions of the Fifth World Congress and the Third Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. The political deviations of the leaders of the Brunn organisation are expressed primarily in the Menshevik social democratic conception of revolution and of a fatalistic conception of the role of the Party in it. The authors of this memorandum believe that the Party should simply register revolutionary events without playing any part in them or assuming the initiative action. To reduce the role of the Party to purely "khvostist" (dragging at the tail) tasks fundamentally contradicts all the principles of Leninism. It is a revival of old social democratic conceptions which have been condemned by the whole course of the Russian revolution and the struggle of the international proletariat. The Communist Party cannot renounce its organising role in the revolution and cannot confine itself to a passive following of events. Such fatalism must inevitably lead our Party to continuous defeats.

6. Furthermore, particularly harmful and opportunistic are the tactics which are recommended by the Brunn provincial Committee with regard to mass demonstration at the very moment when the Czech workers came out into the streets, the Brunn Provincial Committee demoralised them by Menshevik arguments about the impossibility of openly demonstrating until the army has come over to the side of the people. Quite apart from the fact that the recent demonstrations in Czechoslovakia categorically refute all opportunistic views regarding mass demonstrations, the history of revolutions provides numerous examples proving the contrary to what is argued in the Brunn memorandum. If

our Communist Parties were to follow the example of Brunn they would never be able, under present conditions to organise a single serious mass demonstration. If the Russian Bolsheviks had adopted such a point of view on the eve of the February Revolution, 1917, the Russian comrades would never have been able to capture power or even to overthrow czarism.

7. Not less harmful, from a political point of view, is the protection, which the Brunn provincial Committee gives in its memorandum, to Bubnik, who was expelled from the Party. The Enlarged Executive is of the opinion, that to defend Bubnik, now, after he has established an organ intended to combat the Communist Party, after he has convened meetings for the purpose of demoralising the workers, is a political crime against the Communist Party, worthy of the severest condemnation.

8. Similarly harmful are the tendencies revealed by the Brunn Provincial Committee in relation to giving a working class character to the leading apparatus of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, 98% of the membership of which is composed of workers, has the right and is duty bound to place at its head the best proletarian elements standing on the position of the Fifth International Congress, and the Third Congress of the Communist Party.

The Enlarged Plenum of the Executive of the Comintern observes that the minority on the Central Committee did not take sufficiently determined action against the right wing deviations contained in the Memorandum of the Brunn Provincial Committee and takes note of the declaration of the minority of the Central Committee that it absolutely dissociates itself from the political platform of the Brunn leaders.

9. The Enlarged Executive cannot ignore the **speeches of Comrade Kreibich** at the meetings of the Czechoslovak commission and at the Enlarged Executive. Kreibich's attempt to defend Bubnik after the latter's expulsion is evidence of the fact that within the Czechoslovak Party there is a group, which in fact, is continuing the Bubnik policy towards the Party. In reply to Kreibich's threats of a split, the Enlarged Executive gives him a final warning and considers that such speeches and conduct on the part of a member of the Communist Party are intolerable.

10. Following from what has been said, the Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee, taking its ground on the resolutions of the Fifth International Congress on the political prospects, on tactics and in national politics, re-affirming the correctness of the policy and tactics of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, instructs the latter, within the period of four months, to arrange and convene a Party Congress, which shall finally liquidate the elements of crisis within the Party. The Central Committee must make its preparatory campaign centre around the fight against the right deviations observed in the Brunn memorandum and against all those who directly or indirectly, will give political and organisational support in the Party to such views. Being of the opinion that one of the defects of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is that it tacitly ignores most important tactical problems of the Czechoslovak and international labour movement, the Executive Committee of the Comintern recommends to the Central Committee to open an extensive discussion in the Party of the most important questions of interest to the labour movement of Czechoslovakia. Furthermore, condemning the Brunn platform and the disruptive conduct of the Brunn provincial Committee, the Enlarged Executive of the C. I. recommends that a Party Conference be convened in Brunn within the next three or four months, for the purpose of removing from the Party leadership, individuals standing on the position of the Brunn memorandum. At the same time the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern appeals to all the members of the Party, by every means, to guard the unity of the Party and to put up a determined resistance to all those who attempt to break that unity. It instructs the Central Committee of the Party, which guards this unity, to carry out the decisions of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern and not to hesitate to employ the severest measures, against all those who will act against these resolutions and again revive the crisis in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. But at the same time, taking into consideration the abnormal position in the Party, the Enlarged Executive is of the opinion that in the event of divergence of views arising between the

majority and the minority of the C.C. in connection with questions of expulsion from the Party prior to the next Congress, decisions shall be made only with the sanction of the Presidium of the Executive of the Comintern.

In order to create normal conditions in the Brunn organisation during the period in which preparations for the Congress are

being made, the Enlarged Executive instructs the Presidium, in conjunction with the Central Committee of the Party, to devise provisional measures for the establishment of normal conditions in the Brunn District Organisation, to operate until the District Party Conference and the National Party Congresses are held.

Resolution on the American Question.

1. General Situation.

American capitalism has temporarily overcome its crisis. Masses of workers, who in the last few years took up the struggle against the arbitrary reduction of their standard of living have been defeated in tremendous labour struggles and have been subjected to the heaviest yoke. Masses of small farmers, who were in a state of ferment because of the agricultural crisis, have been expropriated. At last the wide open price "scissors" was able to be closed in conformity with all the laws of capital; only in so doing the scissors cut these farmers off from their property. The requirements for the expansion of industrial export could, it is true, not be complied with in an adequate degree, but instead of this, new paths for the export of capital to impoverished Europe were opened. American finance capital has thus not only rescued its profit and its power on the home markets, but has won the position of the biggest shareholder among the world capitalist powers. It is now more powerful than ever before.

These victories of American capitalism have not been won without paying a big price. Even the Dawes Plan, which from the standpoint of Wall Street, appears as a ladder to world monopoly, is likely to draw American capitalism into a policy in which it stands to lose much more than merely its interest in German gold marks. It will involve it more and more deeply in the contradictions and crises of European capitalism and also in the imperialist world arena in conflicts and struggles for markets, for interest, for oil, colonies and power.

Furthermore, class relations in America are developing in a direction menacing to capitalism. The increased pressure of exploitation has forced large masses of workers to the point where class-consciousness inevitably awakens even amongst the most politically backward wage slaves. The quality of exploitation which has been greatly extended, is changing more and more the former heterogeneity of the American working class. It is true that capitalism is still able to bribe millions of skilled American workers by positions of privilege, but the circle of this privileged class is growing smaller and smaller. Mass unemployment as a permanent social institution and the mass proletarianisation of the small farmers, form a fruitful ground for the revolutionising process germinating in the depths. On the whole the situation of the American working class is at present far from being pregnant with revolution; it is different however, from what it was ten years ago.

The strengthening of the centralised government power, which interferes in the most brutal fashion in the everyday struggles of the working class, is an important factor in the increasing acuteness of the class struggles and in the acceleration of the crystallisation of class-consciousness. The cessation of immigration from Europe, the influx of hundreds of thousands of ruined proletarianised farmers (farmers of American origin who speak English, possess political rights and who will offer an energetic resistance to the exploitation and oppression of the trusts) as unskilled, badly paid workers, into the large towns and industrial centres, represent an important change in the structure of the American proletariat.

It is true that the majority of the American workers do not yet feel any fundamental change in their position. But the developing trend of this position has undergone a fundamental change. This change is only very slowly and with difficulty being understood by the masses.

2. The process of the development of political independence of the American workers,

which commenced after the imperialist war and has continued under varying forms from year to year, is the political expression of the changed tendency of development of the class situation of the working class. This process is, however, still moving forward slowly and hesitatingly. This may be explained

by various specific American causes and also partly because the American workers have a privileged position in comparison with that of workers in other countries. In no other capitalist country have the workers to overcome such internal and external obstacles in the beginning on their way to political independence. It is true that the time is already past when the reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L. could sell the entire vote of the organised workers just as it pleased to the highest bidder of the two capitalist parties. The political position of leadership of the agents of capital at the head of the A. F. of L. is in part undermined; in part paralysed by the anti-capitalist sentiments of the masses, but it is far from being eliminated.

The opposition of masses of organised workers to the continuance of their political bondage to the capitalists originally became apparent in various indefinite forms (for instance, in a section of the organisations affiliated to the C. P. P. A. here and there in the labour unions, etc.). However, it was clearer and more definite in the Farmer-Labour movement, which led in 1923 to the foundation of Farmer-Labour Parties in many States, and rallies considerable masses around its standard. The Communist Workers Party played, as we know, an effective part in this movement, and for a certain period even set the pace in it.

Prior to the last presidential election, however, the petty-bourgeois liberal opposition movement led by La Follette came to the forefront and irresistibly captured the mass sentiment of the semi-conscious, anti-capitalistically inclined workers and farmers.

3. The LaFollette Movement

as a genuine petty-bourgeois phenomenon was of a two-fold nature: on the one hand, it was an objective symptom of the disorganisation in the camp of the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, in the prevailing crisis of American capitalism its objective purpose was the support of capital; to divert as a political safety valve the awakening class-consciousness of the proletariat from the consolidation of its independent class movement. Gompers understood this and allied himself with LaFollette. The semi-conscious labouring masses, however, saw in LaFollette, a standard bearer against Big Business and followed him blindly, for the Farmer-Labour movement still lacked political independence in such a degree. The majority of the workers in this movement desired the formation of a Labour Party, but they did not yet demand an independent proletarian class policy, they preferred rather to accept the guardianship of an opposition party of the petty-bourgeoisie. The path of the proletariat can even lead through such false roads in its first steps towards its constitution as a class.

4. The Fight of the Workers Party against LaFollette for the Labour Party Movement.

As was to have been expected at the beginning, LaFollette determinedly rejected any community of interest with a Farmer-Labour Party to be organised with the collaboration of the Workers Party, and he succeeded in isolating the Communists from the masses in the election campaign. For its part, the Workers Party opposed La Follette just as unflinchingly even though without prospects of much success. It must be recognised that in the elections La Follette gained an important victory. That does not mean that the tactics of the Workers Party were not correct. They were correct; our Party only met with a defeat which was not to be avoided under the given circumstances.

After this defeat a certain confusion became apparent in the ranks of the Workers Party. It seemed to the majority of the CEC and many comrades that the La Follette movement had paralysed any mass movement for a Labour Party for a long time to come. For a time after the elections it really appeared that even the masses who had previously supported

the formation of an independent national-Farmer-Labour Party, wanted no other Party besides that of La Follette. In this situation the majority of the C. E. C. of the Workers Party drew the conclusion that the former chief slogan of the Party "For the Formation of a Farmer-Labour Party" had to be abandoned as useless, and the Party for the time had to concentrate its attention firstly on the unity of the fight for immediate concrete demands and upon the immediate strengthening of its own ranks.

Important and very symptomatic phenomena in the La Follette movement have already proved that this conclusion was incorrect. At the first opportunity in which a decision upon the formation of a La Follette Party was to be arrived at, at the conference of the CPPA. (the most important organisation in this movement) the adherents of the new Party split on the question of the form of organisation. Whether the Party should be built up on individual membership — as La Follette demanded — or on a basis of collective affiliation. La Follette feels a very comprehensive fear of the preponderance of powerful labour organisations in his Party, but these latter are not inclined to make a renunciation of their influence through the Bye Laws. This struggle as to the form of the organisation is of course an expression of the class differences and antagonisms in the La Follette movement. Immediately after this split of the Conference of the CPPA., the Executive of the Socialist Party came out into the open with the slogan "for the formation of a Labour Party", with collective affiliation. The Socialist Party was also up to now one of the pillars of the La Follette movement, and since it is now against the La Follette Party on this question, this is of much more significance than the former platonic play of the Socialist Party with the Labour Party slogan. Numerically this reformist Party is now very small, but it has considerable ideological influence amongst the trade union officials.

In view of these facts there can scarcely be any doubt that in the near future the problem of the Labour Party will even more than before be an actual, even the most important political question on the agenda of many trade unions and other labour organisations. The Minority of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party was right in having confidence in the vitality and future of the Labour Party movement. The Workers Party must now do its utmost to further this movement.

5. Tactics in the Fight for a Labour Party.

Not the rejection of a struggle for the Labour Party, but an adjustment and further development of our tactics in this struggle are called for, by the present situation in America. Our slogan itself should now be revised in so far that we no longer agitate for a "Farmer-Labour Party" but only for a "Labour Party", since in the changed conditions the premises for the formation of a joint Party of workers and small farmers are lacking.

The Communists need not demand nor even expect that the Labour Party will immediately be a revolutionary, radical party of workers, in which the Communists will take the lead. In this respect the slogan has been put somewhat too narrowly by the Minority of the CEC. Communists should clearly realise that the formation of a Labour Party signifies for the affiliated workers only the **beginning** of their political emancipation and of the development of their class consciousness. It is very possible that in America, at first there will be for a time at the head of the Labour Party similar reformist labour traitors to those, in England, or even worse. Nevertheless, the formation of such a Party may for a time represent a definite step forward in the American labour movement, and the Communist Party is obliged to participate in this Party, if only the latter permit in a sufficient degree freedom of criticism and agitation on the part of the affiliated organisations.

Why must the Communists act thus?

Because it is their task to remain in **closest contact with the masses** in order to influence the latter continually in a revolutionary sense. However, mere agitation and propaganda, even the best, is not sufficient for the revolutionary influencing of the masses. For this purpose the masses require their own revolutionary **experience**. They can obtain essential elements of this experience in the Labour Party, even though the latter be directed by reformists. In that case the masses, after their disappointments will learn to know the reasonable role of the petty-bourgeois reformists, and that is very important. Further-

more, they will gain valuable experience in the independent political organisation of the working class.

The ideas of **class** and **class consciousness** should be inculcated as thoroughly as possible in the masses of the American working class by the preparatory campaign of the Communists for the formation of a Labour Party. This is not to be done abstractly, for it would have no success in this manner, but in immediate connection with the most urgent everyday demands of the workers. The Communists should induce the working masses to present these demands to the reformists and to the leaders of the La Follette organisations and to call upon them for joint action with the Workers Party. Should they accept or reject such proposals — sooner or later the traitors will expose themselves. After every such instance, the masses of workers will, however, more and more clearly realise the necessity of an independent class Party of their own. **And if they do not yet recognise the Communist Party as this class party they will still feel that the slogan of a Labour Party is the consequence of all their everyday demands, and thus this slogan gains vital mass power.**

This fight will require persevering energy and much patience. It would be a mistake for us to begin too prematurely with the **organisational measures** for the formation of the Labour Party. This could only give the La Follette crowd a trump card in their fight against the Labour Party movement and aid them to reconsolidate their own ranks. We, however, should on the contrary drive an ever deeper wedge into the La Follette movement. Of course, the entire organised mass of workers will not join upon the formation of such a Labour Party, but at best only a section. But the conditions for the successful formation are not ripe as long as there is not a firm mass basis of trade union support. The majority of the Central Committee was quite right in emphasising this point. If the Workers Party were merely to be combined with the organisations sympathising with it, no Labour Party could be formed from this combination.

It may be that the mass support for the idea of the Labour Party will reveal itself so strongly in some cities and even in some states, that organisational measures can be taken without further hesitation. The formation of the National Labour Party should be advised against until at least 500,000 organised workers are definitely won over to it.

After the formation of the Labour Party, what the Executive emphasised a year ago should be kept in mind, that it is not advisable to endeavour to split off a Left Wing from the Labour Party as soon as possible in order to transform this split off section into a mass Communist Party. We must rather endeavour to win increasing masses in the Labour Party for the revolutionary point of view and to let this left wing grow within the Labour Party and at the same time to take the most advanced and revolutionary elements into the Workers Party. This policy is to be observed both prior to the formation of the Labour Party and subsequently.

6. Strengthening and Consolidation of the Workers Party.

The fight for the formation of the Labour Party in no way excludes propaganda and recruiting activity for the winning and training of new members for the Workers Party. On the contrary, this work should be carried out simultaneously with the utmost intensity. The role of the Workers Party as the Communist Party of the country should neither be hidden nor diminished.

As the Workers Party is at present constituted, it is still altogether too weak to collaborate with sufficient effectiveness in the proletarian mass movement of this great country. This natural weakness was particularly evident in its election campaign. As long as the Workers Party does not at least double its membership (and especially increase manifold the number of its American members), it cannot be said that it fulfils the requirements of an American (legal) Communist Party. Under no circumstances should it underestimate in any way the importance of such "minor" tasks, as the circulation of the "Daily Worker" and the establishment of new organs, the development of the "Workers Monthly", the publication and distribution of good propaganda literature, the organisation of Party schools, recruiting weeks, etc.

The organisational structure of the Party still lacks to a considerable extent the necessary cohesion. This is to be improved primarily by systematic, thorough concentration of the Party members of all the different nationalities in central-

sed organisations. The formation of international branches and factory nuclei is therefore on this account the most urgent organisational task of the Party.

7. Communist Trade Union Work.

In America the regular work of Party members in the trade unions must be considered now, as the fundamental work on which depends the success of the Party in most of the other fields, and especially the struggle for a Labour Party. Therefore, any tendency to neglect or minimise the importance of this work must be energetically combated. In every single trade union organisation Party members must be organised into a Communist Fraction and must act unitedly on every question. These fractions get their instructions from the Party and work under its control. Communist fractions must take an active and energetic part in all mass economic struggles.

The Party must give energetic support to the Trade Union Educational League and do its utmost to develop and extend it. Efforts must be made to convert the TUEL into a great opposition movement of the Left bloc. All attempts of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy to isolate the TUEL, to undermine its influence in the trade unions and to limit the membership to Communists and their closest sympathisers must be energetically resisted.

8. Party Work on the Other Fields.

Although the Party is at this time not to propagate the formation of a common party for workers and farmers, it must not only work among the agricultural labourers, but must at the same time do its utmost to get into contact with and exercise control over the poorest tenant farmers and farmers who are in debt; for they are destined to play a very important role in the American revolution as future allies of the proletariat. Neither does this modification of the main political slogan of the Party mean that the Party is not to work in the already existing Farmer-Labour Parties. The task of the Communists in the existing Farmer-Labour Parties is as follows: they must organise the industrial elements as a special wing, which should be drawn at an opportune moment into a Labour Party and form a bloc with the organisations of the poor farmers.

The Party must pay more attention and give more support to the work of the Communist Youth. It is moreover of the utmost importance for the Party to make at last in good earnest a beginning with the work among the working women. The women members of the Party and non-Party working women are to be drawn into revolutionary work which the Party must organise. The existing non-Party proletarian women organisations are not to be done away with, but should be made use of for revolutionary work.

9. Struggle against Lore's Opportunism.

Lore represents a non-Communist tendency in the Workers Party. Already the decision of the Ecce in May 1924, pointed out that Comrade Lore's ideology was the ideology of the Two and a Half International. Lore supported Levi against the C. I. He misinterpreted the policy of the C. I. almost on every question. He declared that the main task of the Communist Party of Germany in the revolutionary situation of 1923 should have been to prevent the revolution by every possible means. Lore spread

the most ridiculous illusions concerning the "mission to establish world peace" of Ramsay MacDonald. He warned the French Communists against the overthrow of Herriot. He fought against the necessary centralism of the Party in the name of the autonomy of the German Federation. The ideological struggle against Comrade Lore's tendency is essential for the Party.

The Executive proposes to the Workers Party to come to a definite decision on the Lore question at its next congress. In any case the Executive is of the opinion that the Central Committee of the Party is not the place for such an opportunist as Lore.

10. The firm Consolidation of Communist Forces.

The above platform, adopted by the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International, has also been approved by the representatives of both groups in the Workers Party.

The Executive Committee of the C. I. discovered errors in the attitudes of both groups which must be rectified.

The Executive Committee is of the definite opinion that fractional conflicts between the two groups must now absolutely cease. Although it is true that this fractional conflict arose out of real differences, it has, nevertheless, been of too acute a character on both sides and at times assumed impermissible forms. The Executive Committee does not object to a concrete and calm discussion being carried on until the Party Congress, but, in the interest of Party unity it demands the unconditional cessation of Party war fare.

In particular, the Executive Committee must point out that it regards a campaign conducted against Comrade Pepper as absolutely uncalled for, all the more since, firstly, comrade Pepper himself has no intention of returning to work in the Workers Party, and secondly the Executive Committee desires to use his energies for other important tasks. The Executive Committee knows that Comrade Pepper during his brief stay in America performed services for the Workers Party for which he deserves praise. The Executive Committee demands that all personal polemics on both sides should cease.

The Executive Committee regards it as absolutely essential that the representatives of the Party majority and minority should henceforward conclude a fraternal peace and work in communist cooperation. The leading comrades are primarily responsible for setting a good example to the other Party members in this respect.

The Party Congress will be held at an early date. All disputed questions which may arise between the two groups in the Party Central Committee in the interval, and which cannot be agreed upon, are to be settled in a parity commission under the chairmanship of a neutral comrade. This commission shall also control the actual conduct of the Party discussion.

The Executive Committee is of the opinion that the Party Congress, in a calm atmosphere, free from all fractional passions, should elect the Party Central Committee from among the comrades of both groups. The group which will be in the minority at the Party Congress must in any case be assured a large representation in the Central Committee.

Naturally, both the groups, having adopted this platform, must at the Party Congress actively oppose any of the followers of Lore being elected to the Central Committee.

Resolution on the Italian Question.

1. The Enlarged Executive takes cognisance of the great progress made by the Communist Party of Italy since the Fifth World Congress.

Not only has the Italian Party succeeded in developing throughout and in strengthening its organisational apparatus, but it has also been able to prove that it has acquired political capacity and tactical elasticity, which it lacked in the past and which have enabled it to increase its influence upon the masses of workers and peasants. This general progress was made possible and heightened by the new situation created in Italy in consequence of the Matteotti murder, characterised by a powerful revival of the fighting spirit of the working class — principally by the circumstance that the Party determinedly cut itself from the inflexible tactics of Comrade Bordiga at the Fifth Congress and accepted the decisions of the Communist International contained in the programme of action outlined for the Italian Party by the Fifth World Congress.

The real activity of the Party during this period has experi-

mentally proved that the Leninist tactics of the International, applied by the Central Committee of the Party, were the correct tactics for the development of the Italian revolutionary movement, and that the attitude of Comrade Bordiga, who at the Fifth Congress voted against this Leninist programme and then refused to collaborate in its application, was wrong and harmful to the development of the Party and of the revolutionary struggle.

The truth of these statements had already been understood by a large number of comrades formerly partisans of Bordiga's policy. The Federal Congresses which met after the Fifth Congress showed the opinion of the majority of the Party on this point and showed that the next National Congress will approve the policy laid down at the Fifth Congress and carried out by the Central Committee.

II. An ideological enlightenment work must follow this practical evolution of the Party's tactics from the position of Bordiga to Leninism. The Bolshevisation of the Party requires from all militants a maximum of clarity and of comprehension of the

doctrinal basis of Communist organisation. That the Party has already followed Leninist tactics in its political activities is no doubt an important beginning, but it will only be definitely guaranteed against all deviations after it will have understood the essentials of Leninism, will have based all its actions upon it, and will be ready to defend it against all deviations. Hence the ideological elaboration of acquired experience must become one of the most important activities of the Party in preparation for the next Congress.

The necessity for great ideological clarity becomes even more necessary because of the numerous and diverse origin of the deviations which have arisen in Italy up to the present. They have assumed the form of a "scientific" revision of Marxism, as in the latest writings of Graziadei, of formal intransigence as in Serrati's attitude at the Second World Congress on the agrarian and national questions, and finally Bordiga's position, to a great extent, his political standpoint since the Second Congress. The Party must fight against all deviations, no matter where they arise to preserve the Leninist policy of the Party and the Communist International, but it is clear that today the principle obstacle to the Bolshevisation of the Party is the ideology of Bordiga, and the greatest efforts must be made to eliminate this obstacle.

The Communist Party of Italy was founded and developed in a struggle especially directed against Maximalist Centrism, if conditions similar to those which brought about the Livorno split arise, it will strongly react against all dangers of opportunist deviation. But it is just as certain that these conditions and its very composition predispose the Party to a less active vigilance against deviations masked as doctrinal intransigence and tactical rigidity, but which though thus masked are none the less deviations which may have the same consequences as opportunism. Just as Serrati's intransigence on the agrarian and national questions and on that of the Labour Party did not prevent the Maximalist Party from being a refuge for opportunism, the intransigence of Bordiga by no means prevents his finding himself in practice on the same platforms as the International Right and even like "Avanti" in the defence of Trotskyism against the Leninist line of the Russian Party and of the Communist International.

III. The opportunism of the Second International and its abandoning the revolutionary struggle have brought about two reactions very different in character and historical significance: 1) Leninism which is the expression of Marxism in the present epoch and which led to the vast revolutionary movement of Soviet Russia and of the Communist International, and 2) the Dutch school of Gorter, Pannekoek, etc., which under the outward appearance of the most extreme intransigence and of the most absolute and rigid opposition, led to an impotent and passive sect and to political sterility. In Italy, the reaction against the opportunism of the Second International was manifested within the Socialist Party in the Marxist-Syndicalist fraction (Avanguardia group), which confined itself to a few affirmations of principle (such as the general strike in Milan in 1904) which could neither elaborate a programme nor develop into a mass movement, and which dissolved into trade syndicalism after leaving the Party.

Bordiga without identifying himself completely either with the Dutch school or with the early Italian syndicalism is akin to both on account of many of the political views which he has expressed. Like the Dutch school and Italian syndicalism Bordiga's ideology is a product of the Second International. On the other hand intransigent and sectarian opposition to his opportunism and his parliamentary degeneracy can also only lead to the sterility and passivity of the Party. Leninism alone, by rejecting both sectarianism and opportunism, became the true expression of revolutionary Marxism in the imperialist stage of the development of bourgeois society. The immediate task of the Central Committee of the Party will consist in explaining to the masses the difference between Comrade Bordiga's conceptions and Leninism and also the political consequences of these doctrinal deviations on the policy of the Party and the development of the revolutionary struggle in Italy. Special stress will have to be laid on the three following points, in which Leninism and Bordiga's policy are at variance:

1. Abstentionism.
2. The Role of the Party.
3. Conception of Tactics.

As a result of the decisions of the Second World Congress Comrade Bordiga abandoned his parliamentary abstentionism, but nevertheless abstentionism remained one of the permanent features of his policy: this was evident in his attitude towards tactical theses placed by Lenin before the Third Congress, which made it incumbent on the Party to capture the majority of the proletariat. It was also evident in his manner of interpreting and practising United Front tactics, in his interpretation of the Fascist phenomenon, which was not based on an analysis of the various sections of society associated with it and therefore was not capable of calling forth a more active intervention of the Party to accentuate the divergencies and internal differences of Fascism, thus preventing, or at least delaying its conquest of power. It was also evident in connection with the policy to be adopted towards the Maximalist party in order to capture its working class elements. And finally it was also evident at the Fifth World Congress when Comrade Bordiga opposed the programme of action of the CPI, refused to help to put it into practice in Italy, to take part in the direction of the International, going even to the length of refusing to undertake any responsible work within the Party. Every active Communist could see that such an "abstentionist" attitude could only result in the Party's political passivity: the Party would have not been able to increase its influence over the masses and could not have become a decisive factor in Italian politics. The revolution would fail once more just as it did in September 1920 in spite of the existence of favourable objective conditions simply through the absence of subjective conditions, namely of a Party well-rooted in the masses and possessing the confidence of these masses as their guide in all the circumstances of their class life. All this goes to show that Bordiga's conception of the role of the Party is erroneous.

To Comrade Bordiga the Party should above all be a congregation of leaders, a cadre trained intellectually to lead the masses, and not a mass Party. It is not to be wondered at that on this point he is in agreement with Trotsky. Trotsky, too, sees in the revolution first of all the role of the leaders and ignores or minimises the role of the Party as a mass organisation of the proletariat.

This erroneous role of the Party is particularly conspicuous in Bordiga's conception of tactics. While Leninism is flexible tactics, capable of adapting itself always to the ever changing economic and political world situation in order to mobilise all the anti-capitalist forces, to seize the propitious moment for action by the Party, being consequently always ready for a quick modification of its slogans and its policy in order not to lose touch with the masses and carry them away with it. Comrade Bordiga on the contrary aims, like the "Rome theses", at fixing once and for all the tactics of the Party, of immuring them in a system of rigid formulae. Comrade Bordiga looks upon the flexibility of tactics, their capacity to adapt themselves to circumstances, their inevitable suppleness for the purpose of remaining in contact with the masses and acquiring continually new spheres of influence as a manifestation of opportunism.

Comrade Bordiga disassociates himself from Leninism in all these essential questions: He may seem more intransigent and more left, but in reality his deviations bring him into proximity with the deviations of the right. His article on Trotskyism does not differ from the article of the French syndicalists and the international right. Whoever disassociates himself from Leninism is inevitably drawn into a united front with the opportunists of the Second International and with the right, which still exists in our world organisation.

Therefore the most urgent task before the Party is to effect a thorough ideological enlightenment work in its ranks, to oppose all deviations, especially those of Comrade Bordiga which are at present the most dangerous deviations for our movement. The national congress will have to declare whether it approves of the policy pursued by the Central Committee of the Party in accordance with the International since the Fifth Congress. But at the same time it will have to choose between Bordiga's tactics and Leninism. It is not until the Communist Party of Italy will have understood the necessity to place itself unhesitatingly on a Leninist basis that it will be truly strong and capable of fulfilling its historic role as leader of the masses in the proletarian revolution.

Resolution of the Central Control Commission of the Russian Communist Party in the Case of Brandler, Thalheimer, Radek and Others.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany requested the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party to take action against Comrades Brandler, Thalheimer, Radek, Edda Baum, Felix Wolf, Walcher and Moeller. The Central Committee of the German Communist Party charges these comrades with taking part in and guiding systematic factional work in the German Communist Party against the Central Committee of the German Communist Party and against their carrying out the policy of the Party which was based on the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern. On the 11th of February 1925, the Central Committee of the German Communist Party resolved to ask the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party forthwith to expel Comrades Brandler and Thalheimer from the RCP. On March 2nd, the Politbureau handed the statement of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party for investigation to the Central Control Commission of the Russian Communist Party to which representatives of the International Control Commission of the Comintern were to be co-opted.

After examining the documents submitted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, and hearing the evidence of the comrades against whom the charges have been made, the Central Control Commission arrived at the following conclusion:

Within the German Communist Party there are Right factional groups (composed of the former Right Wing of the Party) which are working against the Central Committee and its policy. The line of policy of these groups and their views, in the main, coincide with the views expressed in an article written by Comrade Thalheimer for the "International", but which he later withdrew. Comrade Thalheimer's article contains factional, anti-Bolshevik, semi-Trotskyist, criticism of the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and defends the position of Brandler-Radek, which was rejected by the Congress (especially on the question of the estimation of the German October). Comrade Thalheimer describes the resolution of the Congress, on combatting opportunist tendencies inside the Communist International, as an exhibition of "fear of spooks", and declares that the Congress "ignored the questions" of future prospects and failed "to give a definite reply to this definite question". Furthermore, Comrade Thalheimer's article contains a number of severe attacks against the German Central Committee and the ECCI, as well as against the Russian Old Bolshevik Guard (the attacks upon the latter being entirely in the spirit of Trotsky's "Lessons of October").

This factionalist article by Comrade Thalheimer, which was not published in a single communist publication, was distributed in the ranks of the German Communist Party over the head of the German Central Committee and without the permission of the Central Committee of the ECCI, and was utilised for factional purposes.

The factional activity of the groups referred to above, became particularly marked after the Fifth Congress of the Communist International and took the form of convening factional meetings, in factional speeches at Party and trade union meetings aimed at securing the passage of their own, previously drawn up factional resolution (against the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany) and the widespread circulation of anonymous circulars, containing sharp criticism of the line of policy of the Central Committee and also a detailed plan of fractional work.

The purpose of the factional work of the groups mentioned is firstly, to change the line of policy of the Central Committee, and to change the composition of the Central Committee, in order to secure the reinstatement to leading positions of Comrades Brandler and Thalheimer. The group of Brandler, Radek and Thalheimer, with whose views are associated Comrades Felix Wolf, Walcher, Edda Baum and Moeller — after the Fifth Congress of the Communist International, convened conferences to discuss questions affecting the German Communist Party, closely questioned comrades arriving from Germany concerning the state of affairs within the Party, collected material

against the German Central Committee, discredited the Central Committee by factional criticism of the policy conducted, made absolutely intolerable personal attacks on its members, and maintained communication and gave support to the factional groups above-mentioned. Communication was also maintained with the expelled Right Wing, headed by Jannack, to which assistance was also rendered.

Members of the Brandler, Radek, Thalheimer group confirmed the fact that two conferences or "talks" were arranged in the rooms of Brandler and Radek on the question of German Party work (although they denied that these conferences bore a factional character). Comrade Brandler stated that he "squeezed" information out of comrades arriving in Moscow concerning the internal state of the German Party. Comrade Moeller made a report at one of these conferences on German affairs. The said Comrade Moeller, working in one of the Soviet Delegations, in Germany, sent reports through his institution, which, on the admission of the Chief of this institution, bore a "pessimistic" character i. e. they contained a pessimistic estimation of the internal state of the Party from the point of view of the Right Wing Brandler orientation. These served as material for the Brandler group. Comrade Radek handed Moeller £ 100 for the purpose of giving financial assistance to the Right Wing group expelled from the German Communist Party (although he denied that this money was intended for factional work). Through the agency of Anna Kolditz, an employee of Brandler's living in his rooms in Berlin, letters were sent from Germany addressed to Brandler in Moscow containing cleverly disguised plans for future factional work. In a letter addressed to Comrade Eisenberg, Comrade Brandler wrote: „In Germany an opposition has been formed which is not content with phrases about Bolshevism of the Party, but desires to fight for concrete aims. In Gotha and Remscheid, the local trade unions, which are in our hands, have put forward concrete demands including the demand for the transference of the burden of taxation as a concrete method for fighting against the Dawes Plan. The Central Committee rejected this. The Gotha Central Committee submitted, and abandoned the demand for transferring the burden of taxation. In Remscheid, however, the Central Committee did not submit. For this, Jannack, Pütz and others, were expelled. In Hamburg, Westermann and Faber have been expelled. The expulsion of Faber has been endorsed by the Central Committee. On the Central Committee, Remmele no doubt, declared that "prior to October 23, the Party was merely a radical Socialist Party, but now it is a Bolshevik Party." At the meeting of the Central Control Commission, Brandler tried to prove that his letter was not factional and the phrase: "Gotha and Remscheid are in our hands", meant to imply that Gotha and Remscheid were in the hands of the Party. This explanation, however, contradicts the rest of the text of the letter, which is obviously factional, as well as the fact that the Gotha and Remscheid factionalists put up their own resolution against the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

At the meeting of the Central Control Commission, Comrades Brandler, Radek and Thalheimer made speeches containing exceptionally sharp and absolutely intolerable statements against the German Central Committee. Comrade Brandler particularly declared that "he will still be in the camp of the revolution when several of the comrades of the present Central Committee will be in the camp of the counter-revolution". Not less sharp and factionally hostile, although not so politically bitter, were the speeches made against the Central Committee by Comrades Radek, Thalheimer, Felix Wolf, and Edda Baum. Behind all these factional declarations was the totally unconcealed striving to discredit the Central Committee, and to secure a change in its composition.

In addition to detailed attacks, these comrades (particularly Thalheimer, Radek, Brandler and Wolf) at the meeting of the Central Control Commission, declared that the German Central Committee was not carrying out the resolutions of the Fifth Congress, with which they, the supporters of the Brandler-Radek group, were now prepared to associate themselves. In this

connection, Comrades Thalheimer and Walcher attempted also to prove that Zinoviev and Stalin had now adopted the views of Thalheimer-Brandler, the whole of Walcher's speech was directed to proving that the German Central Committee was not carrying out the resolutions of the Fifth Congress, particularly on the question of the trade unions. Thalheimer said the same thing, and he declared that he was not in agreement with the German Central Committee on a single question, but that he was in agreement with Stalin and Zinoviev; that now Stalin and Zinoviev had come over to his, Thalheimer's side, and were supporting the views expressed by him in the above-mentioned article. These efforts, directed towards substituting Brandlerism for Bolshevism and by distorting the line of policy of the Fifth Congress while pretending to associate themselves with those decisions, to introduce the policy of liquidation and by this means place the German Central Committee in opposition to the Comintern, bring about the dismissal of the Central Committee and the substitution of its policy of Brandlerism. This method of substitution, is recommended in individual cases and in the factional circulars mentioned above.

On the basis of what has been stated above, the Central Control Commission considers it proved, that within the Communist Party of Germany, there are organised fractions, containing several internal Party groups and a group of members of the Russian Communist Party (Brandler, Thalheimer, Radek and others) which are conducting factional work on the basis of a political platform which finds its expression in a number of articles and documents (Brandler, Thalheimer, Radek and the anonymous authors of the circulars). The Central Control Commission is of the opinion that on the grounds of the facts quoted above, in the complex difficult conditions in which the German Communist Party has now to work and in the face of a widespread, sharply hostile tendency against Brandler-Thalheimer within the Party, the German Control Committee

was right in demanding the expulsion of Brandler and Thalheimer from the Russian Communist Party, which they fully deserved, also in demanding that Comrades Radek, Edda Baum, Felix Wolf, Heinz Moeller and Walcher be made to answer before the Party, in order to deprive these comrades of the possibility of conducting further factional work in the Communist Party of Germany.

Basing itself, however, on the desire to achieve as painless a liquidation of the factional groups inside the Communist Party of Germany as possible and to give Comrades Brandler, Thalheimer, Radek and the others an opportunity of proving the truth of the declaration they made at the meeting of the Central Control Committee that they will refrain from carrying on factional work, the Central Control Commission considers it possible to limit itself to the following measures:

1. To censure severely and warn Comrades Brandler, Thalheimer, Radek, Edda Baum, Felix Wolf, and Heinz Moeller for their systematic factional work and their serious violation of Party discipline.
2. To prohibit Comrades Brandler, Thalheimer, Radek, Edda Baum, Felix Wolf and Heinz Moeller from interfering in any form in the work of the Communist Party of Germany.
3. The Central Control Commission warns the comrades, that in the event of their continuing factional work or interfering in the affairs of the Communist Party of Germany, they will certainly be placed outside of the Russian Communist Party.
4. To regard it as impossible to allow Comrades Brandler, Thalheimer and Radek to take part in Comintern work.
5. The Central Control Commission considers it necessary that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany shall conduct extensive, internal Party work for the purpose of explaining to the members of the Party the political significance of this resolution.

Resolution on the Declaration of Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer.

Introduced in the Name of the CCRCP. by the Russian Delegation and adopted by the Enlarged Executive at the XXI Session on April 4, 1925.

Having read the declaration of Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer of March 25, 1925, the Enlarged Plenum of the ECCI considers it necessary to note the following:

Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer bear the greatest responsibility for the Social-Democratic distortions of the tactics of the Communist Party of Germany which caused such damage to the German revolutionary movement in 1923. The tendency headed by Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer tried to convert the revolutionary tactics of the united front into tactics of coalition with the Social Democracy. By means of the "Saxony" policy (the conditions upon which Brandler joined the Government of Saxony, his "work" in it, etc.) this "tendency" converted the tactics of the Communists into a banal parliamentary farce, which revealed the utter political bankruptcy of these three comrades.

The Thirteenth Congress of the Russian Party unanimously declared that the policy of Comrade Radek, who at that time tried to speak in the name of the Russian Communist Party, had nothing in common with the real policy of the Russian Communist Party. The Frankfurt Congress of the Communist Party of Germany, with equal determination, condemned the line of policy of Brandler and Thalheimer. Finally, the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, in the name of the Communist Parties of all countries severely condemned the Menshevik deviations of these three comrades.

Instead of conscientiously admitting their political error, by their declaration of the 25th of March 1925, they still further aggravate it. They declare that they "associate themselves" with the theses of the present session of the Enlarged Plenum of the ECCI. But they regard their differences with the Comintern over the question of Workers' Government as "historically closed", merely because "the period of the acute collapse of the capitalist system has come to an end". They continue to believe that when the revolutionary struggle will again become acute, it will be necessary to return to the old tactics of Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer, which they themselves, in their declaration of the 25th of March 1925, defined as a striving "by means of a coalition

with the Left Social Democratic elements... to win temporary positions for the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat". The authors of the declaration, by this show that they continue to stand as before, with both feet on the ground of the tactics of coalition with the Social Democracy; in other words, they continue in their departure from Bolshevism to Menshevism.

At the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, Comrade Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer continued persistently to advocate their anti-communist position. In the articles of Comrades Thalheimer and Kreibich, written immediately after the Fifth Congress, their anti-communist position was still more sharply defined. The whole of the activity of these comrades in the period between the Fifth Congress and the present Enlarged Plenum of the ECCI, has been directed against the policy of the Fifth Congress. Therefore, the statement contained in the declaration of Comrades Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer of March 25th, 1925, to the effect that for them the most important thing last year, was to "endeavour to preserve the mass character of the Communist Party", cannot be taken seriously. The Communist International, established under the direct guidance of Comrade Lenin and always remaining true to Leninism, from the first day of its existence to the present day has worked entirely in the direction of creating and preserving mass proletarian parties. The difference between the Comintern and the "tendency" represented by Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer, consists in that the Comintern strives to form and preserve mass communist, bolshevik parties, whereas Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer are conducting a policy of semi-menshevik "mass" parties. On the lips of these three comrades the phrase "revolutionary sects" sounds like the declarations of Paul Levi.

Equally insincere politically, was the conduct of this group in connection with the question of the Trotsky species of Menshevism. While the whole of the Comintern sharply condemned Trotskyism, Radek in Russia directly supported it, and Brandler and Thalheimer wrote ambiguous declarations, striving by half-hearted repudiation of Trotskyism, to secure the opportunity of

attacking the brother Communist Party of Germany. The attempts to sow discord between the R. C. P. and the C. P. G. is deserving of condemnation and will always be strenuously resisted by the Comintern.

A particularly brilliant light is thrown on the declaration of Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer of the 25th of March, 1925, by the fact that the declaration was made at the moment when the Central Control Commission of the Russian Communist Party, in conjunction with representatives of the International Control Commission, after investigating the question of the factional — but — not — schismatic “work” of these three comrades in the German Communist Party, came to the conclusion that Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer deserved to be expelled from the ranks

of the Russian Communist Party, and consequently from the Comintern.

If generally, in view of the above, serious importance cannot be attached to the Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer declaration of “solidarity” with the tactics of the Comintern, still less does this declaration deserve the confidence of the Communist International when it is made after the Central Control Commission has passed the above-mentioned decision.

The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. sees in this politically insincere declaration of Brandler, Radek and Thalheimer, nothing else than a tactical manoeuvre, borrowed from the tactics of the Social Democratic leaders, directed against the line of policy of the Fifth Congress and therefore refuses to take cognisance of it.

Resolution on the Reports of the Organisation Conference of the Sections of the Comintern and Young Communist International.

The Organisation Conference of the Sections of the Communist International presented at the Plenum of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern, after having discussed the reports of the Organisation Department of the E.C.C.I., of the C. C. and of the Paris and Northern Districts of the Communist Party of France, of the Central Committee and the Berlin, Hamburg, Chemnitz District Committees of the Communist Party of Germany, of the Central Committee and the Prague, Kladno, Brünn, Maravostrov and Aussig District Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, of the Central Committee and of the Turin Committee of the Communist Party of Italy, of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of America, of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain, of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland, of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International and of the representative of the Berlin Organisation of the Young Communist League of Germany, on the question of the reorganisation of the Communist Parties and the Young Communist Leagues on the basis of Party nuclei in the factories and on Party organisation generally, declares that since the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and the Congress of the Young Communist International, the Sections of the Comintern have made great progress in the work of reorganising the Communist Parties on the basis of factory nuclei and that where this organisation has been actually carried out (in legal and underground Parties) it has led to a revival of the Party, to an increase in the Party membership by the influx of members from that inexhaustible reservoir — the factories and workshops, to increased circulation of the Party press and to the establishment of closer connection between the Communist Parties and the broad masses of the workers, as illustrated by the demonstrations organised by the Communist Parties of France, Germany, Czechoslovakia and others. In view of this experience, the Organisation Conference of the Sections of the Comintern calls upon all Communist Parties, while unceasingly carrying on the work of ideological preparation on the question of Party organisation, energetically to continue to organise the Parties on the basis of factory nuclei and entrust this important work to their best organisers, to carry it out according to a plan which the respective Communist Party and its local organisations must draw up in accordance with local conditions.

The Organisation Conference, while noting undoubted successes, cannot however, refrain from pointing to the large percentage of badly functioning nuclei among those already in existence. This is due to the fact in the first instance that their political life is not sufficiently strong and further to a large degree to the persecution of the employers. The parallel existence of factory nuclei on the one hand and former groups organised on a residential basis on the other, is also one of the causes, and by no means the least of the inadequate functioning of the nuclei. The Organisation Conference must also point to the weak existing connection between the nuclei and the ward, district and local Party Committees and the insufficient guidance of the Party nuclei by the above-mentioned committees.

The Organisation Conference urges local Party organs to devote serious attention to the work of the nuclei, to give them the necessary instructions, to prepare material for the meetings and the activity of the nuclei, to create from among the members of the nuclei themselves cadres of capable nuclei leaders. After

factory and street nuclei have commenced to function in any ward or district, the former groups of 10 and groups according to residence must be dissolved.

The Organisation Conference calls the attention of the local organisations to the large percentage of passive Communist Party members, which is partly due to the former structure of the Party Organisation under which a large number of the members were not enlisted in the work of deciding the internal Party as well as general political and economic questions confronting the Party. Most important questions of policy and tactics as a rule were discussed and decided in many countries, not by all the members of the Party, but by a permanently officiating body of functionaries who were not authorised in every individual case by the members of the Party to pass decisions on the given questions. Not infrequently, the body of functionaries supplanted the Party Conference and the drafting of Party questions by the Party members themselves. This doomed the members of the Party to passivity and prevented them from being drawn into active participation in Party life.

The Organisation Conference, while not objecting, but on the contrary considering the convening by the competent Party organ of periodical conferences of active Party workers to discuss various questions affecting Party life to be most useful, nevertheless, expresses its strong opposition to such conferences taking the place of the periodical Party Conference provided for in the rules. These conferences made up of the representatives of the nuclei which preliminarily discuss the questions on the agenda of the conferences, have the right to decide Party questions and to elect the respective leading organs of the Party. Participation in the discussion of the questions to come up at Party Conferences, to a considerable degree, helps to increase the activity of the Party members.

The newspapers published by Party nuclei already, in many countries, are an important factor in Party life. Tens of thousands of copies of newspapers published by Party nuclei, carrying out the policy of the Party, explaining its slogans and exposing all the outrages committed against the workers are spread in the factories, workshops and mines.

The Organisation Conference considers it necessary to utilise the experience of factory newspapers and to secure their adoption in those countries and Party Organisations which have not yet adopted this method of influencing the workers in the factories and workshops and attracting the more backward workers to political life. The conference, however, points out that the factory newspapers will be able successfully to fulfil their function, only if they will be popular in character and will be able to combine the questions of everyday life in the factory with the slogans and tactics of the Party, bearing in mind all the time that these newspapers must be published under the guidance and control of the respective Party organs.

The Organisation Conference considers it desirable to continue and improve the connection already established between the nuclei in a given industry in different countries through the local and central organs of the Parties affiliated to the Comintern.

The Organisation Conference draws the attention of the Sections of the Comintern to the weakness of the apparatus of district and local Party committees, which prevents the establishment of proper connection of the nuclei and the Communist

fractions, prevents proper control of the execution of decisions and prevents guidance of the whole Party work. Efforts must be made to secure that every district and local Party committee had at least one full time secretary.

The Conference points out that Communist fractions do not exist in all non-Party Labour and Peasant Organisations, in spite of the fact that the members of the Party belong to these organisations. Where fractions exist relations between them and the Party organisation are defective or abnormal.

The Conference is of the opinion that Communist fractions must be established in all workers, employees and peasant organisations. In this connection the organisation of Communist fractions in trade unions of all tendencies is a task of supreme importance.

If the Communist Fractions receive proper guidance from the Party Organs and if the fractions are energetic and active and carry out the instructions of the Party, the Party Organisations will be enabled to carry the slogans and the tactics of the Party among the broad masses of the workers, employees and poorest peasantry.

Resolution on the Immediate Agitational and Propaganda Work of the Sections of the Comintern.

The task before the whole Communist International and its Sections of securing the closest revolutionary consolidation of their ranks and the extension of their ideological and political influence over the proletarian masses demands that special attention be given by all the Sections towards perfecting and developing the forms and methods of agitational and propaganda work. It is not enough to determine a correct political policy and to construct a ramified apparatus of Party organisations from top to bottom. The most careful thought is essential to make our Communist ideology and the political policy, adopted by the Party, the common property of the entire Party membership and available to them in a clear and consistent form. The broad network of Party organisation must be directed towards the propaganda of Marxism and Leninism, both among the Party members and the non-Party masses. Serious attention to theoretical work and the serious conduct of systematic propaganda are basic parts of the Bolshevisation of the Parties.

The Enlarged Executive has to record that since the Fifth World Congress certain important successes in the sphere of propaganda and the improvement of our Communist press have been obtained. The Enlarged Executive, while drawing the attention of all the Sections to the resolution of the Agitprop Conference of the Sections at the Session of the Enlarged Executive, lays down the following immediate tasks in this sphere:

1. An end must be put to the passive attitude hitherto existing in many sections to the question of training the mass of their membership. Our aim should be to see that every Party member, and primarily the Party officials, take an elementary course embracing the fundamentals of our ideology and tactics and our principles of organisation. The Central Committee of every Section must in the immediate future draw up a fixed time table of extensive propaganda work on these lines: it must organise that work, take part in its control, carefully supervise the execution of the plan, and ensure the constant interest of the masses of the Party and the leading Party organs in this work. The Agitprop Department of the ECCI. must see to it that the necessary popular directions for such an elementary course are issued at an early date.

2. The theoretical training of the basic cadres of the Party is to be attained by each Section, under the control of the Party Central Committee, organising a Central Party School which gives a course of training of from two to nine months according to the practical possibilities. Such Central Party Schools are to be organised primarily in the large Sections and the Agitprop Department of the ECCI must meet the demands of these schools in every possible respect.

3. The Enlarged Executive Committee of the C. I. approves the drawing up of a plan for the organisation of international Party courses in Moscow and instructs the Presidium to take measures to start the courses in the autumn of this year.

The Organisation Conference, approving the policy conducted by the Organisation Department of the ECCI., instructs the Organisation Departments of the Central Committees of all the Sections of the Comintern, periodically to send material concerning Party organisation, indicating the successes achieved and the obstacles encountered. This will render it possible to summarise experience and convey it for the information to other sections, give them instructions, etc.

The Organisation Conference fully approves the intention of the Organisation Department of the ECCI. to continue in the future to send its instructors to the important Sections of the Comintern to enquire into the state of organisation work and give the necessary instructions.

The Organisation Conference considers it necessary to establish close connection between the Organisation Department of the ECCI., the Organisation Department of the EC. of the Young Communist International, and the Organisation Department of the Sections of the Comintern and of the Young Communist Leagues both centrally and locally.

4. The main tasks as regards the Party press, have been set forth in the Resolution on the Bolshevisation of the Parties. A firm policy must be pursued for the organisational and agitational development of our periodical press. The creation of a network of worker correspondents and of factory newspapers should receive more attention than has been the case hitherto. The Parties must exercise close control of the existing dailies and weeklies and assist in their distribution. Where necessary the number of these periodicals should be reduced as far as possible to facilitate the creation of a real, communist mass working class press, staunch in questions of principle. Care must be taken that the whole Party press pursues the political policy of the Party and that the leading Party organs retain political leadership and control. The Central Committees of the Sections of the C. I. must appoint a member of the Political Bureau to be responsible for the political policy pursued by the central organ of the Party. The proposal is placed before the Presidium to make preparations for an **International Press Day** with the object of extending and intensifying the influence of the Communist press.

5. Serious attention must be paid to the theoretical periodicals published by the Parties. Their task is to raise the ideological level of the Party and to discuss and work out the tactical problems created by the struggles of the Party. The Enlarged Executive Committee, while approving the publication of the purely scientific journal „Unter dem Banner des Marxismus“, and moreover considering it essential that this journal should be issued not only in German, but also in English and French, stresses the necessity for the ECCI. to give constant support to the theoretical journals of the Parties.

It is the duty of the Sections of the C. I. to extend the distribution of the „Communist International“, and to get their leading comrades to contribute regularly.

6. The continued and increasing interest displayed by the working class in the economic and cultural development of the USSR., on the one hand, and the campaign of calumny which is being carried on by the bourgeois and reformist press, on the other, make it essential that special attention be paid to the spread of correct and comprehensive information on the situation in the UUSR.

7. The Sections must endeavour to strengthen the Agitprop Departments of the Central Committees and national leading bodies and leading organs of the small organisations for the successful institution and organisation of the permanent control of agitation and propaganda work by the Parties and should mobilise all the propagandist forces of the Party for this work.

It is the duty of all the Sections, through their Agitprop Departments to maintain the closest contact with the Agitprop Department of the ECCI., both as regards the supply of agitational and propaganda material and the exchange of experiences.