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The Agitprop Conference of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International.

The Agitprop Conference took place during the session of the Enlarged Executive at which representatives from all sections of the Comintern were present. The Presidium elected was: Comrade Treint (France), Comrade Winterich (Germany) and Comrade Bela Kun.

Reports were delivered at the Agitprop Conference on

Agitprop work by Comrade Bela Kun and on the Press by Comrade Voss; further reports were submitted by representatives from the various sections.

In the present number we reproduce these reports in an abbreviated form together with the resolutions.

Report of Comrade Bela Kun on Agitprop Work.

Comrades, I would refer you to my report made at the Plenum. For the present moment I shall not touch on the importance of theory in the Communist Party as such and the importance of theory at the present stage for the proletarian revolution. I must, however, remark that interest in theoretical work, that is to say, theoretical education and propaganda by educating the Party members is still in its infancy in the entire International. In my opinion, that is quite a natural phenomenon.

First of all, in the ranks of the Communist International the opinion still exists that we are in the stage of storm and stress and that we shall be able to seize power without a fully matured Communist Party. At such a time it is not possible to devote sufficient attention to the theoretical propaganda education of the Party. It is, however, quite clear that at the present moment we are not experiencing a period of rapid progress in the revolution, no, the pace of the revolution has slackened. Communist mass Parties must now become bolshevised. I believe that the moment has now come when every Party should set itself, as an immediate task, the Marxist-Leninist education of the Party members and the cultivation of a Leninist Party cadre.

The chief point at issue is — the propaganda thesis has dealt with this in the first instance — that we should determine at this moment **what** the content of the Agitprop work should be on the one hand, and **what organisational forms** education and agitation work should assume on the other hand.

I attempted to deal with the content of propaganda work in my Plenum report and, in addition, there is a fairly good foundation for this in the theses on propaganda work.

In my present short report I wish to deal with organisation questions, not because organisational questions are more important than the question of propaganda work, but because the nature of the conference is such that it is necessary to draw the attention of the various Parties in the first instance to the fact **how** organs for agitational and propaganda work can be created on the spot.

During the six months during which we have been carrying on Agitprop work, we have more or less had the feeling that we have been working in the air; a factor that was not dependent on us. The cause was that in the various sections, even in the centres and other organisations in the Party nuclei, no organisation existed capable of carrying on propaganda educational work. The position of the Agitprop apparatus in the various Parties is somewhat as follows:

In **Germany** there is an Agitprop Department which, however, is first of all an Agitation Department which has accomplished very much a regards agitational technique, but which hitherto has not even dealt with the questions of propaganda.

In **France** beginnings have been made in respect to propaganda work. French comrades have established a **Central Leninist Party School**, and thereby have displayed very praiseworthy initiative, but the conduct of this Party school was scarcely in the hands of the Party centre. The department which should have conducted the entire Agitprop work, was not in existence until recently. Now however, the first beginnings have been made in this direction.

In Germany various spontaneous attempts to form Leninist circles must be reported.

There is an Agitprop Department in Italy which is under the direction of very good comrades. We are in possession of very few facts in regard to this department; but we hear that it also carries on very good educational work among the peasants. We have also heard that our comrades in Italy have serious intentions of publishing Marxist books and of starting a scientific theoretical journal. As regards the systematical organisational work of the department, we are more or less in the dark, probably because hitherto very little has been accomplished in that sphere.

Our contact with the Agitprop Department of the Communist Party of Great Britain has been the most systematic. Constant correspondence has been carried on between us and Comrade Bell, the chief of the Agitation and Propaganda Section of the British Party. We must admit that several very good attempts have been made in order to organise work better over there. The British Party was the only one to make the attempt to organise an Elementary Party School for all numbers of the Communist Party. We cannot form any definite judgement as to the success of this venture, since all preliminaries are still in their initial stages.

In America, after the Fifth Congress attempts were made to organise Leninist-Marxist circles and schools.

We must also discuss the fact that in various smaller countries, like, for example, Norway, the work was organised; agitational work only was carried out in Czechoslovakia in a way similar to Germany.

So much for the general review of the position of Agitprop work in the various countries.

As I have already remarked, our special work must remain simply in the air, if it is not supported by the work of the various sections. We can only give general directions. We can indicate the struggle against various ideological deviations, we can help to supply the various theoretical journals with a selection of Russian and scientific material, we can issue various instructions in general to the Parties, but real co-operation with the individual sections will only then be possible, if the sections themselves organise their Agitprop work and thereby establish close contact with us.

With reference to Agitprop work in the various sections, as we have seen, very little has been done as yet. The subdivision of the activities of agitation and propaganda work is naturally very difficult in the various countries before gaining power. Lenin said that the Russian Party before the conquest of power was, in reality, one big propaganda and agitational department. Eighty per cent of the work consisted in agitation and propaganda. Hence we see that such organisations strictly limited to a special task cannot be created in the period preceding the conquest of power or even in the early stages thereafter. Contact with the masses in as far as this is not a purely organisational question, is a question of agitation and of the press. The contact of the Party with its own membership can be attained primarily by educational activity.

Comrades, we see that it is very difficult to gauge the correct line in our entire work. One thing, however, is certain, and that is that in every stage of the organisation, we must organise agitational and educational activities, both in the district and local organisations and in the individual Party nuclei.

The fact that the Party itself has as yet no firm organisation, renders the form of organisation of Agitprop work still more difficult. Although reorganisation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei was begun already more than a year and a half ago, still in the various countries it is still in its elementary stages, and therefore it is difficult to solve the question of elementary schools for Party members. You may remember, comrades, that we published a programme of such a school in *Impre-
corr.* (See Vol. V. 1925, No. 5, page 48.) On the question of organisation and the very closely allied question of locality, we were not in a position to say anything because we were not able to decide what was the better form, whether these courses should be organised in the manner of nuclei or whether on the plan of the residential organisations. Every Party must decide on this point individually; for as I have already pointed out in my report, the chief issue is that Leninism should not become the property of a small sect within the Party, but the common property of the membership as a whole. In other words, that signifies the education of all members to be real Party members.

That is the entire crux of Bolshevisation. This question can only be solved by means of elementary Party schools, by means of the mass propaganda of Leninism within the precincts of the Communist Party.

The second important question is that of the creation of cadres. This is a matter to be decided upon by the Central Party School, but not by such a one as existed in the French Party which only flourished for two months. Our French comrades were fully aware, and that is of course most important, that this was no definite solution, but only a temporary palliative. The problem of the Central Party School as a form of cadre school is an immediate one as far as all the more important Parties are concerned.

We have approached this matter in such a way that the largest parties, — I do not mean this quantitatively, but in accordance with the importance of the countries — such as the German, the French, the British, the American, and in addition the Polish Parties, should already in the first half of this year be in a position to proceed with the organisation of Central Party Schools. Naturally this question also is one of finance, but not only a material one, it is a question of propaganda, of methods, of the choice of the future people for the cadres of the Communist Party. And in this we have the second question which we raise for the consideration of our comrades. In our opinion, these Central Party Schools will be able to give a more thorough education in Marxism and Leninism to the future cadres of leaders. We consider that six months should be the minimum length of the course, and the maximum, on account of the position of the various parties, should be nine months. The following points should be considered in connection with the programme: The aim of the Central Party Schools is to educate people who, trained in theories, become the practical leaders of the Party organisations. Of course, in the time allotted there can be no question of receiving a thorough theoretical Party education in these Central Party Schools, that would be absurd; but it is possible to lay a theoretical foundation for their future practical activities so that on every occasion they should be able to carry out clearly and consciously the definite party policy decided on as a part of a strategical plan.

In considering the periodicals of the various Parties, we get a clear picture of the theoretical position of the Parties, hence I will now deal with the question of newspapers. The German "Internationale", the French "Cahiers du Bolchevisme", the "Communist Review" in England, the "Workers Monthly" in America, constitute the periodicals of our various sections. I think our French comrades will agree with me that we must draw the attention of the Party to the fact that their periodical is not sufficiently French, does not devote sufficient attention to questions of French politics. I do not know what is the attitude of the German Party to our criticism. The then representative of the C. P. G. in the E. C. C. I., Comrade Geschke, approved of our attitude in the question regarding the "Internationale", and together with us made a thorough examination of it. The position at that time was that in the German Party there were various deviations on the question of theory, and it was necessary to fight these theoretical deviations in the interest of a clear revolutionary policy.

The British periodical deals in the best manner with the questions relating to the country, it really thoroughly goes into questions of British politics, but theoretically it is lacking.

As regards the American journal, we trust that our American comrades will change the tendency of this journal and will in future pay more attention to theoretical questions. It is not possible to say that deviations exist, simply because no theoretical line of policy exists.

We must endeavour to intensify agitation by propaganda. The best possible method to do so is by thorough theoretical development of the theoretical problems of agitation. For this purpose the periodicals come first in consideration. Hence in every Party, no matter how small, there must be a theoretical journal. In the various important parties, in the French, German, British and American Parties, the periodicals already existing must be more developed and extended in accordance with the ideas which we at one time proposed to the German, French and British Parties.

I place these four points before you and must once again stress the facts that during these six months of Agitprop work we are still in the stage of feeling our way as to what we shall be able to accomplish in order to be of practical use to our Comrades.

Report of Comrade Voss on the Bolshevisation of the Press.

Since the time at my disposal is very short, I can not of course give a resumé of the entire question of the press. Especially the propaganda side must be neglected, and the questions of the systematic development of real Bolshevik Party organs can only be very superficially dealt with here. The important aspect which we must consider at this moment, in order to maintain the most important elements in the Bolshevisation of the press, is without doubt the **organisational**.

Without going into very great details, I may state straight away that not in one section have we a real communist mass press, neither as regards the circulation nor as regards the organisational manner of penetrating into the conditions of the masses. The ratio of the circulation of the Communist press to the number of those sympathising with the Party may be put at one to twenty. That is a very poor result. Perhaps we can scarcely win every tenth worker who sympathises with the Communist International, who agrees with it, who participates in demonstrations, by means of the daily press. But this clearly shows that we have no real Communist mass press.

I wish to single out three problems which in my opinion belong to the most immediate and important tasks in the creation of a mass press.

1. The central organisation of the press.
2. The relation of the press to the Party.
3. Workers correspondents and factory nuclei papers which have recently come to the fore as a result of the Bolshevisation of the Party.

I wish to record that at the Third Congress of the Communist International in the General Theses on the Work of the Communist Party among the masses, these were adopted on the Bolshevisation of the press, which in my opinion still hold good. We must admit that none of these were realised organisationally; for in not one of our sections has the question of the press been put as an organisational task. Only in Russia have we got a central organ which fulfils this task, which watches over the Party systematically, controls and which is a real instrument of the press policy of the Party. What do we see in other Parties? In most centres there is a so-called Press Bureau which has mostly literary functions, seldom organisational. But nowhere do we possess organs which carry on real organisational policy in press questions. The task of central organised press organs is one of the most important in connection with the differentiation of the various tasks in the process of Bolshevisation.

What should be the work of these organs? First of all they should control and study the press, exert a systematic and thorough control and carry on a study of the press from all points of view. This should include, from the point of view of organisational power, its centralisation in the masses, its connection with the factories, with the different strata of workers, and also the control which the press exerts on the policy of the Party. If we were to pursue such a study of the Party press we would discover the most extraordinary state of affairs.

From the very meagre research which has been carried on I could quote examples to show how in the various Party newspapers political questions have been presented in the most varied manner and, indeed, how many slogans have been carried out and interpreted in different ways. For in no country have we got an organ which corrects and standardises this inequality and this variety. I attribute the fact of our inability to carry out a single campaign either internationally or nationally in any one Party really systematically, to this state of affairs. All campaigns came to a deadlock, with the exception of the **amnesty campaign** in Germany which was so ingrained in the masses that it automatically vitalised itself. Quite a good example is also given by our **campaign against the Dawes Plan** for here we also have not only theoretically but even agitationally a chaotic state of affairs which should not be underestimated. This was unavoidable since both international agitation leadership, and leadership through press campaigns in individual countries, was absolutely lacking. The organ did not exist which was capable of warning the press and urging them on, giving them hints, pointing out the way and collecting experiences.

In the various countries the position prevails that the centre does not pay much attention to the **organisational form** of our press.

To quote a few examples, we have in Czecho-Slovakia a whole series of provincial organs which are anything but communist. These papers which are supported by the Party financially, politically and organisationally, are simply allowed to exist without anyone troubling about them. Instead of tackling the question, instead of creating one decent daily paper out of these five provincial organs in order to gain contact with the masses, instead of stamping out this provincial spirit which is one of the worst heirlooms which the Czecho-Slovakian workers have from Social Democracy, they are simply let fall into decay without receiving any attention. This is a task for communist press politics. It is a task that must be dealt with and not only in Czecho-Slovakia.

In America we have the most varied language organs, German, Czech, Yiddish, etc. Comrades, each of these organs might just as well belong to another Party, the Party has neither ideological or political influence on them. What should be the method employed by the Party Executive to link up these press organs? Perhaps it is not necessary to publish such big editions since they lack corresponding influence.

In Germany we have very many provincial papers, for the most part very good as far as the technique and effect are concerned, and these belong to the very best in the whole International. Of course, I am sure that there are provincial organs which would be best abolished, which have no effect whatsoever and which we would be better without.

This question is individual for every country. In my opinion, we are now able to draft a plan of work for the reorganisation of the press in every section of the Communist International.

The second question in importance is the relation of the press to the Party. It is the generally accepted rule that the press must be in every respect an organ of the Communist Party, that is to say it must be subject to the Party Executive. But comrades, I must admit that this is not the case everywhere. In Germany we have attained eighty per cent of this ideal, a fact which we cannot maintain about other countries. For example, in Czecho-Slovakia during the recent Party crisis we had our greatest difficulties with our central organ in Brünn. We had to witness the refusal of the Brünn organ to publish appeals from the Communist International. Comrades, how did such a state of affairs come to pass? I think this conflict is to be attributed to the fact that the Party Executive did not understand how to make the Brünn organ a disciplined organ, and this is very characteristic of the relation to the Party, because the editors felt themselves partly as "free journalists" who sold their products to the Party and did not possess the connection of disciplined functionaries to the Party.

There are two sides to this question.

1. The absolute control of the Party editorial board by the competent political executive;

2. **compulsion for Communist Party editors to work in the ranks of the lowest nuclei of the Party.** This is the most important point of all and we must be obdurate in insisting that the Party Executive makes no concession in this point. The political editor must be compelled after his office work to go to the Party nucleus and to carry on his work there as a member of the Party. Just in this field we are assailed by the greatest dangers, just in this field the danger of the bourgeois disintegration of the press threatens. An end must be put to such dangers.

"L'Humanité" in France has a peculiar position in the party owing to its prepondering political position which is a result of its great tradition. "L'Humanité" has not even got a chief editor subject to the Party, the plan of work is on the principle of collective editing which of course is unpermissible. We must have a chief editor who is responsible to the Party Executive.

I think it essential now after the Fifth Congress that Party centres should carry out centralised control, as to the degree of activity of the editors in Party work. I feel that we would make the strongest discoveries during the process of this control. The

press will never be faithful to the Party, or faithful to the International, if this question is not tackled with the utmost energy.

In connection with the second point, we must consider, **how an editorial board should be organised so that the Party Executive can control it.** You know that that is no easy matter, for, the most part, all our Party newspapers have adopted the principles of mechanical departmental management from the Social Democratic press. Our editorial boards are divided into the chief editor, the chief editorial section, the trade union editorial section etc., which work alongside and not with one another. The ideal would be to have regular editorial consultations, but even that does not suffice. For example, when we are carrying on a campaign for international unity of the trade unions, the trade union editor gets ousted, although he is naturally most interested in this question, simply because the political editor feels it his duty to write a long "political" leading article every day. Our editorial boards must become real centres of collective work. That is the second prerequisite for the real control of the press by the Party.

The third question of the relation of the Party to the press is that of **recruiting.** We recently carried out very many recruiting campaigns which were most successful in Germany where we carried out some exemplary recruiting campaigns. Take the organisational plan of the last recruiting campaign of the "**Rote Fahne**" in Berlin, that was an example of how campaigns can be begun for a communist paper, prepared and brought right into the lowest nuclei in the various factories. As a rule our recruiting campaigns are much too uniform. No organisational policy is developed. The political position of the organisation in the local or district in question is not taken into consideration. In a district where the Party has grown very strong, where the Party feels that during the recruiting campaign it will win large masses for the Communist Party, there different tactics would be employed from those necessary for a district where the Party is very weak and the relation to the masses different.

The task of the Communist press during a recruiting campaign should not be first of all to gain contact with those masses still separated from us through the communist organs, but rather that of winning over sympathisers by securing new subscribers for the paper. Of course, our tactics must be different in such a case from what we would employ in the former instance. We must demand that recruiting campaigns for our press should be carried out in a manner similar to that which was used for the Berlin "**Rote Fahne**". It is essential that organisations should be in full possession of the facts before any such recruiting campaign, and should know: what are our immediate tasks which strata should we approach, and what organisational possibilities are at our disposal? The greatest attention must be devoted to the study of the recruiting campaign.

To what initiative on the part of the Communist Parties can we point in the last few months? What should be done to further them? **Organs of Bolshevik self-criticism** have developed during the past months and this, in my opinion, is an important matter which ought to be systematically developed. In Germany we have in almost all districts, so-called discussion supplements such as the "**Leninist**", "**Bolschewist**" and "**Funke**". I have personally studied these supplements and am in a position to affirm that the tactical tasks of the Party are put in a much more concrete form than in the Party press. What is the reason of this? The Party press is influenced in too high a degree by what may be termed the pressure of professional journalism; professional production of a communist paper naturally limits self-criticism. The discussion organs have much more individual freedom of movement, and criticism in them is much more natural. Criticism which has its source in the Parties themselves is much more productive than criticism on the part of the International. Such organs are of great importance now since our movement has weaknesses in all its sections.

The French Party has not such a discussion organ up to the present and neither has the British Party. These organs solidify contact with the centre and not only serve the contact with the District Executive, but are a splendid organ of the **Bolshevik centralisation** of the Party.

In this connection I would first like to mention an organ which we have in Germany, "**Der Parteiarbeiter**". I glean from the last number of "**Internationale**" that this splendid publication is going to close down. I consider this is a serious error and wish to say that it would be far better to close down ten other things rather than the Communist "**Parteiarbeiter**". This journal dealt with organisational questions in an exemplary manner, discussed the recruiting campaign in detail and deve-

loped into an intellectual concentration centre for the organisational tasks of the Party. A similar organ should be started by all the Parties, and where possible, published as an independent organ.

The Organisational Conference has already dealt with the basic question of **workers correspondents.** The method of attracting workers correspondents is a very important point. Should one be contented with communists or should we demand that our communist press sets itself the task of attracting every worker who writes for the communist press and regarding him as a workers correspondent? In my opinion, the latter method is correct, the first would be mistaken; the Congress of the "**Rote Fahne**" already committed this error in respect of workers correspondents. There nothing whatever was said about including non-Party workers. To my mind, the inclusion of non-Party and even Social Democratic workers, and where possible Christian workers in the work of the communist press is of the greatest importance. We could receive very much help from them in the method of studying the relationship between the Party and the masses and of finding new ways to win over the workers. We need not fear that the Social Democratic workers who vacillate between the Social Democrats and the Communist Party, will write in the Communist Party press about what they do not approve of in the Communist Party! Why should we fear to be criticised by non-Party workers? We ought to have the courage to listen to criticism, and I imagine that it is the fear of criticism from non-Party workers which permitted this false tendency of forming workers correspondents corps only from the ranks of the Communist Party members.

The second very praiseworthy initiative which we notice is that of the **factory newspapers, the nucleus newspapers.** We have a large number of nucleus papers, and a study of these is well worth while, but unfortunately cannot be done very thoroughly.

Communist nuclei papers developed quite spontaneously without being organised and without being controlled. This may be a political danger for the Party since the nucleus papers have immediate influence on the masses and are subject to the pressure of all vacillations in the factories. They may easily become a danger for the Party if left without control. Control by the nucleus alone is not sufficient. We should insist that our Party newspapers take their little brothers in the factory nucleus under their wing, that in every district the Party Executive demand that the editorial board of the Party newspaper meets the editors of the factory nucleus newspapers in order to support them by supplying information between factory newspapers and the Party organs. Hitherto nothing has been done in this way and since it is an absolute necessity, just as the control and study of the nucleus paper, it should be included in the tasks of the leaders of the press.

In conclusion, just three questions:

1. The question of telegraphic information;
2. Information on Soviet Russia;
3. International Press Day.

We carried out a very successful campaign on the question of trade union unity. Our press was **informed** from a communist point of view about everything which the British delegation did here; it was in a position to deny false information and possessed stamina. We should continue to work on these lines. Unfortunately, we must admit that our press does not utilise to the full the information that we supply. There have been instances when our press simply neglected to print various important statements from us. We should insist that all such statements should be incorporated and developed in the Party press.

Now I come to the second point, the question of **information about Soviet Russia.** Comrade Ruth Fischer pointed out very appropriately in her report that we have left behind us the stage of mere agitation on behalf of Soviet Russia, and stated that the workers ask: "What is going on in Soviet Russia, what are the wages, the mode of life, etc. of the workers?" Comrades, we must confess that we have all done very little in this respect and that very much more extensive work must now be carried on on the lines.

As illustration I will quote just one example. In "**Rudé Pravo**" during the last few weeks a series of articles has been appearing, by Professor **Zagorsky**, the Russian reporter of the **International Labour Office** in Geneva; he is a Menshevik and relates fairy tales in these articles about the position of the working class in Soviet Russia. And comrades, our communist Central Organ

remains silent and does not even publish a notice as correction. We should insist that our press immediately react to all Social Democratic campaigns against Russia which are conducted with an appearance of veracity and are much more dangerous in their effects than counter-revolutionary lies. Social Democrats dare not maintain any longer that little children are eaten in Russia, that women are nationalised, but they say that the workers are in a much worse position, that social insurance does not exist, and that conditions are worse in the factories; This is a most important matter, and we request you to demand of us in every concrete case the necessary information. For our part we assure you that you will receive it in the shortest time possible should you be unable to answer the points yourselves.

We intend to set aside a day for the question of the **International Press Day**, but the date has not yet been fixed. The slogans are to be: Bolshevisation of the press. To the masses. Closer contact with the masses. Contact with the Political movement in the various countries, and that our press be made into mass organisations of the workers.

It is quite evident that in addition to the political slogans there is a primary task to be accomplished, that is, that in every country there should be one communist mass press organ on the lines of the "L'Humanité". The circulation of our central organs is very inadequate. The "Rude Pravo" has not more than 15,000 subscribers, the "Rote Fahne" in Berlin has perhaps 30,000. That state of affairs of course, cannot continue. It is impossible to have in a town like in Berlin an organ with a circulation of about 30,000. This is a political weakness on the part of the Party and a plus for Social Democracy. Hence, I believe that the first task of the International Press Day besides the general popularisation of the mass press will be the creation of Communist mass organs in every country.

The immediate tasks of the Communist press are as follows:

1. The creation of a centralised management of the Communist Press in every country, in every section of the Comintern. The creation of Party organs to control and organise the party press.
2. Close contact and control of the Communist press by the Communist Party.
3. Reorganisation of the Communist press according to the actual requirements of the Communist movement in the various countries.
4. The creation of mass organs in the chief town in the various countries; this is especially applicable in Great Britain.
5. Contact between the nuclei papers and the Party organs, eventually the creation of patronages on the part of the various Party newspapers over the nucleus in various districts.
6. Development of and inquiry into the movement for workers correspondents.
7. The systematic education of Party editors within the limits of Party educational work; this question we have not been able to touch on here in view of the short time at our disposal.
8. Preparation for an International Press Day.

Comrade Treint (France):

I wish to give a short report on the activity of the French Party in the field of agitation and propaganda. The French Party developed from the majority of the former Socialist Party and never for one moment in its history did our Party lose its mass character, hence we had propaganda, parliamentary agitation, a press, there were even a whole series of courses for the education of the members. All these sections were under the theoretical guidance of the Party centre which was actually overburdened, for it could not simultaneously attend to the details of agitation and propaganda and at the same time be responsible for the political conduct of the Party. Further our fractional struggles were a big obstacle in the way of founding a real agitation and propaganda section.

It is quite clear that as long as there existed in the French Party and in the Party centre Leninist tendencies and tendencies quite opposed to the International, that each of these contending would try to secure for itself a place in the centre thereby rendering the uniform leadership of Agitprop still more difficult. We must confess that it was only after the overthrow of all opportunist fractions that we were able to take serious steps towards the formation of an Agitprop Department in the French Party. Only after the Congress of Clichy which was unanimous on our Leninist policy, were we in a position to tackle the pro-

blems really seriously. Immediately after the Congress of Clichy, we took steps to form a central Agitprop apparatus and already we have some success to record in this respect.

The centre conducts and lays down the political policy which the Agitprop Department carries out in detail. The entire educational work of the Party is also under the supervision of the Agitprop Department. The danger that the Agitprop Department might absorb a large party of Party activities and thereby develop a tendency of becoming an autonomous Party organisation, independent to a certain degree of the Executive, does not only exist in the French Party, but in every other Party. The French Party has recognised and taken precautions against this danger which cannot now possibly materialise.

The Communist education carried on in the central Leninist School which we established within the Paris region, is one of the chief results in the field of propaganda. Undoubtedly it is not the final type of the Central Party School. Undoubtedly as soon as we have increased the number of elementary schools, we will raise the level of Communist education in our Party schools, but we were obliged to solve the most pressing problems with which we were faced. We were obliged to give quickly theoretical and practical education to a certain number of our cadre in order to ward off the crisis which was impeding the development of the Party. Our results have been fairly good, for about 60 comrades went through the course, of whom at present five are district secretaries and the others continue to work in factories; these are allotted various tasks, they work mainly in the provinces, in factories or in trade unions and are a valuable asset.

I must point out that we always endeavoured in our Party Central School to unite theoretical education of our active workers with the practical struggle in the Paris district, when the Right and the opportunists started the offensive in some Party organisations, the pupils of the Leninist school took it upon themselves as Party delegates to oppose these opportunist tendencies. At the close of last year, when the Party was attacked by the entire bourgeoisie, which endeavoured to isolate the working masses, all the students of the Leninist Central School supported our comrades in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. They were active in a number of factories in the large centres, and in this way we succeeded in combining practical work with theoretical education.

At the present moment, our elementary schools are beginning to function in the districts and provinces. We have already seven schools in the various Paris districts, quite a notable attainment; from these schools every tendency to autonomy, to federalism, has disappeared. We also had schools formerly, but these were carried on at their own risk, the centre was quite ignorant of their activities. Today, however, no school is formed without a party programme, so that we can safely say that the Party centre has in its own hands the conduct of the school and the direction of the various courses. Generally speaking, we can form a picture of the courses in the district and provincial school if we study the programme; it is quite evident that the theoretical education of our comrades is very closely allied to the present day problems, the political struggle, the class struggle.

We have quite a notable advance to record in the field of agitation; both campaigns which were undertaken since the Congress of Clichy -- the campaign in connection with Lenin's anniversary and that of the anniversary of the Commune -- were carried out under the guidance of our Agitprop Department, which drafted the plan for the speeches to be delivered and prepared the posters, etc. Similar measures were adopted in reference to factory newspapers. At the present moment, we have numerous factory newspapers in the Paris area, and they are also beginning to be started in other industrial centres. The Agitprop Department also controls and directs these factory newspapers. Every week the editors of the factory newspapers are invited to a meeting at the offices of our organ "L'Humanité" where a two-fold criticism takes place: the criticism of the Agitprop Department on the factory newspapers and the criticism of the newspaper editors on our central organ, "L'Humanité".

As regards the work of our press correspondents, we may observe a similar control on the part of the central organisation. Every week at the offices of "L'Humanité" or of the Party, we have meetings of workers correspondents; the work is so organised that in every factory every nucleus elects a comrade who is commissioned to submit a report, and not only Party workers are chosen for this task but even workers who are in sympathy and Social Democratic workers. Further, in every district we have one comrade whose duty it is to centralise the various reports of our factory nuclei.

I do not wish here to deal with our publication department, but I should just like to say that everything is not as brilliant as it may seem and that our Agitprop Department did not meet our expectations because of the two causes which we have already analysed. Our Agitprop Department had not an adequate apparatus and thereby its functions were hampered. Further, our Agitprop Department did not from the very beginning agitate sufficiently within the Party for the formation of Agitprop sections in provincial organisations. We endeavoured as best as we could to solve the problem but it is quite clear that we have laid bare many weaknesses in this respect. We have all set before us the task of perfecting to a certain degree the reorganisation of our Agitprop Department. We are all perfectly aware that our tasks in this respect consist in: Firstly, agitational tasks; we must try to penetrate into the masses by developing partial demands and our revolutionary aim. Secondly, we are confronted with the task of Communist education. We have the press help us in the absolution of all these tasks, which to a certain degree fulfils an agitational task. We have for example, "L'Humanité" and such organs as "Cahiers du Bolchevisme" which devote space to propaganda and Communist education.

Our reorganisation project which is to be given effect directly after our return, comprises a much more complete allocation of work within the Agitprop section than that which exists between agitation and propaganda and the press. For example, in respect of the Party publications one comrade must direct the tasks of the Party which also bear on agitation so that our press service is able to publish agitational pamphlets on some actual political question. Our agitational service at the same time has the task of carrying out Communist education insofar as this is possible through its publications, its theoretical works.

On that account, we were forced to form the following sections, each under the guidance of one comrade: The first section will concentrate on Agitprop campaigns decided upon by the centre, and at the same time advise our local organisations on running those campaigns which are conducted on its own responsibility. The second section is for factory newspapers, workers correspondents, where a comrade takes full control of the work. A third section is to collect all experiences, criticises them and reports to the entire Party on those attempts which have met with success. We purpose publishing a bulletin, which is to be a Party bulletin with the task of collecting and publishing information about all successful undertakings. The fourth has the task of supervising our schools and courses. The fifth that of publications and books; this will be divided into two sections: agitational pamphlets and circulars, etc.

At present, we have a documentary service in fairly good running order which we wish to attach to the Agitprop service; this section will be under the control of those comrades who are responsible for documentary service and the publication of a bulletin in the Communist press, to keep our provincial press and comrades supplied with the necessary information. Finally, the management of the "Cahiers du Bolchevisme" will be reorganised and care will be taken that theoretical education will be permanently united with all practical problems which arise in France.

"L'Humanité" forms a special section. We must remember that "L'Humanité" has special power in France and that it is one of the largest papers of the Communist International, for the subscriptions number 200,000, and its influence consequently extends to about a million workers in France. The comrade in charge of "L'Humanité" is also member of the Agitprop Department. We also intend to have a section for the control of the provincial press; formally our provincial press is only theoretically under the control of the Party Executive (nobody denies the right of the Executive to control). We do not wish that it should ever happen in France that Party theories should be attacked as has been the case in Czechoslovakia where Smeral and Zapotocky were guilty of such conduct — autonomy theories which profess that a local paper is independent of the Central Party organ. If this control has not actually been carried out hitherto by the Party Executive, we will now appoint a special comrade for the control of the provincial press.

Then finally there will be a section devoted to information on Russia. One comrade will be told off and made responsible for following the Russian press and also the most important works in Russian literature, so that we should be kept up-to-date about all news coming from Russia, whether for the education of Party members or for agitation in our principal organ, "L'Humanité".

In this way we hope to organise our Agitprop service. I make no mention of our general aim, for we are all agreed in this. I simply point out what measures the French Party is undertaking in order to continue our work, to continue the struggle which we have been carrying on now successfully for some months in order to eradicate opportunist tendencies, not only mechanically but also by an ideological struggle.

A Comrade from the Italian Section:

Comrades!

In Italy we must record, first of all that there is a weakness in the active cadres resulting from the emigration of the organisational elements of the Party. The chief task of the Communist Party is to develop both inside the Party and outside active cadres for agitation and propaganda.

In the same manner, the centre requires an apparatus responsible for the division of work. We already possess an agitation and propaganda section with one comrade politically responsible and some other comrades who assist him. But all this is in its very early stages. After the Conference, the Party will enlarge the cadre in the Central Committee and Organisation Bureau and eventually in the Agitprop, for the problem of propaganda in Italy is of great interest. Four years ago there were a great number of tendencies in the country, which spread during the years of war but were quelled by the revolutionary movement. But even since that time they have begun to raise their heads again, for example, in Italy there is a noteworthy agricultural school, which is perhaps the strongest that exists in any country in Europe, even including Germany. This school has taken a new lease of life.

Then there remains the Bordiga question. To cope with all these deviations, a great campaign must be organised both within and outside the Party, but it would be very difficult to carry on a propaganda campaign just at this moment in Italy without first forming cadres of active workers who are necessary if the masses are to be organised.

There is a great awakening in the ranks of the masses, but the Party has not understood how to organise the masses. The fact that we gained 300,000 votes with 10,000 Party members is a proof that we have a certain influence in the trade unions. But we are incapable of having functionaries in the trade unions who can lead them for a longer period at a time, because they do not possess organisational capacity for propaganda and agitation which is so necessary if we are to retain our position in the trade unions. The reformists take the offensive and the masses are lost anew.

The Party has done very good propaganda work among the peasants, and in this activity the Party utilised to the full the old traditions of the Socialist Party in respect to the Vatican. Before the war, a big anti-clerical campaign was initiated, but the war checked it.

At the present moment a certain „innovation“ of the masses is being attempted, for example the Left of the Catholic People's Party has taken up a different attitude from the Vatican, in fact, there is now a dispute amongst the Catholic masses. The Catholic Left is nearer to Communism than the Socialists and Reformists: for example, in the opposition committee of the Catholic Left, votes were cast for a general strike against the Maximalists and the Reformists.

There is a tendency to form nuclei from the petty bourgeois class with Communist sympathies, against the traditional parties who are allied with the bourgeoisie.

In Italy we have only one daily paper, which cannot be circulated throughout Italy but is restricted to 600 municipalities. In addition, we have a weekly paper devoted to organisational and international information, and which also deals with various theoretical questions. Further, we have a Review which up to now has appeared only irregularly. It is destined to supply the lower ranks with a certain theoretical knowledge. We have increased the circulation of this Review to eight or ten thousand: it is very widely circulated and we feel that it will become still more popular because there is a great demand for it on the part of the Party members.

We have a well-edited women's paper. A certain campaign was introduced amongst the women, conferences of peasant women were organised, and a weekly journal was started which was very widely circulated amongst the women of Italy. About 12,000 copies were sold.

Further we have a trade union organ which is not exactly as it ought to be, since it only deals with trade union questions; it is the revolutionary organ of the trade unions, but it must be changed into an organ for the education of a trade union Party cadre. The Party has not as yet worked to this effect, but it has the intention of so doing; the Central Committee intends to attach more importance to forming a technical trade union centre which is of the utmost importance for Italy for we can only win over the masses in the trade unions by proving to them that the Communists alone fight on behalf of the trade unions, whereas the reformists give no support whatever. Further, we require active trade union workers in addition to an organ to bring our theory of organisation to the Party masses.

We have now the possibility of publishing the paper, "L'Unità", legally in Italy but every day the chief editor must present himself to the Prefect of police, who says to him: You should not say that, and you ought not to mention such matters, etc. It is a very strict censorship, just as bad as that which existed during and even after the war. On this account the Party has 6 illegal weekly papers in Turin, Milan, Florence, Naples, Genoa, etc. These papers should publish whatever it is impossible to print in the legal press, but the weakness of the Party has up to the present not allowed it to do anything of note. Our comrades in the provinces are not experienced in dealing with the illegal press, and are still very much under the influence of legality.

Work has been begun during the past two months for the reorganisation of the Party, and a certain contact has been gained with the masses. Meetings were organised to celebrate the anniversary of the Russian Revolution which were most successful throughout the country. In Milan, for the first time an attempt was made to call a meeting, but without much success, because the women were opposed to it. On the second occasion, 2,000 workers came to the meeting, there was no hesitation, the masses held together, and this was a great demonstration for the Communist Party. At the entrance of a church, about 300 peasants were assembled, a Communist speaker addressed this meeting; fascism is impotent where these meetings are concerned; it can have its spies in the factories, but it cannot have its police everywhere.

The Party has tried very hard to develop the publications department. Fascism burnt all our printed matter; the "Avanti" had a very big bookshop where all Marxist publications were sold, but all stocks were burnt. Now our duty is to republish the works of the great leaders of Marxism theory so that the upper Party cadre can use them for their orientation.

Nothing should be left undone to create cadres of active workers who will work in all fields against the spread of bourgeois ideology. In our endeavour to give the workers an ideological education we will create cadres of active workers capable of leading the Italian working masses.

Comrade Bell (England):

We are completely in agreement with the theses of the Agitprop Department; at the same time we have got to ask this commission to agree that there should be the greatest flexibility in the application of these theses.

Since 1922, the British Party has organisationally followed the line laid down in the theses. Our Agitprop Department is controlled by the Central Committee on which there is a representative of the Political Bureau. Every district organisation has its district committee, every local group, area group, has its leader, and all groups within factories, the mines, the railways, have their leader. The whole apparatus is controlled from the centre, and specific instructions and directions are given out to the smallest units in the Party organisation.

Politically, our propaganda differs from the propaganda of the Social Democrats. The whole of their propaganda is designed to secure parliamentary representations or municipal representations. But the propaganda and the agitation of the Communist Parties must be revolutionary in its instincts, and therefore we cannot allow our propagandists or our agitators the same licences as the propagandists of the Social Democratic Parties. We cannot tolerate speakers and propagandists who speak in two voices. There must be the strongest centralisation in our propaganda and agitation so that our speakers in various countries will speak with the same voice, that in France we will not have propagandists and speakers issuing different slogans from the slogans

of parties in England, Germany or Russia; that our propaganda and agitation must be directly centralised so that Communists everywhere will speak with the same voice.

The Central Committee of our Party prepares all the materials for agitation and propaganda in advance. That is to say for special campaigns that it may be preparing, or in preparation for any special event which the Communist International or the Communist Party is concerned in. It instructs all its local and district organisations to have special party meetings for the purpose of getting unanimity and clarity upon the slogans that are to be used during the campaign, and to have complete unanimity upon the whole character of the campaign. Those party meetings are open to sympathisers, because we believe that the questions upon which our party speakers have to deal, are questions of vital concern to the large masses of workers, and in those special party meetings, we invite sympathisers to come and listen to our Party discussing its problems and how best to spread them in the ranks of the masses.

For example in the commemoration of the death of Comrade Lenin, we issued special leaflets and special theses to be discussed by the locals and the smallest groups in our party upon Leninism and what Leninism means. We did the same with regard to the Paris Commune, and here I want to say that our Party anticipated the Agitprop Department here in having its theses prepared weeks in advance of the receipt of the materials from the Agitprop in Moscow. These theses were sent out to every speaker and propagandist that we have on our list in the Party, and special instructions were issued to each local group and factory unit to hold meetings to discuss the whole situation of the Paris Commune, its lessons for us, and its relation to Soviet Russia. These are the methods that are adopted by our Party to insure a definite centralised direction and unanimity in the control of all our propaganda. Regular speakers cards are issued at least once a month. There is always some question upon which all speakers should concentrate.

So far as the British Party is concerned, we have a considerable latitude from the point of view of legality. We can do many things in England by way of agitation and propaganda that cannot be done in many other countries, but at the same time we have to know that there is now an ever increasing opposition from the bourgeois press and administration against the menace of our propaganda. For example during the time of the Lenin memorial we had taken one of the largest theatres in the centre of London and after everything had been properly arranged and our posters advertising the meeting had been issued and leaflets distributed, at the very last moment objections were taken by certain people interested in the ownership of the hall and proceedings were brought before a law court and an injunction taken out to prevent this hall being used for a Communist Party meeting. The fact that this was done the day before the Lenin memorial is a very clear indication as to the extent which the bourgeois class now are beginning to deal with our Communist Party.

The same is true with regard to the British fascist movement. Our Party has been continually handicapped and harassed; when for example it organises a meeting in any large centre it is a regular thing to have false telegrams being sent to the local secretaries suggesting that the meeting is cancelled or that the speakers are not going to turn up or that they get special posters printed and stick them across our posters suggesting that the meeting is cancelled, etc. The latest incident, the actual kidnapping of Harry Pollitt, will give you an example of the sort of difficulties we have to contend with.

With regard to the press, our press is not a very strong press at the moment. In England the bourgeois press is probably the most extensive press in the world. It is the most suitable. It takes in every corner of the British Empire. Particularly strong is the Sunday Press of the bourgeoisie. Here we have papers in some instance to the extent of 3,000,000 copies which contain the most sensational news of the week, all kinds of filthy proceedings in the divorce courts, etc. for the purpose of exciting the interest of the proletariat who is resting over the week-end. The Communist Party in England therefore, has very great difficulties in dealing with their press because of the character of the bourgeois press, which in many cases is as radical as the ordinary Social Democratic press. At the same time we have to say that we are making considerable progress. Our "Workers Weekly", that is the central Party organ, has to rely for its distribution upon the Party apparatus. The Party organisation is used for the

distribution of this paper, and it is an obligation on every local to insure that every member is engaged in the distribution of the paper.

Then we have in the Minority Movement on which the Party exercises influence, not only the central organ called "The Worker" but a number of other subsidiary papers which are controlled by the propaganda and agitation carried on through the "Workers Weekly". Then recently the "Sunday Worker" appeared and this Sunday paper is very successful and of much service to our Party. Since its institution the last edition reaches a total number of 250,000, and this paper is distributed through the ordinary newspaper agencies.

This is going to be a very important contribution to the building up of a mass Party in Great Britain and is certainly going on the lines of preparing a mass press which it is absolutely necessary that every country should have if there is going to be a mass Party.

So far as the editorial control of our press is concerned, we have never had any difficulties in this direction. The editors of our central organ and the other organs are members of the Polit Bureau of the Party. The Agitprop has an editorial committee which discusses the material referred to them by the Polit Bureau, the Polit Bureau itself sets up a special committee for working out and discussing the materials. The editors have a committee of voluntary workers among whom there is a subdivision of labour — international, industrial, proletarian, co-operative and various other sections of our movement. We have voluntary members reporting the activities of the Party in every political section. These are the methods that have been adopted by our Party to control the press and so far as we are concerned we have no difficulties whatsoever.

Comrade Geschke (Germany):

The report on agitation and propaganda possibilities and the methods of agitation and propaganda work in Germany can in my opinion be comparatively short, for the German Party has kept the International Secretariat of the Agitprop the best informed. This can be done not merely by a quantity of information but by supplying details as to the structure and methods of the department.

Comrades, just a few words about the structure. In the Party centre we have a central Agitprop apparatus under the guidance of a responsible member of the Executive, and this apparatus is responsible for the carrying out of the entire agitation and propaganda work of the centre. The central Agitprop apparatus has for the most part the same functions as the Agitprop apparatus here for the ECCI. For example, compiling material for reports on special campaigns, designing posters, issuing articles for the press or compiling same etc. In the same manner, the various local Executives have agitprop chiefs, that is to say, in every district Executive there is at least one comrade who is responsible for his work. And this type of organisation is carried through even in the nucleus. For example, in Berlin we must recall — this is also a part of Agitprop — that we have a nucleus in the Werner Siemens Works where the factory nucleus paper has a circulation of 4000. This I mention is one of our largest, but is not the only one.

Comrades, we have in Germany paid special attention to the development and popularisation of special campaigns, not only those which have been arranged internationally, but also such as can be carried on in connection with German conditions, and for these special material is prepared and issued by the Agitprop Department. We have prepared an exhibition in connection with the German Revolution which will be ready in two or three months, this will deal with the German Republic from 1918 and will give all the best documents, all the best posters etc. The German Agitprop Department has at its disposal noteworthy artists, draftsmen, authors, journalists etc., so that we have quite a good reserve of operators. All departments which undertake any kind of campaign of work in the C. P. G. must get into touch with the Agitprop Department of the C. P. G. in order to collect material concerning the activity in question for publication. No department acts independently in the matter of publishing such material, everything passes through the Agitprop Department. The Agitprop Department is in direct contact with the Polit Bureau and is subject to the political leadership of the Party. Formerly matters were different, there was a certain independence which caused various disagreements within the Central Executive, and a certain amount of overburdening which extended right to the factory nuclei.

In respect to the control of newspapers I grant that this is not carried out as it should be. But without exaggeration I must contend that all local Executives are now devoting the greatest attention to the press. We are working on the matter in such a way that our central press service is provided with day and night telephone service and is connected with the various editorial centres of our provincial papers and at the same time with the district executives. In this way we are able to make our press uniform and thus in unison in all the bigger campaigns and march forward unitedly so that thereby already today divided action has become much less frequent.

At the same time we guard against adopting cut and dried methods. Each editor has the power and the right to arrange the make-up of his paper in accordance with the character of the district. At the Organisational Conference I pointed out the weaknesses and errors which exist and what has been done to uproot them. I am fully aware that our theoretical journals and also our central organ have been subject to criticism here. Further, I agree that this has been deserved to a large extent, but it is a fact that the co-operation which has been promised us from here, has hitherto been inadequate. Up to the present, not one collaborator from the big apparatus of Agitprop has been produced for collaboration with the German Party in respect of its theoretical organs. I hope that Comrade Kun will not only send exemplary letters, but also exemplary articles to Germany. I must honestly admit that I prefer the articles, but of course if the criticism should not suffice, then the Central Agitprop may, as people say, call us over the coals. But for the present, criticism has been showered on us in quite a generous manner. Therefore let us have more positive collaboration and incorporation of working forces for the German Party. But it is not my task to criticise the International Agitprop apparatus.

In my opinion, we can record in Germany mistakes and shortcomings which I think exist in every section with the exception of the French section. In not one single country do we possess good draughtsmen, as far as I can see. It is true that in the "Pravda" there are sometimes brilliant productions, but we cannot secure for our "Rote Fahne" the cartoons which we require to attract the workers and to attract the attention generally. Perhaps it would be a task of the International Agitprop apparatus to foster a draughtsman's circle. In Germany in respect to posters we have even had to poach on the French. We have had many posters which have not been the work of German but of French artists, which were posted up somewhere in France and which we had redrawn to suit German conditions.

In this, comrades, we see a great shortcoming which must be eliminated by a thorough development and change in the International Agitprop section itself.

As regards our theoretical organ "Die Internationale", I grant that the criticism of the "Internationale" is justified. We are now in a position to admit, to our satisfaction that a change has already taken place not only in the editorial composition, but in my opinion there has also been an improvement as regards contents. For this purpose it is essential that the Agitprop Department dispatches all the necessary articles and information for the campaigns in good time and not, as often happens, a minute before the train starts, and often even after it has started. I would therefore like to suggest that in connection with the various campaigns the Agitprop should send us drafts of posters or special catchwords.

Comrades, on the question of propaganda work I must confess that it is a great weakness in the German Party. It is true that we have opened central Marxist-Leninist circles at which there were about one hundred members from the various districts who heard a report on Bolshevism. On the basis of this report, in various districts working groups were formed. Not only district educational courses are to be conducted but also in all local groups and in the nuclei. We conducted various Party schools in Germany, and in my opinion, the chief failure was that they did not work thoroughly enough nor attain any thorough development in the education of the pupils. The duration of the classes was mostly very short, and in this time it was not possible to do anything worth while. The Central Executive intends to start a Party school on a larger and more thorough basis on October 1st. For this we require teachers for special subjects so that we should not carry on just for one or two weeks or months, but at least from nine to twelve months.

Comrade Michalec (Czechoslovakia):

In dealing with Agitprop work in Czechoslovakia, the special historical and objective conditions must be kept in view which are specially applicable in Czechoslovakia. There are various historical developments in Czechoslovakia, that of the Czechish, the German, the Slovakian territories, and the Carpatho-Russ borderlands. And all this must be taken into consideration in respect of agitation and propaganda work.

The development of Agitprop work formerly in Czechoslovakia was carried on on the basis of Proletcult organisations; this was a continuation of the traditions of the Czech Social Democratic Party which had its so-called Workers Academy which did not work directly under the leadership of the Central Committee. The activity of the Proletcult, composed of representatives of the Party and of the various sympathising organisations, especially gymnastic and sport organisations, did not differ essentially in methods from the activity of the former Academy of the Czech Social Democrats. Such an institution was in direct contradiction to the policy of the Comintern in respect of agitation and propaganda work.

At the First Party Congress a specially heated debate was carried on on the part of the Communist Youth for the liquidation of this Proletcult which the Party was completely relying upon for the conduct of its educational work. At that time no success was attained. It was not a question of being at loggerheads with the present day Rights, but there were even other comrades who thought that we must preserve the old traditions. The fact of the existence of Proletcult was connected with the deviations of the Right Wing. A deep cleavage arose between the "old tradition" and the new generation, which enthusiastically supported the International, but did not possess the education to compete with the shortcomings of the old tradition.

Comrades, at the Second Party Congress, what we might term the Bolshevisation Congress, the Proletcult was liquidated after great difficulty. It is noteworthy that a basic resolution for Agitprop work was presented which however, was not approved, but merely decided on in a general way; Comrade Kreibich was appointed reporter.

Just a few words on the chief points at issue.

The first question is the question of organisation work. Also here we have brought over as "tradition" the incapability of popularising the Party slogans for the broad masses. And that does only mean that we are not in a position — this is very important — to approach the peasant masses and the national minorities, but it means that we are not even able to popularise these slogans among the working masses themselves. Hence, for some time, already the most important question in Czechoslovakia is that of organising the political campaigns of the Party. Comrade Zinoviev speaks in his thesis of the necessity for the Czechoslovakian Party to learn to carry out **concentrated campaigns**. This signifies that the Czech Party must become capable of learning mass organisational methods.

Regarding the question of propaganda, we must register the fact that independent theoretical work is not carried on in the Party, as a result of the continuation of the bad traditions, which we inherited from the Czech Social Democrats, even by the "Old Guard", who possess certain theoretical bases for such work, if one disregards the deviations. This was especially true as regards the peasant and national questions.

The old generation was surrounded by a circle of young theoreticians, such as Vanek, Friedrich Halu, but the comrades were already aware what deviations just these comrades were subject to, especially in basic questions on Comintern policy. In this connection we must admit that there is an insufficiency of courses for educational work, for carrying out mental education and developing new cadres. We have not only no independent work in the theoretical domain, we did not even have correct interpretation of the policy of Comintern. We had a whole series of deviations, not only Right deviations but also Left — well, you see not only those of Smeral, Bennak and Votava, who were supposed to carry out independent work. Bennak wrote a work entitled "The Defence of Communism" which is more to the discredit of Communism in Czechoslovakia; it is a humanistic perversion and abuse of Marxism. But the Left Wing was also guilty of great faults.

In addition to these deviations, we may notice in Czechoslovakia the existence of a definite preservation of petty bourgeois influence in the Party. I have already spoken about Proletcult

and the organisational composition of same, from which it happened that the Communist Party had not a leading political and organisational influence on its immediate periphery through the fractions, no, rather the contrary was the case.

In connection with this we may notice the existence of pacifist and humanistic influence, the theories of Masaryk have still their representatives in the Party. Our Right Wing systematically prevented discussion on political matters for the clarification of the various basic and tactical questions, simply because it was opposed to any real political activity amongst the Party masses.

Comrades, our theoretical Party journal, "Die Kommunistische Revue" is guilty of the same deviations. In this journal we not only find abstract theories without any connection with practical work, but a method of theorisation which does not take into consideration the real questions of Leninism, but rather finds subjects of its own to develop quite outside of practical work, for example, questions of sex science, which we must admit takes up very much space.

As far as our literature is concerned, up to the present very little has been published by the Party, although already in the old Social Democratic Party there was also a great lack in his direction. Recently we have endeavoured to make this shortcoming good, but it is as yet very inadequate, and just here the Agitprop Department of the Comintern should intervene, that is to say, if the question of Bolshevisation is really being taken seriously. Further, there is the fact that the publishing activity of the Party has no special centre, shows a great lack of organisation. Nothing has yet been done by the new Executive in the domain of cadre schools.

Just a short survey of the press. Also in this realm we have to deal with our old bad traditions, especially in the Czech district. From this fact we can explain the peculiar (and almost incomprehensible fact for foreigners) form of the Central Party organ. Up till recently, a definite political policy was absolutely lacking in our press. The Party press did not only represent the policy of the Party centre, but frequently had no definite political policy — it was decentralised not only politically in the sense that entire groups of the press put forward different views, but also fundamentally in respect of actual questions, for example, in respect of a certain strike, one section of the press wrote that it ended in a big victory, whereas another section maintained the opposite and argued that the strike should have been carried on longer. Thus we see that between the "Rude Pravo", the Czech organ, and the "Vorwärts", the German organ, there is absolutely no connection. But not only is there a political decentralisation, but also technically as has already been pointed out here. Our organs have, up to the present, not been mass organs, because they have had no actual contact with the masses, their circulation is negligible, their character, their contents actually fail to represent the interests of the masses. This question is closely allied to that of the proletarianisation of our Party press.

I wish to state, comrades, quite briefly, that you have been in error when you maintain that we have done nothing to alter all this. For just in respect of the press the Agitprop has done more perhaps than for any other branch of activity.

In conclusion, a few words on the organisational question. There is practically no question of Agitprop organisation at our centre. On a provincial scale, to the work is still very undeveloped. In the Czech districts, to a certain extent the remnants of the Proletcult continue to work as Agitprop, but in reality have developed no further activity than formerly. In German districts, the old traditions of the former Educational Commissions still prevail, and the real Agitprop apparatus has not yet formed. We work in collaboration with various organisations, especially the Communist Youth Leagues with which we are very closely allied. Here Agitprop work has already given signs of beginnings of a more extensive nature than in the Party itself. Our collaboration with the National Secretariat for Women is, however, not quite so good, and here I should like to direct attention to the fact that when considering the Bolshevisation of the Party, political educational work amongst women will play a great role, because much of that which seems to be the remains of former traditions, is concentrated in the women's movement.

There are two further tasks to which I wish to draw attention, which are closely connected with the real systematic work in Czechoslovakia. Our struggle is not only to be against the Right deviations, but also against such elements which maintain a con-

servative and passive attitude towards the reorganisation of the Party and transference of the centre of gravity of the Party to the factory. Here we hit the greatest difficulty. The question of agitation for Czechoslovakia in connection with the Bolshevisation of the Party is really a question of fate.

The Representative of the Y.C.I.

We must lay greater stress on the point that our plans for agitation and propaganda work should be defined nationally. To a certain extent that has already taken place. As regards the subject matter which has been discussed here, I wish merely to state that we are in agreement, except as regards the question of the elementary party courses which in our opinion have a too comprehensive programme.

In relation to work among the youth, I want to touch on one question, the question of the Leninist Education Work of the Communist Youth. In the ranks of the Communist youth, political educational work has always been considered of greater importance than within the ranks of the Party, and now I shall deal very briefly with the measures which have been taken in accordance with the decisions of the Fourth Congress in regard to Leninist propaganda. We consider that a political elementary education is necessary to create a certain political level amongst the members of the Party and the Youth, and thereby become the chief task of Leninist propaganda. Already several attempts have been made in this direction in many sections of the Youth International; the creation of cadres is the prerequisite for a more extensive system of work in the domain of agitation and propaganda. Hence we have the intention, after a central school of four weeks' duration has been conducted in France, to hold in the immediate future central schools in the most important Youth Leagues which should create a certain reserve of propagandists who in their turn should undertake definite functions as district secretaries etc.

I wish to say just a few words about our work in regard to the press. The Communist Youth press was formerly on the style of periodicals, and in about a year through energetic work we have begun to transform our newspapers and have already had considerable success. In the field of **Factory Newspapers** our immediate task on behalf of the Parties of Western Europe is to make our experiences available in agitational and propaganda work within organisations already on a nucleus basis, i. e., to put them in possession of Russian experiences. We must not forget that in the various Parties a number of strange elements are at work in educational work who are not at one with our basic point of view. Therefore, we should utilise every possibility to take the work out of the hands of such elements, and this task is only possible if agitational and propaganda work is carried out on the basis of nuclei.

As to the question of **individual propaganda**, I should like to point out that this, in our opinion, is the form of propaganda which is in accordance with organisation on the basis of factory nuclei.

Just a few remarks about **Schools**. Both in the French and German Youth Leagues we have great experience in short term schools and have besides six and eight day courses which serve to train functionaries, that is, of the medium active cadres of the Leagues, a special type which we may observe in England and also just now in Germany. The type to which I refer is the Saturday and Sunday schools, which are similar to what we would call conferences in Russia. These schools bring together the functionaries of a definite district, and we repeat this process every four weeks, so that through these schools we attain a regular meeting of the active forces. In my opinion the Parties ought to devote special attention to these schools.

We are only in the first stages of our agitational and propaganda work and we must go forward energetically and find transition forms so that those who are not disposed to carry out propaganda and agitational work on the basis of the Fifth Congress, should be deprived of power to interfere.

Comrade Hansen (Norway):

I should like **Tranmael** and the **Tranmael** deviation also mentioned among the various theoretical deviations. The question of ideological clarity is of particular importance in Norway at the present juncture. At the split in the N. A. P. (Norwegian Labour Party) November 1923, many elements came over to our side for sentimental reasons — because they felt themselves at

one with the Comintern and because of their love for the Russian Revolution, etc. Many of these people were already shaken by the German October, and the more they realised that the prospect of revolution has been decidedly postponed, the more these sentimental internationalists will become disintegrated at their very basis. Secondly, it should be taken into account that probably there are no big class struggles imminent in Norway in the near future. Hence it is all the more necessary to sharpen the ideological weapons of the Communist Party.

What was the official political platform of the Comintern fraction in Norway at the time of this split? As representative of what policy in Norway was our "fraction" considered by the workers? There was the Court of Arbitration concerning trade union questions, a more or less open support of the Liberal Party and the Liberal Government as a parliamentary coalition not only with the Social Democrats but also with the Liberals. In the Norwegian labour policy, our fraction had an **opportunist** platform, it was this the **Tranmaelites** made an excuse for the rejection of the Moscow slogan. In the eyes of thousands of workers we were the right wing, and **Tranmael** the left.

Let us now consider what has come to pass in the course of the further development? As the constituted Communist Party our fraction changed entirely its political platform in the period of the most acute class struggle which began just at the time of the Party split. There was no more talk about the Arbitration Court, nor about supporting the Liberal government and about Workers' and Peasants' Government as a coalition of the democratic parties. Our Party was the vanguard of the revolutionary metal workers struggle. In fact it has become that Party about which **Tranmael** has been making fine phrases for years, the Party of the mass actions of the proletariat.

But we were not the only people to change their political platforms. The same applies also to **Tranmael & Co.** He has gone over from the Trade Union tactics of his former opposition to the Social Democratic trade union tactics. Every serious mass action he termed lunacy. It is obvious that this exchange of political platforms must be consolidated through ideological work in our ranks. What we need is a section of the Comintern with a correct political platform in the Norwegian Labour policy. This is the way to reach the class-conscious workers of the **Tranmael** Party. If there are people who think that these sections of the working class will come over to our side through the mediation of our right wing over the bridge of the opportunism which they long ago rejected, they are very much mistaken.

What are the ideological tendencies against which we have to fight at present? We are still fighting against the relics of labourism and trade unionism, against the federalism in our own Party organisation. We have to fight against the **Tranmaelite** idea of the formation of a Unity Party, against the reconciliation policy, the obliteration of Party boundaries (tendencies of idyllic co-operation in parliament, etc.) against directly liquidatory tendencies and the spontaneity theory which has at times weakened the political initiative of our Party. We must fight against the improvisation tendency in our policy, against the tactics of winning the masses through opportunist methods.

We have far too many newspapers in Norway. And the editions are also comparatively large, about 50,000 in a Party, which polled 59,000 votes at the election. Lately a beginning was made with factory correspondents. But it is a fact that even the articles of very competent workers correspondents sometimes find their way into the paper basket, to avoid losing advertisements through their publication. It is characteristic as a sign of the ideological Bolshevisation of the membership that one hears more the assertion that our press must not be dependent on our enemies, but only on the revolutionary workers. In Norway the solution of the problem of workers' correspondence is very closely connected with this question. In our country we are struggling for the ideological co-ordination of the entire propaganda work, and we can say that we have already achieved considerable results in this direction.

Those who tell us that in a classically petty-bourgeois country such as Norway the peasant question must be treated theoretically, are right, and we mean to publish at the first opportunity the Lenin articles on the peasant question compiled by you, and also a book of our own on the agrarian and peasant question in the Scandinavian countries. In connection with Leninist propaganda we already endeavoured to lay stress on those points which are of the greatest practical and political importance here. We have long ago left the stage of abstract theorising behind us. I will just mention a trifling example.

The political and organisational tasks of the day were formulated in a very distinctive and concrete manner at the district conference of Oslo and Akeshys which took place in the middle of February. The decisions were printed in 5000 copies which were distributed among Party members and sympathisers. These decisions (directions and instructions) form the basis of the theoretical education of our members. They deal for instance with the trade union question, the peasant question, the question of the manner in which the revolutionary elements of the NAP. are to be won over, etc.

Everyone of these questions has a concrete practically political side, dictated by the existing situation, as well as a theoretical side based purely on principle: the trade unions as the historical class organisations of the proletariat, the theory of the hegemony of the proletariat, Lenin's strategical doctrine concerning the peasantry as the ally of the working class, the theory of the so-called bourgeois Labour Party, etc. There is a concrete point concerning factory nuclei. In this connection we treat the interrelation between politics and organisation within the framework of the revolutionary movement, partial demands, etc.

We intend to open a Central Party school on May 2nd, and we would like to elaborate the plan of studies together with the Agitprop. As to the recent campaigns, I should like to emphasise only certain specific features'. It was during the Lenin week that we noticed increased interest in theoretical questions. Very many courses were held and many permanent courses were officially opened.

We used this opportunity to undermine one of the main pillars of Tranmaelism, namely his "State theory". This was the theory that the workers must gradually gain control over the factories, then the economic basis, the real foundation of power will be in their hands, and then the political super-structure, the State, will collapse on its own accord.

In connection with this I should like to lay particular stress on the necessity of a definite differentiation of the entire Agitprop work of the CI. and of the Communist Parties. We in Norway stand in need of active support in the ideological struggle against labourism, federalism, spontaneity theory, and liquidatorship. Above all, it is necessary for us that all Party journalists be really and truly connected with organisational life, with the propaganda and the everyday agitation among the masses. With your assistance we will develop systematically our propaganda and agitation both within and outside the organisations, that is to say not according to an abstract plan, but according to the needs of a country where, having changed the political platform of the CP. through the process of the class struggle itself, in the interrelations between these needs and theoretical consciousness, we are confronted by the task of bringing the revolutionary workers of Norway into the Communist Party, converting the latter into a Bolshevik mass Party, however, not over the bridge of opportunism, of class reconciliation, etc. but by means of bringing ideological clarity into the experiences of the class struggle in Norway.

Comrade Kun (Closing remarks):

Comrades, in my closing remarks I should like to sum up the results of our discussion. In reference to Bolshevism very much was said — I emphasise, was said — about centralisation and the uniformity of the Communist Party. But in discussing the point of centralisation and that of uniformity of Communist Parties, very little was said from what sources centralisation comes, on what basis centralisation and uniformity of the Communist Party is possible. What Comrade Treint remarked about the results of these short course Leninist schools and the utilisation of those who attend those schools, shows that centralisation, a real Bolshevik centralisation, need not only be a mechanical centralisation. Real unity can be brought about on the basis of a uniform ideology; a uniform ideology can be created by Marxist and Leninist propaganda.

Let us consider the question from a political point of view. We must admit that our task in the immediate future consists in centralising and unifying the sections of the Communist International on the basis of the establishment of a Marxist-Leninist ideology, by means of propaganda work, the propaganda of Marxism and Leninism. If we fail in this, everything that has been said as to Bolshevism, remains but empty phrases. Comrades, what should be the content of this Marxist-Leninist propaganda? Every country must decide on this individually. In Czechoslovakia the content must be different from that of America, in France

from that of Germany, but one thing is certain, that the basis of our propaganda work must be so chosen that our propaganda is in close contact with the daily policy of the Party. Through our work we must intensify the general policy of the Party and influence the policy of the Party in such a way that the policy of the Communist Party be not a policy of chance but must be according to a uniform, strategical plan.

I just wish to quote one example of an international campaign, the campaign on behalf of trade union unity. This has been one of the most successful and extensive campaigns of the Communist International since its inception. But if this campaign has not met with the requisite success amongst the masses, then the fault lies in our propaganda work. We must admit that this campaign, which is first and foremost in educational campaign, has had an inadequate foundation. Even our highest Party functionaries have only a glimmering of the special strategic plan on which this campaign is being conducted, in what perspective this struggle for trade union unity is being organised. This, comrades, is a living example of how our propaganda work should be carried out. It should be connected with the events of the day, the policy of the day, but not in such a way that for every case, for every political event some special theory be brought forward, but all events of the day, all political questions of the day, should be incorporated and explained within the framework of our general strategic plan. This is one of the most important questions of the unity of the Party, the centralisation of the Party, the capacity for action of the Party.

Comrades, Marxism and Leninism should be the basis of propaganda. I am an opponent of the conception held by some old comrades who think that we are deserting the field of Marxism when we term ourselves Leninists in the age of imperialism and of social revolution. I am in absolute agreement with the thesis on Bolshevism which affirms that: there can be no Marxism today without Leninism. No one can call himself a Marxist without being a Leninist.

But I am also an opponent of the conception of younger comrades, who have not had a possibility of studying Marxism, who think it is possible to study Marxism by reading a few popular pamphlets on Marxism, and then a few pamphlets dealing with Bolshevism and who are of the opinion that this so-called study of Marxism is really study. Marxism is no tradition for us. It is the living basis of Leninism which is the consequent continuation of Marxism with the methods of Marxism. In this respect we differ from those reformists who continue Marxism by introducing strange methods or want to develop it further through revisionism, like Bernstein and others. The fact that we have called our journal, "Under the Banner of Marxism" will give a clear and definite answer to such as Friedrich Adler, Rapaport and those other comrades who like to call themselves Marxists but do not acknowledge Leninism.

The contents of propaganda must, as I already said, be differentiated. We have given details on agitation and propaganda in our thesis, the question now is, what can we do in this respect as Agitation and Propaganda Department of the ECCI. In this matter we must differentiate between the various stages. In the first period — our existence dates back about five months — we cannot do more than direct the public opinion of Communist Parties to the fact that the propaganda of Marxism and Leninism is necessary in the interests of the liberation struggle of the proletariat. Hence our attitude towards narrow opportunists and the pure theorising of some so-called "Left Communists" has been of a more agitational nature.

The second stage will be, in my opinion, the creation of a programme, the creation of a framework programme for all parties which must be suited to the local conditions of the various sections of the Communist Party. We begun this stage by publishing the plan for elementary courses, and the task of the various sections consists in adapting this programme to the conditions of their country, so that it really serves satisfactorily the propaganda demands of the sections. Attempts on these lines have been made in Norway where Comrade Hansen published a little pamphlet on manner, method, and the programme of propaganda work in the Norwegian Party: Unfortunately, no such endeavour has been made in Germany to adapt the programme to the definite conditions of the German Party. Our intention is to draft a concrete programme and to give methodical directions for Central Party Schools for the five largest countries. Already certain steps have been taken in respect to Great Britain.

In respect of the question of information on Soviet Russia, we have data which prove how much we have published on Soviet

Russia for the various Parties, either through **Inprecorr**, or directly through the various Party organs. At the beginning we sent out the information absolutely without making any selections; but recently we have begun to make selections of information suitable to the various countries. We cannot act on behalf of the individual Parties and carry out the work. We can only give definite help, directions, we can only correct errors but we cannot undertake the work for the Parties. And in this connection, I should like to make a few remarks about the work of the Agitprop Department of the Comintern. We differ from many comrades by the fact that we exercise self-criticism not only in words but also in deeds.

Comrade Hansen said that the "State theory" of Tranmael and consorts ought to receive more attention. In my opinion, Tranmaelism is not an event of such importance that it is the task of the Communist International, that is the Agitprop Department of same, to carry on a special campaign against Tranmaelism.

Without sufficient contact, at least with the chief sections, any kind of work is impossible. Our most important task consists in collecting international experiences, for not only are Russian experiences an important constituent part of Bolshevisation, but the experiences of all Parties are of importance.

We request all comrades, as a prerequisite of every ideological help, to establish good connection, that is, no mere bureaucratic reports can help us very little, whilst personal contact will always keep us informed about the concrete tasks which lie before the various Agitprop Departments. Only under such conditions will we be in a position to be helpful. For instance, our French comrades sent in a request for information on Communist Municipal policy and we delivered it promptly. In the early

months we were able to work for a time in response to requests, but then we were forced to differentiate our work in such a way that on the one hand the general development by means of the knowledge of the tasks of the various Parties proceeds in a general manner, on the other hand, the process of differentiation advances so that we work at the request of the individual Party. These are the two methods by which we are able to arrive at the differentiation of our work.

In respect to the information on Soviet Russia, I think that we may affirm that since we have been working as an Agitprop Department, there has been a great improvement in the supply of information to the Communist Parties about Soviet Russia. Unfortunately, we must admit that the information that we sent to the various editorial boards, was used indiscriminately. We naturally cannot cater for the taste of every national kitchen. That is the task of every editorial board on the spot. Comrades have also sent requests for certain information about Soviet Russia. Every editorial board should keep us posted as to what campaigns are being waged against Soviet Russia and ask for facts in this connection.

I think that from now onwards we shall be in a position not only to improve information about Russia as to quantity but also as to quality.

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The resolutions submitted were adopted by the Conference and handed over to an editorial commission for final editing. It was decided to submit the chief resolution "On the Immediate Tasks of Agitational and Propaganda Work of the C. I." to the Plenum of the ECCI. for confirmation. This resolution was adopted at the session of the Plenum on April 6th.

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

The task which faces the whole Communist International and its Sections of securing the closest revolutionary consolidation of their ranks and the extensions 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 lay down a correct political policy and to create a ramified apparatus of Party organisations from top to bottom. The most careful thought must be devoted to making our Communist ideology and the political policy adopted by the Party the common property of all the Party members and to making it available to them in a clear and consistent form. The broad network of Party organisations must be used for the propaganda of Marxism and Leninism both among the Party members and the masses outside the Party. Serious attention towards theoretical work and the serious conduct of systematic propaganda are integral 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 Committee, while drawing the attention of all the Sections to the resolution of the Agitprop Conference of the Sections on the question of propaganda adopted at the time of the meeting of the Enlarged Executive Committee, lays down the following immediate tasks in this sphere:

1. It is necessary to put an end to the present passive attitude of many sections to the Party training of the mass of their membership. The aim must be to get every Party member, and primarily the Party officials, to 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 time table of extensive propaganda work: it must organise that work, take part in its control, carefully supervise the execution of the plan, and maintain the constant interest of the masses of the Party and the leading Party organs in that work. The Agitprop Department of the E. C. C. I. must see to it that the necessary popular directions for such an elementary course are issued at an early date.

2. To provide for the theoretical training of the basic cadres of the Party, each Section, under the control of the Party Central Committee, must organise a Central Party School providing for a course of training lasting 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 E. C. C. I. 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.

4. As regards the Party press, the main tasks have been set forth in the Resolution on the Bolshevisation of the Parties. A firm policy must be pursued for proletarianising our periodical press and for the creation of a network of worker correspondents and of factory newspapers. The Parties must exercise close control of the existing dailies and weeklies and assist in their distribution. The number of these periodicals must be contracted as far as possible in order to facilitate the creation of a real Communist mass working class press which will be reliable on 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 who shall be responsible for the political policy pursued by the central organ of the Party. The Presidium is instructed to make preparations for an International Press Day with the object of extending 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 strictly scientific journal "Unter dem Banner des Marxismus", and moreover considering that this journal should be issued not only in German but also in English and French, regards it as necessary that the E. C. C. I. should 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 Sections must devote their attention to the further extension of *Inprecorr* which has become a journal which supplies the officials of the Sections with material and which discusses the current questions of political activity. The most careful attention must be given, and intensive use made of the telegrams of the *Inprecorr* Telegraph Agency.

7. The continued and increasing interest displayed by the working class in the economic and cultural development of the U. S. S. R., on the one hand, and the campaign of calumny which is being carried on by the bourgeois and reformist press, on the

other, makes it essential that attention be paid to the spread of correct and abundant information regarding the situation in the U. S. S. R.

8. In order successfully to institute and organise the permanent of agitation and propaganda work by the Parties, the Sections must endeavour to strengthen the Agitprop Departments of the Central Committees and national leading bodies and leading organs of the small organisations, and to 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 E. C. C. I., both as regards the supply of agitational and propaganda material and the exchange of experiences.

Theses on the Tasks of Propaganda Work.

1. The Fifth Congress recognised the special importance of propagating the idea of Marxist-Leninism. The ranks of various Communist Parties are already being permeated with a realisation of the important rôle of Marxist-Leninist propaganda, and they have made an endeavour to create organisational pre-requisites for its widespread development. We may characterise this step in its entirety as the stage of **agitation for propaganda**. The Parties must become clearly conscious of the great significance of revolutionary theory which is destined to play the rôle of a guiding line in the liberation struggle of the proletariat.

To avoid opportunism on the one hand, and the infantile malady of leftism on the other, the parties should base their political activities on a scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of the historical situation. In order to have a clear understanding of the general tasks of Marxist-Leninist **propaganda**, the Communist Parties must become firmly conscious of the fact that without an orthodox and level-headed Marxist-Leninist theory level-headed Bolshevik action is impossible.

2. Although the comprehension of revolutionary theory is undoubtedly growing, the Communist Parties, however, have not as yet sufficiently clearly realised that the **executive rôle of theory**, is in the main dependent on the **present** historical phase of the development of the Comintern. "During the present epoch the Sections of the Comintern can only become real Communist Parties by rallying to the banner of **Leninism**". With this programme declaration Comrade Zinoviev's Bolshevisation Theses indicate quite definitely the fundamental character and scope of our future propaganda work.

The necessity of Bolshevising the Communist Parties closely confronts them with the task of assimilating the experience of the revolutionary fights of the proletariat. The Third Congress established the slackening in the pace of development of the world social revolution. The task confronting the Communist Parties was the winning of the masses of the proletariat on the basis of the United Front Tactics and that of instilling them with consciousness of the need for a Communist Party to lead them in their partial struggles. The phase that followed the Third Congress, presented the Communist Parties with the task of "study", i. e. of assimilating strictly definite political and organisational methods. Events have shown that the characteristic features of the present epoch are as follows: 1) The complicated nature of all the different kinds of offensive movements and with this the ever-present danger that revolutionary ideology might become distorted and infected with a reformist-opportunist spirit. 2) The possibilities of revolutionary situations arising which will compel the Communist Parties directly to enter into the struggle for political power.

From this the conclusion may be drawn that the "study" of our Sections should proceed in two directions: the raising of the whole Party to the level of a Marxist-Leninist comprehension of the correct strategy and tactics of partial struggles and also the decisive rejection of all opportunist and liquidatory influences striving to penetrate into the Party. Secondly, the lessons of the past revolutionary periods should be developed and utilised in order to prepare the whole Party and the proletarian masses for the struggle for political power.

At the present moment we have to admit the absence of any immediate revolutionary situation in the West. In this period the Parties should devote a considerable part of their forces to the theoretical study of all forms of work not for one moment

losing sight of the fundamental contradictions of the present period of the imperialist development, which tomorrow might bring us face to face with a revolutionary situation.

The process of drawing deductions from their own experiences and that of rapprochement with the masses brings before the Parties a whole series of complicated theoretical problems. The task of Marxist-Leninist propaganda amounts to creating within the separate Sections of the Comintern theoretical pre-requisites for drafting and applying a correct political strategy and tactic. This demands from the Party the preparation of well-equipped theoretical leaders. It is not sufficient merely to point out what are the correct strategy and tactics, one must be able to **prove** to the wide masses — including both the Party members and non-Party workers, — the correctness of the strategy and tactics of the Communist vanguard. For this it is in the first place necessary to ensure the assimilation of Marxist-Leninist theory by the wide masses of the Party membership.

3. In the process of propaganda work the Parties should widely propagate Marxist theory as a **single world conception**. The consciousness of the organic unity of separate parts of Marxist theory must become firmly imbedded within the Communist Parties. This is important because the vulgarised Marxism of the Second International theorists destroys this unity. The Third International was founded on the basis of real — not distorted — Marxism and for this reason our propaganda also should embrace the fundamentals of dialectic historic materialism and the basic positions of the economic and political teachings of Marx. Our general propaganda should embrace the fundamental problems of Leninism. We must first of all put an end to the attempts to place Leninism in juxtaposition to Marxism. The Communist Parties must realise that Leninism is the application of Marxist method and theory for determining social laws during the epoch of monopolist capitalism and the development of the socialist revolution, as well as the tasks of the revolutionary working class. For this reason the actual theoretical problems concerning imperialism and the national, agrarian and colonial liberation movements drafted by Lenin, should occupy a foremost place in our propaganda, in addition to proletarian dictatorship and the tactics of the organisation of the proletarian revolution.

The necessity for sifting experiences brings the Parties face to face with the problem of dialectic materialism. Lenin wrote on this point: "It is no mere chance that the time for digesting the lessons of the revolution coincides with the time when fundamental theoretical and also philosophical questions appertaining to every real live movement come to the fore".

The Communist Parties should understand that if questions of Marxist philosophy are included in our agenda at the present moment, this is no mere chance. These problems are brought forward by this phase of "learning", this period of "digesting" revolutionary experiences. Only narrow-minded "realpolitiker" can fail to understand the connection between the problems of philosophic theory and social-political practice. Lenin only discovered this connection and pointed out that "discussion — as to what is philosophic materialism, why it is erroneous and in what way digressions from it are dangerous and reactionary, — is always connected by a really live bond with Marxist social-political currents". Otherwise the latter would not be Marxist, it would not be social-political, and would not be a tendency.

Only the narrow-minded "realpolitiker" of reformism or anarchism can deny the reality of this connection.

If we take for instance the philosophical revisionism of Lukács, Korsch, and others, we will see that these are directly connected with this phase of "sifting experiences". This revisionism springs from the soil of "infantile malady of leftism" in politics which is reflected in "revisions" from the Right such as the denial of the Marxist theory of value on the part of Graziadei. In order to carry on a correct struggle with this kind of revisionist aspirations, we must inculcate a correct apprehension of the fundamentals of dialectic materialism within the ranks of the Communist Parties. Only a correct appreciation of practical experiences with an application of the dialectic materialist method can protect the Communist Parties from revisionist deviations.

4. The process of Bolshevizing the Parties and winning over to their side the proletarian and also non-proletarian masses brings the Communist Parties face to face with the problem of the trade union movement and the national and agrarian questions. The United Front tactics and the slogan for "Unity of the International Trade Union Movement" which we are now putting forward, make it incumbent upon us to explain to the masses of the Party members the significance of Trade Unions as historically necessary forms of organisation of the working class masses under capitalism.

The problem of winning over to the side of the proletarian revolution a whole series of various strata of the peasant population, compels the Communist Parties to devote serious attention to the agrarian and peasant problems. A correct analysis of the peasant movement in different countries, the issuing of definite political slogans to draw various strata of the peasantry into the united front of the proletarian revolution, is only possible on the basis of the correct agrarian theory of Marx and Lenin. The absence of firm theoretical foundations leads to "agrarian revisionism".

5. Our propagandist work should be an inseparable component part of the ideological bolshevization of the Comintern. On the one hand, we have to overcome a whole series of historical relics of the political tendencies from which the various Communist Parties have sprung. On the other hand, the Communist Parties should clearly distinguish in the history of socialist thought in their respective countries, those orthodox Marxist elements the heirs of which they rightly consider themselves.

Thus, for instance, we find that "Luxemburgism" still survives in the ranks of the Communist Party of Germany. Rosa Luxemburg severed connection with the German Social Democratic Party, but retained certain relics of social-democratic ideology.

Rosa Luxemburg had a wrong conception of the correlation between consciousness and spontaneity in the process of revolution. According to her conception, the conscious leadership of the Party gives way before the elemental force of historic events. It is in Rosa Luxemburg's incorrect conception of the rôle of the Party that her erroneous views of the organisational question originate. She treats quite wrongly the question of relations between leaders and Party, and under-estimates the importance of centralism and of the organisation of the proletarian vanguard. Rosa Luxemburg also held erroneous views on the national and agrarian questions. She under-estimated the importance of national, peasant and the colonial liberation movements for the proletarian revolution. These views of hers are shared even now by separate little groups of "Left Communists" whose dream is "chemical purity" of the social revolution, achieved by the proletariat alone against all the classes of capitalist society. An important task in our propaganda is the surmounting of these erroneous views of Rosa Luxemburg.

The above-mentioned erroneous views of Rosa Luxemburg on the question of the rôle of the Party and in the peasant and national questions, find their ultimate expression in her incorrect conception of the "Accumulation of Capital", and the theory of imperialism. Rosa Luxemburg considers capitalist accumulation impossible without "third parties", without a capitalist milieu, an assertion made also at one time by the Russian Narodniki, and by Sismondi in his economic theory. A correct appreciation of imperialism plays a decisive rôle in determining the natural laws of the new epoch. Therefore, an error in connection with this question is very dangerous both practically and politically. It is of the utmost importance to overcome the erroneous idea of capitalism conceived by Rosa Luxemburg, be-

cause some comrades insist on her theory of accumulation being adopted as one of the fundamentals of the programme of the Communist International.

In a number of other Communist Parties, such as the Italian, French and to a certain extent, the British Party, there are still relics of anarcho-syndicalist ideology. A considerable number of honest elements of revolutionary syndicalism have joined these Parties more on the strength of revolutionary instinct than on the basis of theoretical Marxist-Leninist views. Thus, for instance, the Scotch Socialist Labour Party which was entirely under the influence of de Leon's views, fused with the British Communist Party. Syndicalist ideology penetrated also into the French Communist Party. In the latter relics of the ideology of "Jaurèsism" are also evident. The French Communist Party should indicate what we may accept from Jaurès and in what sense we recognise his historical importance. But at the same time it should have enough theoretical strength to overcome Jaurès' revisionism. The French Communist Party will not be able to cope with this task unless it arms itself with the theory of Marx and Lenin and assimilates as an ideological heritage the orthodox-Marxist achievements of Lafargue and Guéde in France.

For the Communist Parties of Great Britain and America, the most important task in connection with propaganda work, consists in overcoming trade-unionist ideology. This task is just now of particular importance for the British Communist Party in view of the process of "politisation" which the British proletarian masses are now undergoing. One of the greatest dangers for the British Communist Party is that, from lack of organisational, political and theoretical consciousness, it might find itself in the rear when spontaneous political events occur. Therefore, preparation of cadres of propagandists and organisers capable of coping with the requirements of the masses, should occupy a prominent place in the current work of the British Communist Party.

In the American Communist Party, it is of the utmost importance to overcome the sectarian tendencies, to preserve a small Communist Party with pure principles, which understands how to get into contact with the rank and file of the working class. American Communists should assimilate Lenin's most weighty ideas on this subject. He pointed out that it is not enough to be a Communist "in general", one should also apply Communist principles and theory to the distinct circumstances of the respective country or place. Lenin said: "One should be able to find, when necessary, that particular link of the chain which must be taken hold of with all one's might, in order to retain the whole chain and to prepare thoroughly the transition to the following links, bearing in mind that the sequence of the links, their form, their connection, and the difference between the various links are not as simple and uncomplicated in the historic chain of events, as in the ordinary chain made by a blacksmith". It is only on the basis of a correct Marxist-Leninist theory, that one can designate the path leading to the linking up of the American Communist Party with the masses, the path along which the trade union spirit of the masses can be overcome and the ranks of the Party can be preserved from the political danger of "sectarianism".

6. In order that our propagandist work be really what we have indicated, Communist Parties should immediately take a number of organisational measures. First and foremost, every Party should select a group of comrades to concentrate on questions of propaganda. It is essential to make arrangements for a regular connection between the Party organisers of propagandist work and the Agitprop Department of the E. C. C. I. The lack of such connection interferes with systematic propaganda work.

7. The task of creating an upper stratum of leaders is not our only task. We must also create the connecting link between the upper stratum and the rank and file of the Party, we must bring into being "Bolshevik officials", and organisers of local Party organisations theoretically conscious, possessing practical political experience. Central Party Schools organised by the various sections will help to cope with this task. In view of the nature of the task, the programme of these central schools should not be too elementary. All the fundamental questions of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice should be studied in the school. It should be emphasised that the practical requirements of the work raise in a considerable number of Communist Parties the question of differentiation between various forms of work. There is great need of Party propagandists and organisers, special trade union workers and workers for propaganda

among the peasantry, the youth and the working women. The school curriculum should be such as to give the students in addition to a general theoretical training, an opportunity to become familiar with the different methods of practical work of the future functionaries.

8. Since it is of the utmost importance not only to elaborate on the basis of a correct Marxist-Leninist theory corresponding political strategy and tactics, but also to demonstrate the correctness of this theory to very large sections of workers — Party members as well as non-Party workers — the organisation of elementary Party education, elementary Party courses, is the mainstay of our entire organisational work on the field of propaganda.

The task of the elementary Party courses, should be to teach every Party member the A B C of Leninism. "Every member of the Party must know the A B C of Leninism", such is the slogan of the elementary Party school. Every Party should draw up a plan for elementary Party courses suitable to the existing situation and actual working possibilities. Every Party should fix a definite date by which all Party members should have completed the elementary Party courses. The main difficulty will be the lack of the necessary number of trained instructors. The Parties should make it their first business to make a survey of all the existing propagandist forces and form from them several shock detachments to be sent from place to place for the purpose of developing propaganda work. In case only a minimum of instructors should be available, the Parties should organise special schools of a temporary nature to train as rapidly as possible instructors of elementary Party courses. A beginning with the organisation of such courses, should be made in the most important working class districts, and from here this work should be extended systematically and gradually to other districts. The elaboration by every Party of a concrete plan of elementary Party courses and the creation of the necessary organisational-propagandist pre-requisites for the realisation of this plan should be considered the most important and foremost task of the propagandist work of the Communist Party. The students should undergo an examination at the end of the elementary courses.

9. Wherever the Parties have not enough propagandists for a big network of elementary schools, "instruction by correspondence" may be resorted to, as this is an extremely important form of elementary mass instruction. The programme for these correspondence courses should be in strict accordance with the curriculum of the elementary Party Schools. Those Parties who organise regular elementary courses, but only on a small scale, may supplement them by these correspondence courses, in order to provide Party education for these members for whom there were no vacancies in the school.

10. The intervening link in the organisational system of Marxist-Leninist propaganda is the Marxist-Leninist study circle. In its programme the circle should not only deal with questions concerning the imperialist epoch and the practical tasks with which this epoch confronts the working class but also with the fundamental questions of the whole theory of scientific Communism. The programme of the study circle should by its content be the connecting link between the programme of the elementary Party courses and that of the central Party school.

11. As regards the question of extending the Propaganda of dialectic materialism and applying it to all spheres of knowledge and to the whole leadership of the class struggle of the revolutionary proletariat, tremendous significance must be

attached to creating good all-round leading press organs of the Communist Party which are one of the most important forms of propaganda work.

By inaugurating a theoretical organ "Unter dem Banner des Marxismus" the Comintern has taken the first step along the path towards bringing about an ideological leadership on an international scale in the field of propagating the revolutionary teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, i.e. dialectical materialism.

This basic publication should become the unshakable fundament of the official periodical organs of the Communist Sections. This is undoubtedly one of the most important tasks on the way to the Bolshevisation of the Comintern Sections.

By indicating the existing deficiencies of our periodical press organs we at the same time point out how they can be reformed. The main deficiencies are as follows:

a) An inadequate concentration of attention on the question of theoretical principles in the domain of the philosophy of dialectic materialism and political economy, the absence of a serious and consistent analysis of the deep-rooted class antagonisms and tendencies of the economic development of a given country, as also of the fundamentals of international imperialist policy, and finally the study of the agrarian, colonial and national problems.

b) The absence of a decisive consistent and systematic Marxist criticism of bourgeois distortions of revolutionary Marxism by all schools of Social Democratic revisionism, both in the field of Marxist theory and that of the tactics of the class struggle.

c) The absence of an open, decisive, and consistent struggle against opportunist retrogressions and left-infantile deviations in our own ranks, whether in the field of theory or of practical politics.

d) Insufficient concretisation of the slogan of Bolshevisation as based upon concrete tasks confronting a given Party at any given moment.

e) The mechanical transference of the different methods of struggle and specific forms of Party structure of the R.C.P. to other sections without a proper consideration of the specific character of the given sections and the tasks confronting them.

In addition to removing the above-mentioned deficiencies our press organs are also in need of the following reforms:

a) The Editorial staffs should be composed of educated Marxists who have gone through a political school, definite partisans of the dialectic materialism of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

b) The Party organ should be written in a language that will be understood by the advanced workers of the Communist Party.

c) The editors of the organ work in close contact with the Agitprop Department of the C. C. of the respective Communist Party and in all circumstances should express the ideological-political standpoint of the C. C.

12. The current tasks and the situation of the Communist Parties should bring to the fore two organisational forms of our propaganda work. These are in the first place, the Elementary Party Courses, and secondly the Central Party School. Communist Parties should concentrate all the main forces of their propagandist activities on the development of these organisational forms of propaganda, imbuing them with a concrete content as dictated on the one hand by the general tasks of the given epoch, and on the other by the process of the Bolshevisation of the Comintern.

Resolution on the Question of Organisation of Agitprop Work.

1. The great importance for the Communist Party of agitation-propagandist work in all its forms makes it incumbent on the Party to maintain the superintendence of this work always in its own hands, acting through its central and local committees, planning out the work connected with the fundamental political and organisational tasks of the Party and seeing to it that this plan be carried out on party lines.

2. In its Resolution on Propagandist Activity, the Fifth Congress of the Comintern recognised the necessity to form within the apparatus of the Central Committees special agitation-propagandist departments to co-ordinate and superintend this work. Whilst placing on record that during the period subsequent to the Fifth Congress, many sections have undertaken

the organisation of such departments in the Central Committees, the conference is of the opinion that the task of the immediate future must be the consolidation and improvement of these central departments so as to make them instruments fit to guide and superintend agitation-propagandist work in all its various forms, and also the establishment of special organs for the conduct and guidance of Agitprop work in all the leading Party organisations (regional and local committees, bureaux of factory and workshop nuclei).

3. In order to insure to the Party the guidance of the three main forms of agitation-propagandist work, three sub-departments corresponding with the various branches of work should be formed in the central Agitprop Department of every Party, as well

as in the most important regional committees: a) For agitation b) For propaganda or Party-educational work, and c) for the superintendence of the Party press and publications. The task of these Sub-Departments should consist in carefully preparing every action and demonstration of the Party, in familiarising themselves with the work of the local Party organisations which is within their competence and in issuing detailed instructions. The work of the sub-departments should be in charge of a responsible superintendent of the entire Agitprop work of the Central Committee or the Regional Committee.

4. Care should be taken that the apparatuses established for the guidance of agitational-propagandist work be always in close contact with the everyday work of the local organisations. For this purpose conferences of local workers should be convened periodically, and an agitprop organiser from the party organisa-

tion in the capital should be included on the board of the central agitprop.

5. With the organisation of factory and workshop nuclei, most of the educational work of the Party will be transferred to the enterprises themselves, and Party-educational work will also be carried on in the large factory and workshop nuclei. In view of this it is essential to see to it that already on the organisation of nuclei a special person ("an agitprop organiser") be appointed to their elective bureaux, who should be in charge of the entire agitational-propagandist work.

6. In countries with a large number of workers belonging to national minorities, it is essential to have in the central apparatus of the Agitprop Department and in corresponding regional apparatus, special sub-departments in charge of the agitational-propagandist work in the languages of the national minorities.

Resolution on the Question of the Immediate Tasks of the Press

1. It is precisely the task of the international Communist press at the present stage of the struggle of the International to familiarise with communist tactics as large a number as possible of workers and all other oppressed strata of society.

The Communist press must bring the agitation of the Party organisation right into the factories and workshops. One of its principal tasks is energetic action towards overcoming the disproportion between the number of subscribers to the Party Press and the number of Communist electors and sympathisers. The rank and file in the revolutionary trade unions, the urban intellectuals in sympathy with the proletariat, as well as the small peasantry, just entering into active political life must be made in every possible way interested in the Communist press.

2. The Communist press must be organised in a way to popularise it among the masses. The workers correspondents movement, now in its initial stage, must be considerably extended and should be made accessible to as many non-Party workers as possible. Wherever no workers correspondents movement exists, the Party press must make it its business to start one immediately.

3. The Communist press must combat systematically and persistently by agitation as well as propaganda, all compromising tendencies and all political neutralism in the International labour movement, as well as all deviations from the true Leninist line laid down by the Comintern. This is only possible through the establishment of centralised Party control over the press, which alone can guarantee the uniformity of the political lines of the entire Communist press.

The scattered state of the Party press, the multiplicity of the provincial Party organs, which are published once or twice

a week (Norway, Czechoslovakia, etc.) should be overcome, and a definite daily press must be created numerically smaller but more active. In order to improve the foreign information service, permanent journalistic contact must be established between the parties, and there should be an exchange of information at least between the central organs of our largest parties.

4. Within the Communist newspapers themselves short shift must be given to the social democratic relics of the "independence" of separate departments, which are so to speak "editorial boards within the editorial board", ("Humanité" for example), and a centralised uniform newspaper management must be established. Finally care must be taken to strengthen the connection between the editors and journalists of the Party and the organisational life of the Party by drawing them systematically into active party work in the minor nuclei of the Party.

5. Information about Soviet, Russia, the achievements and activity of the Russian Communist Party and of the Russian proletariat is a powerful means of propaganda. Therefore those who manage the Communist Party press, must pay special attention to the organisation of this department: The Inprecorr and the material and correspondence of the Agitprop Department should be utilised to the utmost, and Menshevik and bourgeois lies must be dealt with as rapidly and thoroughly as possible.

6. For the popularisation of the Communist press and as an agitational introduction to its Bolshevisation it would be most advisable to organise in the near future an International Communist Press Day.

The slogans of this day should be in conformity with the development of the Party and of the position and tasks peculiar to the press of the respective country.

Resolution on Collecting Experiences.

1. The complicated tasks with which the Communist Party is burdened in the process of the revolutionary movement, demand the clear-sighted activity of the Party, on the basis of a careful Marxian analysis of the movement, in all spheres of activity and especially in that of Agitprop. The Communist Party determines its fundamental line of action on the basis of the theoretical analysis of the class forces; this line must, however, be systematically controlled by the Party from day to day according to the experiences of the everyday struggle. To lead implies, among other things, to adapt experiences to the given time. If systematic self-control is abandoned, the development of a real Bolshevik organisation is made more difficult, if not altogether impossible. The Communist leadership must place control and self-criticism in the forefront of party work, for they form an organisational integral part of the Bolshevik organisational method and hence are among the most important means of bolshevising the Parties.

2. For the Communist International, which represents a united Communist Party, the collection of the experiences of every section is absolutely necessary. Only by careful study of the experiences of one section can the repetition of mistakes be avoided in other sections and positive types of activity be generalised.

3. The preliminary conditions for a constant and systematic control of Agitprop activity is the systematic collection of experiences of Agitprop activity in the various party organisations by the CC. of the Agitprop Department and of the Agitprop

activity of the parties by the Agitprop Department of the ECCI. This collection must be specially conducted in conformity with the definite lines of Agitprop activity of the Parties in question.

4. The generalisation of the experiences consists on the one hand in the transmission of the experiences of the entire Party membership, by means of which a firm contact is established in the content of party work, and on the other hand, in examining the experiences, and drawing the necessary conclusions for future Agitprop activity. The former insufficient control, or even the complete absence of systematic control caused and still causes repeated mistakes and errors in the principles as well as in the technique of conducting agitational campaigns which might have been easily avoided if experiences had been systematically collected and generalised.

5. In view of the fact that the propaganda of Leninism has been established as the central task of the sections of the CI., special attention must be directed to the control and use of that type of party work which is linked up with the organisation of the Party — educational work, its methods and results, and with the propaganda experiences of the published periodicals of the Parties.

6. The collection and generalisation of experiences necessitates a number of organisational measures. The most important thing in this connection is making thorough periodical reports and appointing a special comrade of the Agitprop Section of the CC to be entrusted with the collection and generalisation of the experiences.