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## **Theses and Resolutions adopted at the VI Session of the Enlarged E. C. C. I. 17<sup>th</sup> February to 15<sup>th</sup> March 1926.**

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## **Immediate Problems of the International Communist Movement.**

I.

### **"Stabilisation" of Capitalism and Tactics of the World Revolution.**

The previous session of the Enlarged Executive of the E. C. C. I. (March 1925) placed on record a certain partial stabilisation of capitalism. At the same time the session indicated the entire relativity and uncertain character of this stabilisation. The year which has since elapsed has fully confirmed the correctness of the analysis given by the Communist International.

By the term "stabilisation" the Comintern by no means implied that capitalism had emerged from the period of decay and decline, that capitalism, particularly European capitalism was recovering from the wounds inflicted on it by the first imperialist world war, that it had overcome the differences which

had been revealed with such evidence and acuteness by this war. The period of the decline of capitalism continues. But within this period temporary and partial recoveries are possible. The Comintern recorded such a recovery, such a "stabilisation" of capitalism in 1925. This "stabilisation" is a fact. It should by no means be understood as a process of permanent stabilisation of capitalism — a stabilisation denoting a new epoch of ascendancy of the capitalist order in general — but merely as the degree of a certain relative stability now reached as compared with the first post-war years. Now however, the relative and uncertain character of the stabilisation becomes especially apparent.

At the beginning of 1926, capitalist Europe is again experiencing a whole series of new and serious crises. In Great Britain — a pre-eminently industrial crisis; in France a pre-eminently inflation crisis; in Germany an acute economic crisis

— the beginning of the Dawes Plan crisis; in Poland almost an economic catastrophe; in Austria also a crisis, etc. The past year confirmed with remarkable clearness the instability of "stabilisation" in a number of important European countries.

In order to ascertain how far world capitalism is succeeding in strengthening its position, we have only to compare its position in 1913 (pre-war level) with its position during the 1918—21 period (the period of the conclusion of the war and of the greatest decline of capitalist economy). But we must bear in mind that it is not possible to compare essentials with 1913 or some other year, because during the past decade there has been a series of changes of a "qualitative" nature within world economy itself.

If we are to take the pre-war level as a criterion, in hardly any of the big European countries (America stands quite apart) has capitalism, generally speaking, exceeded this level, it has not even yet reached it to the full. But if we take as a criterion the years of the greatest decline of capitalist economy, the period immediately following the conclusion of the war, then in some countries the economic position of capitalism is relatively better at the present moment.

However, this criterion alone is not enough. In order to judge correctly the degree of the stability of capitalism in the present period, the criterion must be not only the absolute figures of production, but one should also investigate the question of the proportion of the most important branches of industry, of the internal tendencies of their development.

The partial stabilisation of capitalism in Europe is achieved to a great extent by 1) unprecedented pressure on the peoples of the European States (heavy taxes, reduced wages, lowering of the existence level in general); 2) pressure on the colonies; and 3) by "assistance" on the part of the U. S. A. (American loans) which is enslaving Europe, i. e., in the final analysis compelling European workers to work for American capitalists.

In other words, the world bourgeoisie is endeavouring to transfer "the cost of stabilisation" to the working class and the toiling masses. This is done in various forms in the various countries, but everywhere by means of a more or less energetic exploitation of the workers.

1. The German method takes the form of intensification of the process of the trustification of industry and of the subjection of national and State economy by America, of bankruptcies and unemployment. The British "Economist" considers the growth of unemployment in Germany the result of the "sanitation" process, which ought to lead to "cheaper" and more economic production". The entire German bourgeoisie and the upper strata of Social Democracy term this "rationalisation of production".

2. The British method is deflation with the clearly expressed intention to compel the working class to accept a reduction of wages, in order to be able to reduce the cost of production, i. e., to increase profits.

3. The present comparatively favourable position of French industry is greatly due to inflation, which is equivalent to a reduction of the real wage of French workers.

At the same time, an important role in undermining the "stabilisation" of capitalism may be assigned to such factors as the consolidation of the U. S. S. R. and growth of the anti-imperialist movement in colonies and semi-colonies. The fact alone that such an enormous country as Russia no longer forms part of the "usual" system of world economy (the capitalist system), is of considerable importance.

Continuous government crises in a number of big countries, cleavages and splits in bourgeois parties, etc., are also symptoms of capitalist "stabilisation".

## AMERICA.

American hegemony in world economy is asserting itself more sharply. Although comprising only 5% of the territory and 6.2% of the world population, America produces more than one half of the world production of the most important products: coal, copper, cotton, iron, steel, oil, motorcars. Its exports of capital is bigger than that of any other country in the world: one-third of the entire new emission in 1925 estimated at 4 1/2 milliard dollars. One and a half milliard went abroad, mainly to Canada and South America but also to an increasing extent to Central and Eastern Europe. The total sum of foreign loans and war debts already amounts to 21 milliard dollars. Through its export of capital, the U. S. A. penetrated into all parts of the world including Europe, which is becoming more and more dependent on American capital.

The export of capital takes the form of increased export of commodities: the export trade of the U. S. A. is rapidly growing whilst that of the most important European countries still lags far behind the pre-war level.

Naturally the upward development of American capitalism proceeds in cycles: there are at present partial crises (mining, textile, garment industries). General economic crises are inevitable.

The excess profits extracted by the U. S. A. are steadily growing. The dominating position of American capitalism throughout the world is indisputable. The hegemony of American capitalism has put an indelible imprint on all the most important international "agreements" of recent years — Washington, the Dawes Plan and partly also Locarno.

No secret is any longer made of the "fusion" of the State apparatus with the trusts. American capitalism in this respect has thrown off the mask.

By sucking the life blood out of Europe, American capitalism is objectively contributing to the revolutionisation of Europe.

At the same time, Great Britain has ceded to America not only priority on the world market, but also "priority" of reaction as far as the Labour Movement is concerned. (The American Federation of Labour.)

## GREAT BRITAIN.

Great Britain's adverse trade balance is growing (in 1922 the adverse balance amounted to £ 180 million, in 1924, £ 344 million, in 1925 £ 395 1/2 million). The adverse trade balance is hardly equalised by the invisible exports (shipping and bank profits, foreign capital profits). Coal production in 1924 amounted to 92.2% of the pre-war level, in 1925 it fell to 88.2%. The iron and steel industry amounted in 1924 to 86.7% of the pre-war level, and in 1925 fell to 76.2%. The cost of living in 1924 as compared with 1914 was 174.7%, in 1925 it reached 175.6%. Workers' wages, far from being raised, were actually reduced in a number of branches of industry. The coal crisis which many a time jeopardised the entire industrial life of Great Britain threatens to assume unprecedented proportions.

Great Britain is obliged: 1) to carry on a struggle with America and Japan in the Pacific; 2) in Europe to struggle against France (enormous development of big industry during the war), Germany (German industry is again endeavouring and compelled to try to compete with British industry) and against the U. S. S. R. (The Eastern problem.)

As their industrialisation grows the British dominions become more and more emancipated from the influence of London. The capital available in Great Britain for export cannot satisfy the requirements of the Dominions which must therefore import capital from America.

In order to counteract the Dominions' tendency to weaken British imperialism the British bourgeoisie is endeavouring to establish a system of preferential treatment in the economic relations between Great Britain and the Dominions. Events in China have dealt a severe blow to British prestige in the East.

In spite of a partial and temporary improvement in some directions during the past months, it may be said with confidence that economic development in Great Britain, in its main branches, is on a downward grade, that the political influence of British imperialism is weakening, that hegemony has been wrested irrevocably from Great Britain, that slowly but surely the power of British imperialism is declining, in spite of a few transient successes in certain of its colonies, in India for instance.

The Liberal Party, due to the growing acuteness of the class struggle, is in a process of dissolution. Within the Conservative Party a struggle is going on in connection with such important questions as 1) protectionism; 2) the Mosul question; 3) the question of tactics in respect of the working class. The Labour Party has for some time been experiencing a state of crisis which is strengthening the left wing.

The course of the economic development of Great Britain brought about great changes in the British Labour Movement. The influence of the workers' aristocracy has declined. The masses are veering to the Left and are seeking new ways and methods. The change which has taken place in the British Labour movement is of world-historical importance.

## FRANCE.

The new fact must be reckoned with that during the past year, France joined the ranks of those countries which are going through a chronic state of crisis. In one year the franc fell from 25 cents to 28 cents. The burden of taxation is growing. Taxes which before the war amounted to 13.3% of the national revenue, increased in 1923—24 to 21% and will increase to 25% in 1925—26. The serious financial crisis which France is experiencing (in spite of a favourable balance, in spite of the development in France during the last decade of a powerful industry, in spite of the absence of unemployment) shows that the position of capitalism in that country — although it emerged "victorious" from the imperialist war — is becoming more and more difficult. It is becoming more difficult even for the petty-bourgeois government to extricate itself from this situation whilst still retaining the framework of private ownership, without applying at least such measures as partial expropriation of big capitalists. Events in Morocco and Syria show that the domination of French imperialism is becoming undermined in respect of its colonial possessions. The petty bourgeoisie (Left Bloc), actually in power, at every new Ministerial change cedes to big capital one position after the other. But at the same time large sections of the petty bourgeoisie (especially the peasantry) are inevitably being radicalised and revolutionised, although they are as yet in a state of great political helplessness. The ruling class is continually losing confidence in its own strength, it is no longer sure that it will be able to find a way out of the complicated and entangled crisis.

Thus France follows Great Britain on the path of prolonged crisis and decline. Not only the countries, which were vanquished in the first imperialist world war, but even the victorious countries (Great Britain and France) have entered the stage of chronic crises, which can only be finally solved by the Social Revolution.

The new programme of the big French bourgeoisie: 1) limitation of parliamentarism; 2) creation of a colonial army out of the cadres of the mother country which is better equipped and specially trained for colonial warfare; 3) stabilisation of the "internal budget" by the bourgeoisie which is to receive in return the leasehold of the State taxation system (so-called Stinnesisation); 4) the encouragement of Fascism as a force to be used against the proletariat and the revolutionarily inclined section of the middle classes.

This programme gives the Communist vanguard of the French proletariat an opportunity to act as skirmisher for the various sections of workers, organising the masses in the struggle against the "national bloc" and criticising unmercifully the vacillations of the "Left Bloc".

## GERMANY.

The economic situation in Germany is characterised by the deep contradiction between its highly developed productive forces and its colonial position. The strong industrial development, with a productive capacity far exceeding the needs of the domestic market, and the monopolist concentration in cartels and trusts, demand an imperialist policy. The disarmament forced by the Peace Treaty; the foreign control of the taxes, of the Reichsbank, and of the national railways, the reparations tributes, the increasing penetration of foreign capital and the inability to export capital, force Germany into the position of a colony. This contradiction must lead to a crisis.

Only a year ago the fact that the inflation period had been overcome and that the German bourgeoisie had strengthened its political position, could be considered as the most outstanding fact of the relative stabilisation. The Communist International however, unlike Social Democrats who built up their entire policy on a definitive stabilisation of German capitalism, realised that this stabilisation was in reality neither stable, nor of long duration.

Last year's developments proved the correctness of the Communist analysis of the political and economic situation in Germany. In spite of the certain considerable advantages — in the form of a partial moratorium — which the Dawes Plan in the first year of its application lent Germany's status abroad, the relative stabilisation developed into an extraordinary crisis during this era. This crisis is expressed in mass unemployment which has exceeded 3 million, in widespread short-time employment and in mass bankruptcies. The effects of the Dawes Plan, which are only beginning, will make the economic situation still more acute, with the result that the crisis will become still more intensified.

In 1925 Germany paid in reparations only 224 million marks, in 1925—26 it must pay in reparations, according to the Dawes Plan, a milliard gold marks. The "reparations problem however is a problem of recuded wages". (Keynes.) The tax burden in 1924—25 amounted to 11.3 milliards as against 4.8 milliard in 1913—14. In 1926 the burden of taxation is bound to be still heavier as a result of the Dawes Plan.

But the Dawes Plan does not only mean the impoverishment of the German masses, it also creates enormous difficulties for the German bourgeoisie. The first pre-requisite for its application (the possibilities of which are contested now not only by the Communists, but also by many leading political economists of the bourgeoisie) is the creation of a permanent German export surplus. In view of the present market crisis throughout the world, the end of which cannot be foreseen, this is only possible by throttling the import of manufactured goods and consumption. But this artificial German competitive power, developed at the expense of the working class, must inevitably restrict the markets of France, Great Britain and other European countries, and make the crises in these States more acute.

German export is beginning to penetrate into the overseas countries, it is gaining ground. That the crisis in the British coal industry was rendered more acute through the Dawes Plan is a well-known fact. The Dawes Plan is sharpening the world crisis of capitalism, and as this develops in other countries it finds a magnified reflex in Germany.

A partial alleviation of the economic crisis of Germany even already in 1926 is not out of the question. But a real stabilisation by capitalist methods is inconceivable, it is only possible by means of the proletarian revolution. The continuous government and parliamentary crisis, the growing monarchist menace, the crisis within the bourgeois mass parties and the Social Democratic Parties, the bankruptcy of parliamentarism, the Leftward trend of the masses, the vacillations of the petty bourgeoisie in the direction of a rapprochement with the working class: all these open up a vista of great possibilities to the Communists for the capture of the masses.

## ITALY.

In the course of development the ruling Fascism was compelled, under the pressure of the inflation crisis and the necessity to get foreign loans, to carry out openly the policy of the bourgeoisie and of the big agrarians. A section of the middle stratum of the population was expropriated. The workers were subjected to increased exploitation. (Abrogation of the 8-hour day, introduction of a Fascist labour discipline.) A policy of relentless "fiscal" terror has been introduced against the middle and poor peasantry. Owing to a shifting of its social basis Fascism is compelled to enforce a series of dictatorial measures against the workers and the middle classes: legislation for the abrogation of the right of association, the new electoral law, the law for suppression of trade unions, abrogation of the right of municipalities to elect their own mayors, complete suppression of the opposition parties and press. Mussolini's domestic policy is getting more and more into a blind alley and Fascism is intent on finding a way out by means of an imperialist policy, by the acquisition of new colonies and by a bellicose attitude. But through this new fascist imperialism, Fascist Italy is continually degenerating to the status of a plaything of the big imperialist world Powers.

## POLAND.

The catastrophic economic position of Poland cannot be better expressed than is done in the following note of the representatives of amalgamated manufacturers, banks, trade, commerce and agriculture submitted to the President of the Polish Republic on December 17, 1925:

"The economic life of the Polish State is declining every day, nay, every hour. Unemployment in industry is growing, there are already 213,000 unemployed, i. e., 30% of those employed in production at present. Such a percentage is unknown anywhere else in Europe. Moreover, many of the employed work only 5, 4 or even 3 days a week. The result of this is that to every 6 employed there are 4 unemployed, this position is getting worse every day. Soon it will be a case of the minority being compelled to support the majority. Factories are at a standstill as there is no one to buy their produce. Small landowners who are a very important factor for the manufactured goods market have lost their purchasing capacity. Big landowners groaning

under the burden of the high interest for short-term credits are still less able to absorb the produce of industry. In view of the present decline of industry the workers have also ceased to be consumers. Employees have also ceased to buy. Handicraft enterprises are sharing the fate of the bigger industry — their number is declining. Never has trade been in such a parlous state as now. Mr. President, the entire industrial life of Poland is on the point of death. Many enterprises have gone under forever. There is no time to be lost."

The Finance Minister declared to the sejm that "the exchequer is empty" and that there is a "confidence crisis" within and without the Republic. The bureaucratic apparatus is in a state of unprecedented disintegration. Corruption reigns everywhere. In addition to this there prevails the system of White Terror and violence against workers, disorders among the starving unemployed driven to despair, etc. The national oppression of the Ukrainians, White Russians, Jews, Germans, Lithuanians, etc., is arousing increased indignation. The exploitation of the masses is growing, and at the same time grows the burden of taxation and of higher prices. Not only the workers, but minor employees and considerable sections of the petty bourgeoisie see that the economic position is getting worse daily.

### THE DANUBE AND BALKAN STATES.

The extensive splitting up of the Danube and Balkan States has led to a chronic economic crisis. Old established industry suffers from the loss of its former economic territory. The new industry of the other countries fostered by protective tariffs suffers from the inadequacy of its markets. The process of stabilisation undertaken by the League of Nations in Austria and Hungary has caused a permanent economic crisis in these countries. The land reforms introduced after the war have failed to do away with the feudal survivals of land tenure, or to ease the position of the peasant masses in general. The great number of refugees in some of the States (Greece, and Bulgaria) is creating new economic and political difficulties. The national question, far from being solved by the peace treaties, has assumed a new and more acute form. To keep the nationalities in subjection a big State apparatus is required, the upkeep of which is a heavy burden on the population. The Danube-Balkan countries are the main arena of the imperialist struggles between Great Britain, France, and lately also America. On the other hand, the various other Balkan countries, especially Yugoslavia, aim at hegemony in the Balkans. France is endeavouring to bolster up the Little Entente in order to use it against Greece and Bulgaria which are under British influence, and also against Germany, as well as against Soviet Russia. To counteract this, British and American capitalism is endeavouring to create a Balkan or South European Bloc. All these conflicting elements forbode grave war danger.

Despite systematic terror the revolutionary labour movement continues to exist. The fostering of the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry which is under economic and in part under national oppression, must be the chief aim in the policy of the Communist Party.

### EAST.

The past year has also borne out the absolute correctness of the Leninist appraisal of the development of events in the East, as made by the last Enlarged Executive of the C.I. The national-revolutionary liberation movement in the East has made a great stride forward and in some countries is developing more rapidly than was expected. Because of the gradual industrialisation of the East, events there assume particularly great importance.

The following important changes and achievements in this liberation struggle of the Eastern peoples may be noted:

1. Sharpened forms of the struggle against imperialist oppression which in Morocco and Syria have developed into an armed rising.

Events in Syria and Morocco show on the one hand that the national-liberation movement in the colonies is inevitably growing, that it is weakening imperialism whilst adding grist to the mill of the proletariat fighting for Socialism. On the other hand the courageous struggle of the Communist Party of France against the colonial wars in Morocco and Syria shows that the vanguard of the proletariat is solidarising with the colonial

peoples who are fighting for their emancipation, it is connecting this struggle with the international proletarian struggle for Socialism.

2. The broad mass character of the national-revolutionary movement in China, into which millions of workers and peasants have been drawn.

3. Desertion of the national-liberation movement by some sections of the native industrial and trading big bourgeoisie of India, and in part of Egypt and China, and transference of the centre of gravity of leadership of the movement to the revolutionary lower strata.

4. Independent class actions of the revolutionary proletariat. In China (political strikes, Shanghai, Hongkong, Canton). In India also the rapid industrialisation of the country enhances the social importance of the Indian workers who are beginning to play an important role in Indian life.

The movement in China is undoubtedly of world historical magnitude and shows the immeasurably vast reserves of the proletarian revolution in the East.

Within the framework of the entire national-liberation movement the role of the young Chinese labour movement is becoming more and more important. The Chinese labour movement has already important achievements to its credit: organisation of trade unions on a class basis, growing influence of the people's revolutionary party, the Kuomintang, which is connected with the Communist Party, consolidation of the revolutionary government of Canton which is the first revolutionary-democratic government in the East and which has the support of the urban and rural masses and carries on a stubborn struggle against the imperialists.

The powerful influence of the Russian Revolution and of the ideas of Comintern on the development of events in China is unchallengeable.

Latin America can and must also become a stronghold of the liberation movement against imperialism (particularly the imperialism of the U.S.A.). Under present circumstances most of the nations of Latin America are oppressed nations which sooner or later will be drawn into the struggle against the imperialism of the United States of America.

### U. S. S. R.

Simultaneously at the other end of the globe in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, in the union of countries wrested by the proletariat from the bourgeoisie, we witness a remarkable economic development and a consolidation of the economic and political power of the proletariat. In spite of the continuous pursuance by bourgeois States of the policy of isolating and encircling the U.S.S.R., in spite of the terrible inheritance of the civil war, the Union of Socialist Republics has been able to raise its industry to pre-war level and to achieve considerable successes in socialist construction which is bound to extend and continue to expand. In spite of all the difficulties of internal development which the U.S.S.R. has as yet to overcome, the economic, political and cultural construction initiated by the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. is already attracting the attention and eliciting the warm sympathy of ever-growing sections of workers throughout the world. Even Social Democratic leaders, who for years carried on a fierce struggle against the Russian Revolution and the Soviet power are compelled under pressure brought to bear by the workers to admit that the U.S.S.R. is growing strong and overcoming the greatest difficulties it encounters on its path. The successes achieved on the field of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. are becoming more and more the criterion for the successes of international Socialism in general. The U.S.S.R. is becoming the centre of attraction for the proletarians of all countries, the pivot of the International Proletarian Revolution.

In the present world situation there are everywhere fundamental differences between two systems, two worlds, between which as yet a more or less unstable equilibrium is maintained. On the one side the world of capitalism headed by America, on the other side the world of proletarian revolution headed by the U.S.S.R. American imperialism continues to retain the hegemony of the capitalist world. On the field of international politics America, whenever it so desires, draws to its side Great Britain as an ally (Anglo-American bloc). But this does not mean that there are no differences between America and Great Britain in such cardinal questions as China, Mosul and Mexico. Neither does it mean that the other parts of the bourgeois world,

which to a certain extent are under the influence of the Anglo-American bloc, are free from internal differences of their own.

The economic differences between America and Great Britain increased during 1925. We witness differences between Great Britain and the U. S. A. in the Pacific, China, Japan, and Turkey, in South America, etc. — differences fraught with the menace of another world war. Great Britain itself is a debtor to the U. S. A., whilst the latter with its more powerful productive forces and colossal accumulation of capital is the creditor of nearly all the other parts of the bourgeois world. The U. S. A. at present is a country which is not only looking for markets for its produce, but to a far greater extent for markets for the export of capital, whilst Great Britain is in the grip of a chronic industrial crisis and unemployment. Taking advantage of the support of the U. S. A., imperialist Great Britain is systematically endeavouring to isolate the U. S. S. R., to put difficulties in the way of the U. S. S. R.'s world trade and of the possibility of foreign loans. Its policy with respect to the U. S. S. R. is the policy of encirclement preparatory to another attack on the Soviet Republic at an opportune moment.

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The true state of affairs in the capitalist world, this remarkable net-work of contradictions which resulted from the world war is this year masked so as to bring confusion into the ranks of the workers. This mask is the **Locarno Agreement**.

The objective meaning of Locarno is as follows:

1) By these agreements American capitalism is consolidating its interests against the whole of capitalist Europe (pacification of Europe as a guarantee that the debtor nations will work and will regularly pay interest to America. At the same time America viewed with great displeasure the first weak attempt of the "debtor nations" of Europe to unite to a certain extent against America itself); 2) through these agreements British imperialism is defending its special interests against France (Great Britain — as security, as arbitrator); 3) The French bourgeoisie protects its special interests against Germany (which is being enlisted by Great Britain as a support against France). At the same time Locarno expresses the failure of the attempt of France to establish its hegemony over the European continent; and 4) British imperialism with the support of French imperialism and with the help of the Locarno Agreement is developing its front against the U. S. S. R., which it tries to isolate, endeavouring for this purpose to draw Germany also into its orbit.

It is becoming more and more evident that the methods for the "consolidation of peace" through the League of Nations (particularly agreements similar to that of Locarno) are methods for the preparation of new wars. The pacifist illusions connected with the activity of the League of Nations particularly with Locarno are certainly still prevalent even among workers, thanks to the Social Democratic leaders who are accomplices of the League of Nations in the deception of the masses, thereby converting the Second International into one of the appendages of the League of Nations. But the whole trend of events goes towards dissipating these pacifist illusions, towards showing conclusively to large sections of the proletariat and to the sections of the petty bourgeoisie nearest to it, the falsity of the League of Nations. Among large sections of workers throughout the world, the idea is gaining ground that new imperialist wars can only be avoided by following the path of proletarian revolution, that the strongest bulwark against new wars is the consolidation of the U. S. S. R., that the only leader of the masses against predatory wars is the Communist International.

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The situation may be summed up as follows:

1. There is a consolidation of capitalism in America and in some other transoceanic countries.

2. In the second half of 1925, economic crises became more acute in all the most important capitalist countries of Europe.

3. There is a colossal growth of the concentration of the means of production in the hands of trusts and cartels backed by bank capital. Growth of trustification exists in America, Great Britain, France and Germany.

4. Increasing acuteness in the economic antagonism between America and Great Britain. As before the first imperialist world war, the main antagonism was **antagonism between Great Britain**

and Germany, at present **antagonism between America and Great Britain** is developing rapidly. (In this connection, the significance of other important antagonisms such as America and Japan, Great Britain and France, etc., should not be underestimated.)

5. Beginning of the failure of the Dawes Plan.

6. Five million unemployed (the figure is much higher if families are included).

7. Impoverishment of the middle sections of the population in almost all the countries of Europe.

And at the same time:

1. On the territory which embraces one-sixth of the terrestrial globe, the U. S. S. R., Socialism is in the course of construction — although with great difficulties.

2. On territory embracing nearly one-quarter of the population of the world — growth and development of the national-liberation movement and side by side with it the revolutionary movement of the workers at the head of the national-liberation struggle (**China**).

3. In **Morocco** and **Syria**, the national-liberation movement has developed into actual war. In **India** and **Egypt** the national-liberation movement against imperialism is ripening slowly but surely.

4. Throughout the capitalist world, Communist Parties, are becoming more and more efficient and — although with fluctuations connected to a great extent with the industrial situation — the labour movement is growing.

The Comintern rejects hasty conclusions as though "stabilisation of capital" were non-existent. But it rejects as emphatically as before the "conclusion" of the Social Democratic leaders that capitalism has become consolidated for another historical epoch.

The course of events during the past year has shown over and over again the steadfastness of the fundamental Leninist policy of the Communist International — the **policy of world proletarian revolution!** The absence of a directly revolutionary situation during the epoch of partial and untenable stabilisation of capitalism can and must impel the Communist International to make corresponding changes in the methods of its work, but the aim and the basis of the activity of the Comintern remain as of old.

## II.

### New Phenomena in the International Labour Movement and the United Front Tactics.

The desire for unity is recently being very strongly manifested among the working masses of various countries and at the same time there is a certain re-estimation as to the value of reformism, a certain disappointment in reformist methods among those wide strata of the workers who have supported reformism during recent years. Under present conditions the desire for unity is based on the class struggle.

These new phenomena are caused by various reasons:

1. The economic development of a number of most important bourgeois countries is again leading to a deterioration (sometimes actual misery) in the conditions of the broad masses of the workers. The deterioration in the situation of the British bourgeoisie deprives it more and more of the possibility of receiving surplus profits from its colonies and semi-colonies, and at the same time of the possibility of creating certain privileges for the labour aristocracy which is the main channel for the exercise of reformist influence on the general masses of the workers.

In **Great Britain** unemployment is becoming more widespread. The experience of the first "Labour" Government of **Macdonald** dealt reformist illusions a serious blow. The capitalist offensive which is engendering even bigger conflicts (the miners) is teaching the working masses to think about the necessity of organising working class mass action.

In **Germany**, unemployment has taken on tremendous dimensions. The economic situation of the working masses is growing worse with every day. At the same time, the monarchist danger is increasing. The ruling classes, intend compensating the deposed dynasty to the extent of 2.5 milliard marks. The Governmental crisis is becoming permanent. The tax burden is growing.

In France the results of the financial crisis are threatening to press heavily upon the toiling masses. The events in Syria and Morocco are bound to represent a small scale rehearsal of future "great" imperialist collisions, in the eyes of the workers. The inextricable parliamentary and governmental crisis gives the toiling masses a striking proof of the fact that the whole system of bourgeois democracy is rotting at the very roots.

Analogous phenomena are occurring in Poland, in Czechoslovakia, in Italy, in the Balkans and in a number of other countries.

2. In many of the most important countries in Europe the coalition policy (i. e. the policy of Social Democrats participating in coalition bourgeois governments, with the understanding to make the masses happy by peaceful reformist methods) has clearly become bankrupt. In the Social Democratic parties of France, Germany and Poland, an open struggle is taking place just on this question as to whether or not they can participate in coalition governments. And the representatives of the Social Democratic "Left Wing", who oppose collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and further participation in coalition governments, undoubtedly express (although to a very small degree) the discontent of the rank and file Social Democratic workers who, after a number of coalition experiments have outlived (or are outliving) their reformist illusions, having become convinced of their futility. This by no means signifies that these strata of Social Democratic workers have finished once and for all with their reformist illusions. A relapse is possible and to a certain degree inevitable. But the cycles of enthusiasm for reformist illusions — given correct tactics on our part — will become more and more shortlived, until ultimately the broad strata of Social Democratic workers will be finally won over to our side.

3. The fact of the economic growth of the U. S. S. R. has tremendous influence over the masses of Social Democratic workers of the whole world. Even those strata of Social Democratic workers amongst whom the prejudices against proletarian dictatorship and against revolutionary force and civil war were particularly widespread, are now becoming convinced by the living example that the path taken by the working class of the U. S. S. R. is correct. The U. S. S. R. — the only country in which the workers hold their fate in their own hands, in which the construction of Socialism is taking place, in which the material and moral position of the working class is gradually rising — cannot fail to serve as a magnet for the rank and file Social Democratic workers of the whole world. The previous calumny with which the leaders of the International Social Democracy enveloped the U. S. S. R. is now dispersing. Workers delegations coming to the U. S. S. R. have played and will still play a tremendous role in the work of liberating the Social Democratic workers from reformist influence.

4. The Social Democratic workers in a number of European countries have instinctively felt during the recent period that the danger of an imperialist war is gradually looming up once again. The increase of armaments throughout the whole world, the shifting of reparations payments onto the shoulders of the working class, the onslaught of the imperialists against the rising national-liberation movement in the East, the continued efforts for concluding new secret treaties — all these factors are arousing among the Social Democratic workers the consciousness of the danger of a new world war, which can only be averted by the real, firm unity of the entire proletariat on an international scale.

All these factors taken together are creating a new mood amongst wide circles of Social Democratic workers (and non-Party) and are arousing in them a real, mass, spontaneous desire for unity in the working class ranks. All this led to the first considerable successes of the united front tactics in such countries as Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, Sweden and elsewhere.

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The Communist International and its Sections must meet with determination and sincerity, these honest endeavours of the Social Democratic workers for unity.

In this sense a wide basis for a real execution of the United Front Tactics is only now being created.

These new phenomena of tremendous importance have also led to the formation of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee, to the success of the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Minority Movement, to the joint struggle of the Com-

munist and Social Democrats in Germany (campaign for confiscation of the Hohenzollern property without compensation) to the first successes in uniting the workers on the trade union front in Sweden, to the idea of the Labour Party in Norway, and so forth.

Under pressure of the broad masses, the Social Democratic leaders are commencing to change their tactics, at any rate in words. Together with the "tendency" of Kautsky, openly in favour of preaching White Guard tactics with regard to the U. S. S. R., an apparently "Left" tendency has arisen in the II. International (of which Otto Bauer is the most outstanding exponent) preaching a "friendly" attitude towards the U. S. S. R. Austrian Social Democracy is one of the strongest Social Democratic Parties numerically and ideologically, it is headed by the most skilful diplomats of reformism. That is why the swing round of Otto Bauer & Co., (Compère Morel in France) is of symptomatic importance and shows how profoundly the mood of the large sections of the Social Democratic workers has changed.

At the same time the "Left" Social Democratic leaders continue to hurl slander at the Communist International, putting forward the most perfidious and venomous accusations against it. This same Otto Bauer at the recent Congress of the II. International in Marseilles, in a "friendly" resolution on the attitude towards the U. S. S. R. and the Eastern peoples, made the following assertion: "The Comintern is spreading the illusion that it can bring about the liberation of the workers by the sharp bayonets of the Red Army. The Comintern considers that a new world war must be brought about in order to achieve the victory of the world revolution. The Comintern is supporting the revolutionary movement in Asia and Africa; in the hope that by relying on same it will be able to deal capitalism a mortal blow through war." With the thorough knowledge that a new war is really being prepared not by the U. S. S. R. but by the imperialist governments against the U. S. S. R., the "Left" Social Democratic leaders, taking advantage of the rightful hatred of Social Democratic workers to warfare, are endeavouring under the mask of benevolence to estrange the workers from the U. S. S. R. by means of the above-mentioned false assertions, and thereby, turn the Social Democratic workers away from the idea of a united working class on a world scale.

Another favourite method of the Social Democratic leaders in their opposition to the idea of the United Front, is their attempt to represent "their own" Communists (i. e. Communists of their own country) as the worst elements of the Communist movement with whom, as distinct from the Communists of other countries, it is impossible to march together. They achieve this by spreading calumnies against the Communists in their own countries.

And, finally, in order to wreck the United Front tactics, some Social Democratic leaders resort also to the following method; they depict themselves as being even more definite "supporters of unity" than the Communists, and urge that real unity can only be created in the event of the Communists renouncing the idea of an independent, political Party and agreeing to enter the Social Democratic Party, etc.

It stands to reason that there can be no question whatever about any amalgamation of the Communist Parties with Social Democratic Parties. This would be open treachery to the cause of the proletarian revolution. It would be a complete renunciation of the great historic role of the proletariat. The existence of an independent Communist Party is the ABC of Marxism and Leninism. The most important victory of the working class during the past few years is that, despite all colossal difficulties, it has succeeded in forming in various countries throughout the world independent Communist Parties, openly opposing the treachery of the Social Democratic leaders, and defending the idea of a proletarian revolution and making preparations therefore. Only under the banner of the Communist Party can the entire proletariat be united — and in due time without doubt it will be united.

But at the same time the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern declares that it will conduct the United Front tactics with greater energy than ever before, i. e. it will propose to the Social Democratic workers (and non-Party workers) a joint struggle, joint activities against the bourgeoisie on all the most important problems of politics and economics, upon which accord can be reached between Social Democratic workers and Communists.

The Enlarged Executive of the E. C. C. I. categorically invites all its Sections to welcome fearlessly and sincerely every endeavour of Social Democratic workers for a united struggle against the bourgeoisie and to join with the Social Democratic workers for various practical activities, even for the most moderate slogans, and to display a careful, comradely and correct attitude towards the Social Democratic workers in order to enable them to march together with us against the bourgeoisie.

The Communist International has no grounds for revising its estimation of the objective role of Social Democracy and in particular of its leaders (including also the "Left"). This estimation is given in a number of Comintern documents, commencing with the I Congress and ending with the V Congress of the Comintern. The Enlarged Executive of the C. I. emphatically rejects all liquidatory talk about the necessity of "revision" of the decisions of the V Congress (the opinions of the French Right opposition and of certain other "Communists" with liquidatory tendencies). The Comintern does not doubt: that the majority of Social Democratic leaders will sabotage the United Front of the workers as before, — as is being done now, for instance, by the Social Democratic leaders in Germany even on such questions as the expropriation of royal Princes in which ordinary Republicans could support the workers. But the changing situation modified the moods of wide strata of Social Democratic workers; in various periods and under different conditions the Social Democratic masses play an objectively different role, which should be taken into consideration first of all in conducting the United Front tactics.

The Communist International is still of the opinion that the United Front tactic is on no account equivalent to a parliamentary bloc with Social Democratic leaders nor does it mean the merging of Communist Parties with Social Democratic parties, or signify the renunciation by the Communist Party of its independence in matters of propaganda and agitation. The Communist International, as before, considers that the United Front tactic is nothing else but a method of revolutionary mobilisation of the masses, a method to win the majority of the workers onto the side of the Comintern. In the present historical situation, the United Front tactic is the only correct method of uniting the largest possible numbers of the International proletariat, the only correct method of reeducating the masses of Social Democratic and non-Party workers in the spirit of Marxism as against reformism.

The Social Democratic leaders opposing the United Front often assert that Communists, as it were, in reality do not desire a United Front. Such an interpretation is absolutely false. The slogan "United Front" is for us first and foremost a slogan for the real class mobilisation of the working masses on behalf of the struggle against the bourgeoisie for their urgent needs and demands. If at the same time our agitation is directed against the Social Democratic leaders, this is because these latter hinder the union of the workers in their struggle for their most pressing needs.

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Parallel with this, just as the bourgeoisie of European countries is attracted towards the American imperialists, seeking salvation among them, the Social Democratic leaders are also straining their vision towards America, seeking inspiration from the leaders of the American labour movement, who are typical agents of the bourgeoisie in the camp of the workers.

The magnates of American capitalism, on the basis of their high surplus profits, promote the idea of forming a labour aristocracy particularly systematically, corrupting and demoralising the entire hierarchy of the American labour movement.

The leadership of the American Federation of Labour is entirely in the hands of the bribed leaders of the "labour aristocracy". By means of forming a large number of "trade union" banks, distributing shares of factory enterprises among workers, organisation of the employers of "company unions", etc., the American Gompers trade unions are indeed actually "uniting" with the capitalist enterprises. The number of trade union members is on the decline. The unions have the tendency of becoming exclusive organisations including for the most part only the labour aristocracy. A whole system of class collaboration between trade unions and employers has crystallised. (B. and O. Plan.) The Pan-American Federation has been formed primarily by The Pan-American Federation of Labour has been formed primarily to keep out America "alien" workers who might threaten the

privileges of the labour aristocracy. The most malicious calumniators of the U. S. S. R. are the leaders of these "trade unions".

And this "work" is looked upon with envy by many reformist leaders in Europe. In Germany, in Austria and in other countries these leaders are preaching the "Americanisation" of the labour movement. They are beginning to imitate the formation of "labour" banks, connected with the enterprises. The purchase of shares by the upper strata of the labour aristocracy is pictured as a peaceful "evolution" into Socialism. The Right leaders of Amsterdam see in the American Federation of Labour salvation from the Bolshevik danger. "Americanisation" is counterposed to the spontaneous aspiration of European Social Democratic workers for a rapprochement with the proletariat of the U. S. S. R. Together with the "blessings" of the Dawes Plan, the "blessings" of Gompersite "Americanisation" of the labour movement are also being imported.

One of the most important tasks of the present time is to denounce the Bourgeois counter-revolutionary significance of such a policy before the workers of the whole world.

### III.

#### Crises in Sections of the Comintern and the Struggle against Deviations.

Crises in the young Sections of the Comintern were inevitable during the first years of the existence of the Communist International: they were caused by the transitional nature of the epoch as a whole, by the lack of revolutionary experiences on the part of the newly formed Communist Parties, by the existence within these Parties of strata, often very numerous, which had come over to us from the Social Democrats, by the absence of a staff of generally acknowledged leaders, by the numerical ascendancy of the Social Democratic Parties over ours, etc. The task of the Communist International as a whole is to assist the various Sections to overcome their crises and to establish such a condition within the Parties that the occurrence of crises will altogether be an exception. The objective position in Europe is favourable for the working class struggle for its liberation. Hence the subjective factor, i. e., the degree of readiness of the Communist Parties for executing the historic mission with which they are entrusted, gains still greater significance.

During the past year it has been possible completely to overcome the crises in the Czecho-Slovak and Italian Parties. Whereas at the previous session of the Enlarged Executive (March, 1925) the internal situation in the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia was extremely tense, now, by the present session of the E. C. C. I., with the aid of the Communist International, the C. P. Cz. has become consolidated, has straightened out its policy and has had considerable successes.

The long drawn out Left Wing crisis inside the Italian Communist Party (Bordiga) has been satisfactorily ended by the recent Congress, which found sufficient inward force to be able to defeat all digressions from the basic Communist policy. The correct political line of the C. P. I. has already brought it considerable successes among the masses and in the near future will undoubtedly be a source of still greater successes.

The development of events in the C. P. Cz. may serve as an example as to how Right deviations should be overcome. And the development of events in the C. P. I. may serve as an example as to how ultra-Left deviations should be overcome.

The crisis experienced by the Communist Party of Germany is not yet completely finished. After the defeat of 1923 and the bankruptcy of the Brandlerite C. C., the Communist International was compelled to agree to handing over the leadership to the "Lefts" despite the fact that it knew that Maslow, Ruth Fischer, and Scholem were capable of committing colossal ultra-Left errors. At the Frankfurt ("Left") Congress the Com. International fought decidedly against the errors of the afore-mentioned group — (on the trade union question, the question of united front, the relations of the C. P. G. to Com. International and the Party leadership, etc.). From the first moment the leadership was transferred into the hands of the said group, the Com. International warned the Party against their errors. When it became clear that this group was incapable of overcoming deviations, when from among the Lefts themselves a group of the better workers determined to break with the Maslow-Ruth Fischer group became crystallised, capable of taking matters into their own hands, the Com. International supported the removal of the

Maslow-Fischer group from the leadership. The Com. International jointly with the German delegation then in Moscow addressed an **Open Letter** in August 1925 to all Party members and organisations. The policy of the **Open Letter** has perfectly justified itself as correct. The **Open Letter** by its political and inner Party content formed the basis of the policy of the new Party leadership. The Party was enabled to get into closer contact with wider circles of the working masses. The Party succeeded in achieving far-reaching results on the road to the realisation of the united front. The wall between our Party and the Social Democratic workers is beginning to crumble. In order completely to liquidate the crisis caused by the 1923 events, the C. P. G. must completely defeat the ultra-Left deviation, whose representatives, (Scholem-Ruth Fischer-Maslow) are dragging the Party backwards. The task that arises is therefore to neutralise the errors of "the leaders" with a view to the complete conquest of the workers, who follow these "leaders", at the same time making no concessions of principle either to Right or ultra-Left tendencies not yet completely liquidated within the Communist Party of Germany.

The state of affairs in France has particular significance for the Com. International. In view of the objective situation, the French Party will be bound to play a most important role in the near future. The objective situation is extremely favourable for the work of the Communist Party in France. The main danger here is the Right digression. The Right opposition in France is by no means homogenous. Side by side with quite anti-Communist and counter-revolutionary elements (Souvarine) side by side with the group clearly receding from Communism to Syndicalism, (Rosmer, Monatte), side by side with old-fashioned elements incapable of understanding the new tasks and maintaining Social Democratic heritages (Loriot), there are undoubtedly elements in the French Opposition which have been forced there by various errors of the Party leadership, by more or less rightful discontent at various abnormalities in the work of the Party. The task of the C. P. F. should be 1) by means of an extensive educational campaign in connection with the decisions of the December 1, 2 Conference which to a certain extent corrected these errors and democratisation of the entire Party life to create a situation which among other things will lead to a destratification of the present Right opposition and restore to the Party the best elements thereof; 2) on this basis to restore discipline within the Party, and not hesitate at expelling from the Party those who do not wish to break with Souvarine and Co.

The Communist Party of Poland has passed through a period of severe crisis. The ultra-Left errors of the Party leadership almost ruined the Party. The decisions taken at the recent conference of the C. P. P. on the peasant question, on the national question, etc., and approved by the Communist International, are calculated to bring the Party onto the correct path. During the past year the Comintern has experienced a relapse of "ultra-Left" deviations in Germany, Italy and Poland. In the present situation this deviation can cause particularly great harm. The main danger of this deviation is the incapacity of fighting for the masses, the incapacity of applying the United Front tactics, the inability even of correctly presenting the question as to how to win over the majority of the workers to our side.

The struggle against the "Ultra-Left" deviation in Germany, the struggle against the Right opposition in France, this determines the Com. International policy in connection with the present day deviations. At the same time in various parties of the Comintern, as before, there has to be a simultaneous struggle against both Right and ultra-Left deviations. The main direction of Comintern activities as before remains the Leninist policy of being able to repulse both Right and ultra-Left deviations in accordance with the circumstances, place and time.

It stands to reason that the struggle against the ultra-Lefts, can only be a struggle for Leninism when the Rights are not given any possibilities of interpreting this struggle as being their victory, and vice versa.

The Comintern in this respect confirms — as in all other respects — the theses on Bolshevisation accepted at the last session of the Enlarged Executive.

The Enlarged Executive of the Communist International completely endorses the decision of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. against carrying the discussion on the disputed questions of the XIV. Russian Party Congress into the Sections of the Communist International.

#### IV.

##### Tasks of the Comintern.

1. The objective conditions for the victory of Socialism in Europe are becoming more mature. More and more significance is acquired by the subjective factor, i. e., the question as to what extent the working class is becoming consolidated, to what extent the Communist Parties are becoming strengthened, the degree in which they are becoming really Bolshevik Parties, and as to how they will be able to prove equal to the historic situation. While foreseeing (in connection with the partial stabilisation of capitalism) — the possibility of a more protracted development of the Proletarian Revolution, the Communist Parties should, however, strain every nerve so as also to be prepared for a more rapid tempo of development of the Revolution. The most important task of the Communist International during the coming years is to pay more attention to the **political training of Communist Parties**, to their tempering, organisational consolidation, ideological firmness, revolutionary energy and capability of approaching the masses.

2. At the present time when many of the most important European capitalist States, despite the partial "stabilisation" of capitalism, are entering an economic cul de sac; when the productive forces of capitalist Europe are declining or marking time; when the standard of living of the masses of toilers is deteriorating; when American imperialism is turning capitalist Europe more and more into its vassal, when the masses of workers, including the Social Democratic workers are seeking more persistently a way out of the situation that has been created, becoming convinced by experience that the "coalition" policy of collaboration of Social Democrats with the bourgeoisie will not bring the solution of the crisis, which is daily becoming more complicated; in such a situation the task of the Communist Party is: to put forward more extensively, more decisively and more persistently than ever before to the masses of the people, its programme for saving Europe by means of the **Proletarian Revolution, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the formation of the United States of Socialist Europe** (a slogan approved by the Comintern already in 1923) and realising the slogan "workers of all countries and oppressed peoples of the world, unite".

While propagating the idea of forming a United States of Europe as a means of liberating the proletariat and the peoples of Europe from a twofold oppression, the oppression of national capital and North American capital, the following circumstances should also be borne in mind. Firstly, the slogan for the United States of Europe should be regarded as the political expression of the inter-State relations of the Socialist Soviet Republics of Europe, created as a result of a victorious proletarian revolution in the European countries. Secondly, the victorious Proletarian Revolution in Europe should not necessarily be understood as the simultaneous victory of the proletariat throughout the whole of Europe. It should be interpreted as a whole period of revolutionary upheavals in the process of which the Proletarian Revolution may first be victorious in various countries, or in one European country and later extend to all the countries of Europe. Thirdly, the slogan for the United States means that the liberated nationalities of Europe can only federate on an entirely voluntary basis with the complete recognition of the rights of nations to self-determination. Fourthly, this slogan while being a slogan of proletarian dictatorship, means proclaiming the liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial countries and the establishment of collaboration with these on a completely voluntary basis.

The propaganda for the slogan "the United States of Socialist Europe" of "United States of Workers' and Peasants' Republics of Europe" if presented in a proper form (criticism and ridicule of the banal-pacifist interpretation of the "United States of Europe" slogan, denunciation of the impotence of the bourgeois ideas in this connection), will be of tremendous advantage.

At the same time in many European countries (France, Italy, the Balkans; Czechoslovakia, Germany) the slogan for a **Workers and Peasants' Government** should be launched with special emphasis.

The United States of Socialist Europe in alliance with the U. S. S. R., in alliance with the oppressed peoples of the world, in alliance with the Socialist nucleus of the American proletariat, could represent such a tremendous force against which imperialist America would be helpless.



3. **In particular in connection with the international conference** summoned by the League of Nations (economic and disarmament conferences) the Communist Parties, on the basis of the general programme conceptions of the Comintern, must for agitational purposes develop amongst the masses of toilers, a concrete programme for saving Europe by means of an anti-capitalist policy.

4. But side by side with this extensive propagandist work the Communist Parties should be able to approach the masses of the workers with a number of concrete demands, with a programme of action for the period immediately ahead, with minimum demands varying in each individual country and at any given moment, and bringing to the forefront such demands as may find and to an extent are already finding support on the part of Social Democratic and non-Party workers, and which tend to improve the standard of living of the toilers and assist the liberation struggle of the proletariat.

5. **The Desire for Unity** is the main feature characterising the present mood of the workers throughout the whole world. The will for unity is becoming stronger and stronger. The consciousness is growing with every day that without restoring unity in the ranks of the working class, the position will steadily grow worse. The popularity of the slogan for unity among the working class masses, and in particular the slogan for trade union unity, such are the main features of the present day labour movement.

6. On this basis the United Front tactic should now be developed particularly extensively. A general application of the United Front tactic is still only in its beginning. This tactic, for the first time proclaimed in its main outlines at the III Congress of the Communist International became concrete at the IV and V Congresses of the Comintern, and also at the sessions of the Enlarged Executive of the C.I. It is the tactic of the proletarian vanguard for a whole period, right up to the time when we win the majority of the working class onto our side, hence the United Front tactic should change its form and become concretised in accordance with the changing situation according to circumstances, place and time.

At the present time it is particularly necessary to recall the tactical decisions of the III World Congress, afterwards developed and supplemented by the IV and V Congresses. The main tactical conceptions of these Congresses hold good to the present day and therefore, are not subjected to any sort of "revision".

7. The centre of gravity in carrying out the united front tactics at the present time is the **trade union movement**. The characteristic peculiarity of the "Left Wings" now being formed in the labour movements of various countries is their trade union nature. Hence the increasing importance of the work of Communists in the trade unions. Assistance to the Left elements of the trade unions, support to their efforts to rally the forces of the working class, the struggle to establish trade union unity in each individual country, the struggle for forming a single international of class trade unions — such is the main lever in the work of conducting the United Front tactics. The Comintern affirms that in the interests of unity all Communists will agree to discontinue the independent existence of the R.I.I.U., and its amalgamation with the Amsterdam International, on the basis of summoning a **single world congress of both trade union Internationals**, with the maintenance of freedom of agitation for both sides. It goes without saying that until such an amalgamation becomes possible, it is the duty of every Communist to assist the work of the R. I. I. U. with all his strength. The Comintern is in complete agreement with the statement of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. that there can be no question as to the entry into the Amsterdam International — which in its present form is a weapon of the imperialist League of Nations, does not conduct a class proletarian policy, is sabotaging working class unity, etc.

The Comintern insists that the Communist Party of France (of course in agreement with the C. G. T. U.) and the C. P. Cz. (in full agreement with the C. C. of the Red Trade Unions) should set about carrying out the Comintern tactics on the questions of trade union unity much more energetically than hitherto. The Comintern points out that Conservatism on this question causes tremendous damage to the cause. The Comintern considers that without overcoming this conservatism in France and Czecho-Slovakia it will not be possible to take one serious step in carrying out the United Front tactics and successfully winning the masses. From the point of view of the struggle for

unity of the international proletariat, in particular the struggle for forming a single international of class trade unions, the Comintern will support with all its strength the work of the **Anglo-Russian Committee for trade union unity** and further every serious Left movement in the trade unions as well as all other honest attempts in this direction. The Comintern is firmly convinced that the idea of the united international trade union movement will win the day, even should the Anglo-Russian Committee for some reason or other not succeed in developing its work more extensively. From this aspect the Comintern will give complete support to the movement of workers' delegations to the U. S. S. R. which has now commenced, and which is acquiring more and more significance in the struggle for unity of the international proletariat.

8. In carrying out the United Front tactics two errors in practice are frequently revealed.

a) In appealing to the Social Democratic workers our Parties have put forward as a **condition** for joint action such demands as were evidently unacceptable to workers still retaining reformist tendencies. For instance, the French Party, in proposing to the French Socialists to form a joint front in the struggle against the Moroccan war, made as a condition for such activity, recognition of the slogans, evacuation of the French troops and fraternisation with the Rifis.

b) While striving for agreement with the Social Democrats, our organisations have sometimes undertaken not to say a single word against the Social Democratic Parties i. e., renouncing freedom of Communist education. (A recent case occurred in one of the local organisations in the C. P. of Germany.)

Neither of these errors is permissible. It is absolutely correct to propagate the idea of evacuating the French troops from Morocco, or the idea of fraternisation of the French troops with the Rif troops. But to make the support of these slogans on the part of the reformist workers a condition for joint action in the given conditions is absolutely incorrect. It is quite correct to seek with all our might agreement with the Social Democratic workers for joint actions, but it is absolutely impermissible to renounce the Party's independence. Our task in conducting the United Front tactics is to see that while preserving independence and fully propagating our ideas in an appropriate form, we at the same time take the initiative in reaching agreement with Social Democratic and non-Party workers even on elementary slogans, acceptable to the reformist and semi-reformist strata of workers, as long as these slogans are compatible with the policy of the anti-bourgeois struggle. These will for the main part be demands acceptable and desirable for Social Democratic workers and little acceptable (or acceptable only unwillingly under pressure of the masses) to the Social Democratic leaders.

The best example of this is the struggle around the confiscation of the property of the former ruling houses in Germany.

A failure to understand the **role of the Communists** in the existing Labour Parties, or those that might be formed (on the lines of the British Labour Party) will do inestimable damage to the United Front tactics.

Failure to understand that we should not be content with merely sending the Social Democrats on "Open Letter" (or several letters); that we should not be restricted merely to formal professions of the "United Front", and that even with a correct application of the United Front tactics, one must not merely think about the agitational successes, but also about the **organisational consolidation** — these errors are still widespread in a number of Comintern Sections.

More than at any other time the Communist Parties should remember that the United Front tactic has its dangers. The Social Democratic leaders, unwillingly compelled to come to agreement with us, (under pressure of the masses) will energetically endeavour on all occasions to turn the Communist Parties into an appendage of the Social Democratic Party, i. e., to efface the Communists and at the decisive moment either to betray completely the given campaign or else to change its nature in favour of the bourgeoisie.

In all and any joint activities, in all and any concessions to the moods of the Social Democratic workers, the Communist Parties should retain their identity, should propagate their own programme in its entirety, in an un mutilated form, should raise the movement higher and higher, not losing contact with the masses.

9. At the same time, of course, there can be no question of any organisational amalgamations of Communist Parties with Social Democratic Parties, or merging of the Communist Inter-

national with the II International (recent proposal of the **British Independent Labour Party**). Such proposals are sometimes made by the Social Democratic leaders on the assumption that having offered what is impossible it will be possible to bring about a rupture, i. e., by an unrealisable and seemingly far-reaching proposal (to merge the two parties) they endeavour to disrupt the realisable proposal of agreement between the Communist workers and Social Democratic workers, on given concrete demands and on given concrete activities against the bourgeoisie.

The restoration of complete international unity of the working class, the formation of a single international including all the forces of the working class, is a universal-historical task which the Communist International will in time realise. It is just in order to realise this task that the proletarian vanguard in an enormous struggle and with enormous difficulties formed the independent proletarian Communist Parties, which alone are absolutely hostile to the bourgeois world and to the petty bourgeois, half and half methods of the Social Democrats. The formation of independent Communist Parties which alone are capable of consistently and finally defending the interests of the proletariat as a whole, is a victory which Communists will never forswear.

10. As for the proposal of the **British Independent Labour Party**, the Enlarged Executive recognises that it was prompted largely by the indignation expressed by the working class members of the I. L. P. at the rejection by their National Council of the Communist Party's proposal for a united front against the capitalist offensive. The Enlarged Executive agrees with the interpretation of the Communist Party of Great Britain that a genuine desire for international working class unity is tested by the readiness to form a united working class front at home against the attacks of our class enemies.

The Enlarged Executive instructs the Executive to follow the further developments of events in **Britain** very carefully, and to be prepared at all times to place the machinery of the Communist International behind a real united working class front that must be formed in **Britain**, first and foremost to resist the attack on the **British miners**.

11. It is a matter of fact that the United Front tactic is primarily calculated on joint activities of the workers. But the United Front tactic is by no means exhausted thereby. If favourable circumstances exist, Communists should also put forward partial demands, capable of attracting semi-proletarian and bourgeois classes. For instance with currency inflation, it is first and foremost the petty bourgeoisie strata of the population which suffer. Absolute crises of the petty bourgeoisie occur. In such a situation, as that which for instance, has been brought about in France, considerable strata of the petty bourgeoisie can and must be drawn into activities against the bourgeoisie. This can also be done with regard to such campaigns as the campaign for confiscating the property of the former ruling houses. A lack of concreteness in our agitation has up to now been the main defect in the work of our Parties. One of our main tasks is to overcome this deficiency.

12. In a number of countries a serious differentiation of the peasantry is taking place which is spreading to bourgeois, catholics and peasant organisations. Within these organisations Left wings, etc. are being formed. A more organised struggle for the peasantry is commencing (project of agrarian programme of the Austrian Social Democrats — Lloyd George's agrarian programme, etc.). The efforts of various Communist Parties (Italy, France) who have paid more attention to work among the peasantry, have had positive results. All Sections of the Comintern should increase the work on this field coordinating it with the work of the Comintern.

13. The awakening of the national-emancipation movement in the East and the gradual strengthening of the labour movement there represents a new fact of primary importance. One of the most important tasks of the present time is to concentrate the attention of the workers of Europe and America on this fact, to explain to them the whole importance of this movement for the liberation struggle of the proletariat, to bring home to the workers of the West and of America the necessity for supporting and collaborating with the East.

At the same time the Comintern is bound to devote the maximum forces to all-round support and care of the labour organisations in the Eastern countries, thus bringing them still nearer to the International struggle of the proletariat.

The II International is suddenly beginning to take interest in the Eastern question. The Marseilles Congress showed the

motive of this interest. The II International is as alarmed by the revolutionary movement in the East as the imperialist bourgeoisie. It wants to counteract the influence of the Communist International of the U.S.S.R. in the East. With this aim it wants to bring the labour movement in Japan, India and China under reformist control.

The resolution of the International Labour Office of the League of Nations to call a **Pan-Asiatic Labour Conference** is a definite step in this direction. Attempts are also made to corrupt the young labour movement of India with the ideas and programme of orthodox British trade unionism. The Communist International must take all these activities of the reformists (labour imperialists) into consideration and fight against them.

14. The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. instructs the E. C. C. I. to pay serious attention to the labour movement in Japan where all the prerequisites for a mass proletarian movement exist. This is all the more necessary as the reformists are attempting (and in future with the aid of the American Social traitors will make more attempts) to conquer the nascent organs of the Japanese labour movement and through them to exert bourgeois influence also on the Chinese labour movement whose future is so full of promise.

15. The thought of an inevitable new and still more bloody imperialist war (if the workers' revolution does not conquer beforehand) looms up with greater force before the proletarian vanguard of the whole world. The workers of the whole world are becoming more clearly conscious that they can only conduct the struggle against war in close alliance with the U.S.S.R. The struggle against the dangers of war occupy a most prominent place in the work of creating a united international proletarian front. The attention of Communists should be directed to seeing that in this connection they maintain the initiative in their hands.

16. The task of the Communist Parties in this comparative lull of the revolutionary struggle of the present period, is to penetrate still more into the everyday struggle and life of the large masses of the workers. They must win the majority of the workers onto their side and at all costs become, if not the only, at any rate the main and most influential workers' party in the country. If United Front tactics are carried out, this task is perfectly possible of realisation.

17. In a large number of countries in Eastern and Southern Europe, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Roumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy and Spain, which have altogether a population of 150 million, the system of open terror has been instituted by the bourgeoisie for several years; a legal Communist mass movement is violently suppressed. The system of bourgeois terror is showing a tendency to spread. The careful examination of the class bases, and methods and counter-measures against this system is an urgent task of the Communist International.

It is further necessary to make, under the direction of the E. C. C. I., a number of serious, persistent and repeated attempts to work openly and utilise legal possibilities. Support for the demand for legalising all labour organisations should be demanded from the Social Democrats, as also support in the struggle against the White Terror. The S. D. leaders being made thereby to show their true physiognomy.

18. In view of the mass nature of unemployment in certain of the most important countries in Europe, the Parties of the Comintern concerned should pay particularly serious attention to the unemployed movement. Communists must undertake the work of organising the unemployed and assume the leadership of this movement. They must ensure that this movement is not isolated from the trade union movement and thus from the workers engaged in industry. Communist Parties must endeavour in every way to compel the trade union Executives to use the power of trade unions also in the interests of the unemployed.

But it is a matter of course that if the trade unions (under the influence of the reactionary leaders) refuse or neglect to support the unemployed movement, then Communists are obliged to organise the unemployed by setting up unemployed committees, support their work by every possible means, and lead the unemployed movement.

19. In certain Sections of the Comintern (Bulgaria, Poland), the danger of a terrorist deviation has become apparent during the period which has just elapsed. A certain inclination has been displayed among Bulgarian workers, arising from the regime created by the hangman Tsankoff, for acts such as the explosion

of the Sofia Cathedral — despite the strong opposition of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party towards individual acts of terror. In Poland there was at one time also a terrorist tendency.

The Communist International is definitely opposed to individual terror. In rejecting this method of struggle, the Communist International is guided exclusively by principles of revolutionary opportuneness. The Comintern rejects a petty bourgeois approach to questions of revolutionary violence. Every conscious proletarian knows that without the application of revolutionary violence the bourgeoisie cannot be overthrown, and the world cannot be freed from the yoke of capitalism. Only by armed force can the working class liberate humanity from the disgrace of capitalism. But it is just for this reason that Communists reject the application of individual terror remembering that the method of substituting the mass struggle by individual acts is only likely to demoralise our movement, and split up and undermine our own forces.

20. The Comintern asserts that up to the present in a number of Communist Parties the **elementarily necessary minimum of internal Party democracy is lacking**. Many recent internal Party crises have become more acute owing to the absence of internal Party democracy. The correct principle of democratic centralism is often interpreted too mechanically. As a result of this initiative from below is restricted and formation of fresh leading cadres of the Party obstructed. The Central Committees sometimes become isolated from the masses of Party members. On this basis various deviations easily develop into fractions and thereby become particularly dangerous.

The Communist Party can only be constructed on the principle of **democratic centralism**. But the system of democratic centralism should function so that not only instructions and leadership come **down from above** but also so that a real free expression of the opinions and will of the entire masses of the members of our Party comes **up from below**.

Democratic centralism is not only discipline, but discipline **plus** real election of the leading elements, **plus** free discussion within the Party of all questions (except points of direct activity, when the question has already been decided) **plus** the real individual activity of rank and file Party members.

In view of all this, the Enlarged Session of the E. C. C. I. emphatically insists once more on "**normalisation**" in those Sections of the Comintern where this normalisation has not yet taken place.

21. The system of **reorganising the Party on the basis of factory nuclei** has completely justified itself. The objections of the French Right or the Italian ultra-Left to this organisational principle only show that these objections are part of their incorrect anti-Bolshevik deviations. The process of reorganising the Communist parties has at the same time completely and clearly proved the correctness of the resolutions of the V. Congress on the organisation of street nuclei, since it is necessary to include in our organisation also those Communists who are not employed in factories through the street nuclei, and thus enabling systematic work to be carried on in residential districts.

22. Very special attention should be paid to the work of the Communist Parties in the most important **industrial centres** and in the **most important industrial enterprises**. It has been established that in many places Communist nuclei are organised in petty or medium-sized industrial enterprises, whereas the influence of Communists in the large industrial enterprises is weak. All Communist Parties should keep special records of the most important and influential industrial enterprises in their country and make the formation of the strongest Communist nuclei in these enterprises the object of their special attention.

23. It is necessary to **increase the propaganda of our Parties**, especially the work of raising the ideological level of the main cadres of the Communist Parties, while remembering that during the period of the present lull, Communists should not let a single minute be wasted, but should prepare themselves for future struggles.

24. The task of **organising and extending the mass influence of the Communist Parties** has already been undertaken in practically all the capitalist countries; but so far it has only been done unsystematically and in most cases very defectively. The methods and forms of this work must henceforth be deve-

loped systematically in all spheres in conformity with Lenin's instructions on the art of organisation in the proletarian class struggle, "to use everything and everyone", not only should the work of the Party members be effectively organised, but also as many other active forces of the proletariat as possible should be drawn into the permanent work of agitating and mobilising the broadest masses. It is not enough to organise great mass campaigns, demonstrations, and united front actions; on every such opportunity from among the masses of workers thus brought into motion the most active non-Party, syndicalist and Social Democratic elements must be drawn into a number of various kinds of **agitation committees and committees of action or other united front organs**, which can serve as organisational bases for the preparation of further mass movements. It is the task of the Communists to inspire such united front organs to continuous lasting activity, to guide them constantly in their work, and to bring them into contact and joint work with one another.

In addition, various forms of **mass organisation** must be applied for **special purposes**, the sympathisers must be organised to as great an extent as possible, all these organisational forms must be developed in conformity with the conditions peculiar to each country. Of the sympathising mass organisations already in existence, the Red Aid is one whose work must be supported primarily by Communists. The participation of Communists is also important in the work of those organisations which, like the International Workers' Relief, have developed as independent non-Party organisations, and which today embrace broad masses. For the mobilisation of the most active forces of women proletarians for constant revolutionary work our Parties must energetically adopt the method of women delegate meetings which should be adapted to circumstances.

The absolutely necessary work of strengthening the Party organisations is to be conducted in such a way that not even for a moment will the danger exist of isolating the C. P. or decreasing its mass influence. Every single member of a Party nucleus, and of a Communist fraction must be made to realise from the very beginning, that our work in the midst of the non-Party, Social Democratic and syndicalist workers is also Party work, and that it should even be regarded as the most important Party work of the majority of Party members.

The **illegal Communist Parties**, must, no less than the legal Parties, direct their efforts to organise the revolutionary work among the broad masses. Properly understood, this task in no way represents a hindrance to the constant strengthening of the Party organisations; on the contrary, it creates further possibilities for it. Illegal Parties should apply open forms of organising the mass movement to a much greater extent than heretofore, and conduct a constant struggle for extending legal and practical opportunities for their participation in all kinds of mass movements of the proletariat.

25. **Consumers' co-operatives** are also a form of mass organisation in which systematic, practical work must be carried on by the Communist Parties for winning over the broad masses of members and to enrol the co-operatives in the united proletarian fighting front against capital. This work has hitherto been very much neglected by many of the Sections.

26. Among the young workers a growing movement for the united front and a certain decline of the Socialist Youth International is evident. An important expression of this movement is the visit of numerous delegations of young workers to the Soviet Union. An increasing urge of the young workers to participate in trade union struggles is also becoming evident. The C. I. must carefully watch these phenomena and strive to use them for bringing fresh masses of young workers under its influence. It is especially necessary to support the campaign of the Y. C. I. for the organisation of the masses of youth in the trade unions and for the united front of the working class youth. It is necessary that the Young Communist International devote much more attention than heretofore to the immediate questions of the life of the young workers.

27. The **organisational work** of the E. C. C. I. should be increased and systematised. The strongest Sections of the Comintern should be drawn into the direct leadership to a much larger degree than hitherto (see project drafted by Secretariat). This question is not only an organisational question, but pro-

foundly political. The most intensive participation of the leaders of these Parties in the entire work of the Communist International is a condition for the more rapid and normal maturing of the young Communist Parties, and a pre-requisite for the active normal development of the young C. P. s. It is conducive to the creation of conditions whereby these Parties will be able to become a force capable of taking command in decisive revolutionary events in their own country.

The extensive United Front tactic is only commencing, and its application will extend year by year.

**For the unity of the working class** — this slogan is the most important in all the subsequent activity of the Communist International. There must be still greater attention devoted to winning the trade unions by means of long systematic work within them: for a single International of class trade unions.

The attention of the workers of the whole world should be fixed more and more on the economic development and construction of Socialism in the U. S. S. R. Widespread aid of the International proletariat in the work of industrialisation of the U. S. S. R.

**More attention to the East!** Teach the workers to understand that the national-liberation and labour movement in the

East has the closest and most intrinsic connection with the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

**More attention to the new Continents** — to the labour movement in Latin America, Africa and Australia!

**Struggle for the peasantry! Struggle for the Middle strata of the population.** The struggle for the most important strata of urban and petty bourgeoisie. With this object in view, the most opportune cases should be used for promoting the most moderate demands with the view to rallying round them not only workers with reformist tendencies, but also other strata of the toilers (petty peasantry, petty employees, etc.).

**Struggle against the danger of new wars!**

**Struggle for the movement of the workers' delegations to the U. S. S. R.!**

**Systematic and stubborn struggle for winning the majority of the working class!**

**Systematic and stubborn work for bolshevising all the sections of the Communist International!**

Such are the tasks which arise during the coming period.

## Immediate Tasks before the Communists in the Trade Union Movement.

### I. New Phenomena in the World Trade Union Movement.

Since the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, numerous events have taken place in the world trade union movement, which require the most careful study to enable us to make a correct decision concerning our further tactics. The new phenomena in the world trade union movement are as follows: 1) the lowering of the standard of living of the workers; 2) new forms of class collaboration; 3) growing influence of the Amsterdam Federation on the reformist trade union movement in Europe; 4) rapid growth of the trade union movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries; 5) formation of a Left Wing in a considerable number of reformist trade unions; 6) growth of the influence of the U. S. S. R. trade unions on the world trade union movement and visits of workers' delegations to the U. S. S. R.; 7) the formation of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee; 8) growing acuteness of the struggle within the Amsterdam International; 9) growing demands of the masses for unity.

All Communist Parties must pay special attention to these new phenomena which are ushering in a new stage in our struggle for the capture of the majority of the working class.

### II. Lowering the Standard of Living of the Working Masses.

All through the past year there raged a political and economic offensive of the bourgeoisie against the working class. This offensive aimed at making competition on the world market possible by cheapening production through the lowering of the standard of living of the masses. In many countries a longer working day has been introduced; almost everywhere wages have been reduced and the burden of taxation weighs still more heavily on the working class. The entire economic and political power of the bourgeoisie was directed towards lowering the standard of living of the workers, and all the forces of the working class were directed to maintaining at least the old positions. The working class in a great majority of countries has been and still is on the offensive. This pressure on the working class took place simultaneously and systematically everywhere, regardless of what kind of government — reactionary, democratic or Social Democratic — headed the State. The standard of living of the masses was not lowered simultaneously and to the same degree in all countries. Hence there prevailed a continuous levelling down to the standard of the worst paid workers in every country, and to the standard of the workers in the impoverished continental countries. This is how the ruling classes were and are conducting the struggle for the world markets at the expense of the working class. This competition at the expense of the working class assumed at the beginning of 1926 such a form, it had effected such an enormous

number of workers and the existence level so lowered that gigantic social collisions in the near future are inevitable. The period of reduced fighting capacity is over — the labour movement is entering upon a new stage of relentless economic and political struggles.

### III. New Forms of Class Collaboration.

The crassest forms of class collaboration are to be found in the U. S. A. where the reactionary trade union leaders have taken a few more steps in the direction of subjecting the working class to capitalist interests. Very characteristic in this respect are the agreements between the trade unions and the employers on increase of the productivity of labour — the so-called Baltimore and Ohio Plan (named after the railway on which this new "achievement" of the American trade unions was first applied), the organisation of trade union banks with the participation of employers, investment of trade union money in capitalist enterprises, workers' stocks, etc. This trade union capitalism is meeting with so much sympathy on the part of the American Trusts, that even the most powerful of them are beginning to be very lenient to the trade unions against which they formerly carried on a relentless struggle. Other forms of this collaboration are the Company Unions organised in the factories by the employers, and the readiness of the American Federation of Labour to come to terms with the employers on this question provided the contributions accrue to the trade union funds. These new forms of economic collaboration are not restricted to America. They are being transferred to Europe, and have received their highest expression in "Americanised" Germany where the last Trade Union Congress in Breslau advanced the slogan of the so-called industrial democracy. The reformist leaders of the German trade union movement recently declared that there is no difference whatever between the German and the American trade unions, either in aims or in methods. These new forms of the enslavement of the working class through the trade union apparatus constitute a serious danger for the entire trade union movement throughout the world, and especially for the European movement, the reformist leaders of which are now turning their eyes towards America.

### IV. Growing Influence of the American Federation of Labour on the European Reformist Trade Union Movement.

The ideological political influence of the American Federation of Labour has increased considerably of late, and not merely in America where it heads the Pan-American Federation of Labour, but in Europe where the Right Wing of Amsterdam has been angling for a long time for American support in its

struggle against the growing radicalisation of the British trade union movement. This growth of the influence of the reactionary American Federation of Labour follows in the wake of the world hegemony of American Imperialism. This volte face of reformism towards America reflects the disbelief of the Reformists in the capacity of European capitalism to find a way out of the economic and social crisis. Just as the full-blooded American imperialism is to infuse new blood into the arteries of declining European capitalism, the American Federation of Labour, which is now taking first place among the reactionaries of the world is to support the ever-weakening European Reformism and thus help the Amsterdam International to repulse the attack of the Profintern and the proletarian masses who are veering more and more to the Left. There was a time — (which corresponded with the period of the full development of British capitalism and of its domination on the world market) — when the British labour movement was the most conservative of all; it was the subject of envy and praise by the continental bourgeoisie and by every variety of socialist doctrinaires. Now America has taken the place of Great Britain and can well afford to give a few crumbs of its excess profits to a section of the working class. It is this section of the working class which supports American imperialism and its world hegemony. Thus the transference of financial-economic hegemony from Europe to the U. S. A. is accompanied by the transference of working class imperialism of which the American Federation of Labour is at present the most avowed follower and the most cynical representative. The Right Wing of the European Trade Union movement is looking to the American Federation of Labour and this fact alone shows that the position of Amsterdam is far from stable.

#### V. Rapid Growth of the Trade Union Movement in the Colonial and Semi-Colonial Countries.

The trade union movement of the Colonial and semi-Colonial countries is the product of the post-war period and only during the last year it has come forward as an organised force and immediately begun to play an extremely important role in the national-liberation struggle. Of particular importance in this respect is the activity of the trade unions of China and India. The Shanghai, Hong-Kong and Tientsin strikes have evidenced such a degree of revolutionary energy and organisation as could not have been suspected to exist one or two years ago among the backward and doubly enslaved Chinese proletariat. By this activity the national liberation struggle of the Chinese people was given a proletarian character and the Chinese proletariat became the lever, the main force of the national-liberation movement of China. Under these circumstances the affiliation of the Chinese trade unions to the Profintern becomes of paramount importance. It shows that the trade unions of the countries enslaved by world imperialism are looking for allies where they have a right to expect to find them — in Moscow and not in Amsterdam. The recent activity of the Chinese proletariat may well be considered the most important historical event after the October Revolution, for it means the further weakening of world imperialism and a further advance of world revolution. Of exceptional importance also are the gigantic strikes which convulsed India during the last eighteen months. In India the struggle has not yet assumed the same character as in China, but these strikes are the precursors of the imminent political struggles. They show that in India there are sufficiently strong proletarian masses to begin, in the very near future, to play the leading role in the national liberation struggle just as in China. The actions of the proletarians of these two countries will deal a blow to British imperialism from which it will not be able to recover, and in this lies the historical role of the growing activity and revolutionary spirit of the trade union movement of the countries enslaved by world capitalism. If we add to this the growth of the revolutionary trade union movement in Indonesia, Tunis, Syria, Egypt, etc. we shall see that the world labour movement has entered upon a new stage of development. We see on the arena of the world labour movement new detachments of the world proletariat in full action playing an exceptionally important role in the national liberation struggle and also in world policy. Hence, too, the attempts on the part of the Right Wing of the Amsterdam International to rule the T. U. movement in the Colonies and bring the labour movement of the 'backward' countries under its wardenship and direct it along the European

i. e. along the reformist path. This explains the growing activity of the Right Wing of the international labour movement, (Jouhaux's role in the suppression of the revolutionary trade union movement of Tunis, the suppression of the revolutionary trade union movement of Tunis, the establishment of the Fabian Society in India on the initiative of the British, the anti-Moscow demonstration of the representative of the Labour Party of Great Britain, Graham Pole, at the Trade Union Congress of India, etc.) in the fight against the revolutionary trade union movement in the colonies.

All Communist Parties have a threefold task in relation to the labour movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries: 1) the establishment of permanent uninterrupted connections between the labour movement of all countries and particularly of the metropolis with the labour movement of the colonies and semi-colonies. 2) Complete, unreserved and whole-hearted support of the labour movement of these doubly oppressed countries in their struggle for national and social emancipation. 3) In those countries (France) where workers from the colonies are imported for work these workers should be brought into the trade unions and extensive cultural-educational work developed among them in order to develop them into fighters for their national and social emancipation."

#### VI. Formation of a Left Wing in Reformist Trade Unions.

The growth of unemployment, the continuous economic crisis, the lowering of the existence level of the masses and the growing financial-economic hegemony of the U. S. A. on the world market are accompanied by growing discontent among large sections of the proletariat, all of which has its reflex in the reformist trade unions. Workers who for many years have been devoted followers of the International Social Democracy and of the Amsterdam International are beginning to question the expediency of reformist methods of struggle and are beginning to look for a way out of the blind alley in which they find themselves. Pressure on the part of the employers, the growth of fascist reaction, the abrogation of the 8-hour day, deterioration in the conditions of labour, wage reductions, — all these combined are confronting the masses with the concrete question of welding their ranks together for the struggle. But this is impossible without the establishment of the united front, without a practical understanding between workers of various tendencies in and outside the enterprises with respect to all the concrete questions of interest to the masses. Thus the pressure of organised capital is more and more permeating the ranks of the toiling masses, with the idea of unity and this is beginning to find its reflex in the everyday struggle of the proletariat. There is hardly an Amsterdam organisation but that, side by side with a well-developed revolutionary wing, there is a Left tendency which differs from the Right upper stratum by its advocacy of the united front and of the unity of the national and world trade union movement. For and against the united front with the Communists — this is what marks the parting of the ways within all the reformist organisations. The Left Wing as yet is not ideologically full-fledged. It has no definite programme and tactics. In every country it has its own peculiarities, but the idea which unites most of these groups and tendencies, is the united front with the trade unions of the U. S. S. R., and unity of the national and world trade union movement.

The attitude of the Comintern and the Communist Parties towards the growing Opposition within the reformist trade unions is quite clear. It is the outcome of the fundamental rules of Bolshevik tactics; support at all times for every Opposition movement within reformist political and economic organisations which is directed against the theory and practice of these organisations. We cannot and must not wait until these Left tendencies crystallise completely, we must use all our energy and strength to help the Opposition movement, to assist these workers who are beginning to shake themselves free of reformist ideology. We must do our utmost to establish close contact and correct mutual relations between Communist workers, Social Democratic workers and non-Party workers. In a word, Communist Parties must be quick to respond to all processes within the reformist organisations — to all ideological ferment — and do their utmost to help these elements within the reformist organisations in their struggle against class collaboration. Communist Parties must come to an under-

standing quite openly with all Opposition elements on the basis of a concrete programme of action without of course even for a moment relinquishing the struggle for the full Communist programme and for all the Communist demands. The main task, with respect to the Opposition in the making, consists in not placing before it impossible demands, not in offering it unacceptable programmes, but in coming to an understanding with this opposition on practical and concrete questions of interest to the masses, and capable by means of a bloc between the followers of the Profintern and the Opposition — of furthering the unification of the forces of the working class.

#### VII. The Soviet Trade Unions' Growth of Influence and Visits of Workers' Delegations to the U. S. S. R.

Whilst International Social Democracy and the Right Wing of the Amsterdam International have turned their face towards America, a growing sympathy for the U. S. S. R. is noticeable among the rank and file members of these organisations. There are two reasons for this change: 1. the economic and political position of the working class continues to grow worse, and 2. the economic development of the U. S. S. R. is on the upward grade. This desire to get into touch with the U. S. S. R. extends far beyond the confines of Europe. Large sections of workers want to ascertain, through their representatives, the state of affairs at present in the U. S. S. R. and the truth about the labour movement there. As more and more workers' delegations visit the U. S. S. R. and return home to tell about their experiences, the desire for contact with the U. S. S. R. grows, for Social Democrats workers who visit Soviet Russia are compelled to confess that the working class of the Soviet Union is on the upward grade, whilst the working class of the capitalist countries is on the decline. Thus a very curious phenomenon may be observed in the international labour movement. Whilst its reactionary upper stratum is turning its face towards America, the mass, i. e. the backbone of the reformist movement, is turning its face to the U. S. S. R. This development of the upper stratum and of the masses in opposite directions shows the real seriousness of the profound crisis which the International Social Democracy and the Amsterdam International are now going through in various countries.

#### VIII. The Anglo-Russian Unity Committee.

The final organisation of the Anglo-Russian Committee for Trade Union Unity is the organisational expression of the new tendencies of the majority of the organised working class of Great Britain. Its final organisation was not accomplished without struggle. The Amsterdam International offered considerable opposition to the rapprochement between the British and Russian trade union movements. Quite as much opposition was offered also by the reactionary wing of the British trade union movement. Nevertheless this rapprochement did take place and was consolidated through the establishment of the Anglo-Russian Committee.

This Committee, which found a glad echo among large sections of workers, represents a new stage in the development of the international trade union movement. The fact alone of the rapprochement between the British and Soviet trade union movements shows that the world trade union movement has outgrown the framework of the existing Internationals, that the desire for unity is so strong that it is cutting for itself new organisational channels. The Anglo-Russian Committee, consisting of the most powerful organisations of the Profintern and of Amsterdam, shows in practice the possibility of the formation of one united International — of joint struggle of workers of various tendencies against reaction, Fascism and the capitalist offensive.

This is the meaning which the workers attach to this committee. Hence the support of whole organisations (Norway, Finland), as well as of various local unions and cartels. In spite of the incitement campaign of the Second International and the Right Wing of Amsterdam, the Anglo-Russian Committee continues to enlist the sympathy of the masses. All Communist Parties must give whole-hearted support to the Anglo-Russian Committee and carry on an energetic struggle against all Social Democrats and Right Amsterdammers who sabotage this

work and endeavour to break up the Anglo-Russian bloc. The Comintern welcomes most heartily the rapprochement between the British and Soviet trade unions and will do its utmost to help the Anglo-Russian Committee achieve the aim which it has set itself.

#### IX. The Struggle of Divergent Tendencies within the Amsterdam International.

The establishment of the Anglo-Russian Committee, and the formation of the Left Wing have considerably increased the acuteness of the struggle between the tendencies within the Amsterdam International. Up to the last year there was within the organisations adhering to Amsterdam, only an Opposition, organised by the Communist Party, in the form of revolutionary minorities ideologically supporting the Profintern. But during the last 18 months another Opposition has sprung up within the Amsterdam International — represented by the majority of the trade union movement of Great Britain and by fairly solid Oppositional groups and tendencies within quite a number of Amsterdam organisations. Thus there are at present within Amsterdam three main tendencies: Right, Left and Centre. The peculiarity of the situation lies in the fact that the Centre and the revolutionary wing have their territorial base in Great Britain. This greatly complicates the position of the Amsterdam International and compels its leaders to go outside Europe for assistance against the Opposition and to some extent against the "British tendency". To all appearances the Right Wing is victorious: all the unity proposals of the representatives of the General Trade Union Council of Great Britain and of the International Secretariats are generally rejected. The leaders of the Amsterdam International, as represented by Jouhaux, Oudegeest, Mertens, Leipart and others, continue energetic and consistent opposition to unity. Instead of the united front to the Left they cling to the League of Nations, the International Labour Office and the bourgeois organisations, preferring a united front with the bourgeoisie to the united front with the revolutionary workers. But the Right Wing has only a formal majority, the actual majority of the members of organisations adhering to the Amsterdam International is undeniably on the side of unity. This adds to the seriousness of the crisis and makes it more complicated. Thus there goes on within Amsterdam a serious ideological-political struggle, and the leading upper stratum which represents mainly small organisations (apart from Germany) is endeavouring to keep the hegemony within its own hands against the British trade union movement and the overwhelming majority of workers in their own organisations.

#### X. The All-Russian Central Trade Union Council (V. C. S. P. S.) and Amsterdam.

The slogan of fusion between the Profintern and Amsterdam through an **International Unity Congress**, and the slogan of the Anglo-Russian Committee, "one all-embracing international", issued by the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and the Third Congress of the Profintern met with vigorous resistance from International Social Democracy and from the Right Wing of the Amsterdam International. This resistance took the following forms: on the one hand a campaign carried on against the very idea of an international unity congress as an "impossible and pernicious idea"; on the other hand reformists' efforts to reduce the whole problem of the unity of world trade union movement to a question of mutual relations between Amsterdam and the V. C. S. P. S. Subsequently they began, and still continue, to sabotage negotiations with the V. C. S. P. S. on the question of unity, they even object to a conference without the preliminary condition that the V. C. S. P. S. formerly apply for application to the Amsterdam International. The demand of the V. C. S. P. S. and of the Anglo-Russian Committee for a preliminary unconditional conference, for a joint discussion of the means by which the unity of the world trade union movement can be restored, was categorically rejected by the leading majority of the Amsterdam International. The sincere desire of the V. C. S. P. S. to do its utmost, regardless of formalities, for the actual establishment of unity in the International Trade Union Movement, and its readiness to negotiate with Amsterdam on the question of the establishment of unity in the international

trade union movement has been and is still being interpreted by international Social Democracy as a desire on the part of the V. C. S. P. S. to leave the Profintern, to sever connection with the revolutionary trade union movement of the other countries, to enter the Amsterdam organisation, to shake off the influence of the C. P. S. U. and to change thereby the entire political orientation of the trade union movement of the U. S. S. R. The V. C. S. P. S. is an organic part of the Profintern, and like all organisations affiliated to this revolutionary international, it adheres and will adhere to the policy which is laid down by the revolutionary world trade union movement, as presented by the Profintern, which is endeavouring to establish the unity of the world trade union movement. If the reformists' talk about the V. C. S. P. S. carrying on a policy directed against the C. P. S. U., the Comintern and the Profintern, were capable of bringing confusion into the minds of individual comrades, it only shows that these comrades fail to understand that the connection between the Communist Party and the trade unions of the U. S. S. R. is unseverable. Mutual relations between the Party and the Trade Unions of the U. S. S. R. have been consolidated at a number of Party and Trade Union Congresses and particularly by the last XIV. Congress of the C. P. S. U. (b). In its negotiations with Amsterdam the V. C. S. P. S. pursued and will pursue the aim which is common to the Profintern and the Comintern: to achieve by all means the restoration of unity in every country and the establishment of one united International in which all the organisations affiliated to Amsterdam and to the Profintern, and also organisations outside these two Internationals, can find a place. This aim has nothing in common with reformist commentaries on the tactics of the Soviet trade unions, which always have acted and always will act in full agreement with the Comintern and Profintern.

#### XI. Our Strong Points in the Struggle for Unity.

The Communist Parties' struggle for unity in a number of countries has had definite results; as the struggle develops our Parties learn to become the driving force in the struggle for unity, extending and consolidating their influence over the masses without in the least relinquishing their Communist principles. The Communist Party of Great Britain can serve as a model of how the Comintern slogan of capturing the masses, should be put into practice. It is true that the objective situation in Great Britain is very favourable for the extension of Communist influence. But apart from objective conditions an important, and one might say, decisive factor is a clever, flexible and consistent tactic on the part of Communist Parties. The great merit of the British Communist Party consists in its capacity to establish an effective collaboration with all the Left elements on the most important current questions of policy. This policy led to the formation of the Minority Movement, which at present has the support of about one million workers. It also brought about a state of affairs in which the most moderate elements among Left Wingers cannot conceive of a united front without the Communist Party and the Minority Movement. In spite of its small membership (6,500), the Communist Party is at present an important political factor in Great Britain, and the Minority Movement is playing an increasingly important role in the European trade union movement. The Communist Party enjoys the confidence of large sections of workers, even among the more moderate elements. The workers know that its proposal for a united front is not a manoeuvre, but a serious, sincere and business-like proposal; hence the Party's success and the continuous growth of its influence.

A good example of united front tactics is found also in the unity conference held in Sweden at the end of January, which brought together about 80,000 organised workers. An honest coalition was formed between Communists, Syndicalists and non-Party workers, who will now fight together for the united front and unity in the national and international trade union movement.

The united front and the struggle for unity is not a manoeuvre against the working class or against any section thereof, it is a manoeuvre against the bourgeoisie, it expresses a serious and sincere desire to create unity of action against capitalism. This is what every Party must prove to the masses, by its entire everyday work. In this lies the secret of the successful application of united front and unity tactics.

#### XII. Struggle against Expulsions, Splits and Persecution of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.

The Right Wing of the Amsterdam International continues its policy of expulsions and splits. In Italy at a time when Fascism threw the full weight of government power against the trade unions, the leading upper stratum began the wholesale expulsion of Communists, because they had proposed to carry on an energetic struggle against the Fascist reign of violence. In France the leaders of the Reformist Confederation of Labour tears members away from the Unitarian Unions and do not scruple to form their own unions of only 3—5 members to counteract the influence of the Unitarian Unions. With the open help of the reformist union leaders the government broke up the Tunis Confederation of Labour and did away with freedom of organisation for the native population. In Belgium expulsions from trade unions are now the order of the day, and the hatred of the Belgian reformists for the U. S. S. R. is so great that they threaten to exclude from their Confederation all the unions who dared accept financial help from the Soviet trade unions during the strike. In Finland Social Democracy is openly preparing to split the trade union movement, and this is done under the slogan "With Amsterdam Against Moscow". This monstrous conspiracy against the interests of the working class of Finland obviously goes on with the knowledge of the Amsterdam International, as the Finnish Social Democrats in their "split" work rely on its support and co-operation. In Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Roumania, the revolutionary trade unions have been all but destroyed by the police with the active support of the Social Democrats and the leaders of the reformist unions. At present, after the police have destroyed the greater part of the Left trade unions in the Balkans, and after mass arrests and murders of leaders of the revolutionary trade union movement, the Amsterdam International is convening a Balkan Trade Union Conference in order to reap the harvest sown by the White Terror. The police-reformist offensive against Communists and revolutionary trade unions must meet with energetic and relentless resistance. In the interests of unity and trade union militancy we must put up a strong opposition to the expulsion of Communists and Opposition elements from the trade unions and the break up of the Left trade unions. Where the reformists apply the policy of expulsions and splits, Communists shall mobilise the broad masses, primarily the members of the trade union affected, against the threat of a split and for the reinstatement of those expelled and the rehabilitation of the destroyed unions. The entire Comintern must be mobilised for the struggle against police raids and the consequent utilisation by the reformists of the destruction of the Left organisations. Expulsions of Communists and Left elements, the splitting up or destruction of any trade union whatever, is a blow to the entire International Labour movement, to the whole Communist International.

#### XIII. Our Weak Points in the Struggle for Unity.

Unfortunately, our experiences have not only had a positive but also a negative character. The most vivid example of an erroneous trade union policy was the tactic of Ruth Fischer and Maslow. These tactics helped to increase strained relations between Communist and Socialist workers in the factory. They consisted in a mechanical formal proposal of a united front with an undercurrent of secret desire to sabotage the united front through fear that the proposal for joint actions might be accepted. This predetermined the bankruptcy of their entire trade union activity and united front tactics, and it dealt a blow to the influence of the Communist Party among the masses. Communist Party work in the trade unions is one of its most important political tasks, this work cannot be dissociated from the entire policy and tactics of the Party. Erroneous application of united front and unity tactics has led to catastrophic results, and it was only after a change of leadership and after the new Central Committee of the German Communist Party had shown a sincere desire to establish the united front — to bridge the gulf which separated Communists from Social Democratic workers — that the influence of the Communist Party in the trade unions began to grow. In France, the Communist Party and the Unitarian Confederation of Labour have as yet done hardly anything towards organising a Left Wing within the reformist Confederation of Labour. In some countries there still exists the clearly erroneous slogan of unity at any price, and this is bound to lead to an abandonment of independent propaganda of Communist ideas. A slogan of this kind ties our Communist Parties hand and foot.

in their political struggle. In some countries the struggle for unity was interpreted as an unconditional surrender to all the demands of the Social Democratic trade union leaders. In those countries Communists even went to the length of not voting against their own expulsions.

Two dangerous tendencies prevail among some Communists. On the one hand, under-estimation of the forces of the opponents and over-estimation of their own forces, and on the other hand, the contrary — over-estimation of the forces of the opponent and under-estimation of their own. The latter tendency made its appearance among some Communists in connection with an overestimation of the strength of the Amsterdam International and underestimation of the strength of the Profintern (and the Comintern) this lack of faith in one's own forces inevitably finds a reflex in our tactics in the trade unions. All these examples go to show that there should be a more frequent inter-change of opinion between Communist Parties about methods and means of practical struggle for the united front and for unity. They must bear in mind that we want organisational unity and **not political dilution in the reformist organisations, that struggle for the right to work in the Trade Unions as Communists is the most important task of the Party.**

#### XIV. Struggle for one United International.

The growth of trade union activity in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the plans for the convocation of the Pan-Asiatic and Pacific Trade Union Congresses, the fact that Australia has entered the arena of the world trade union movement, the establishment of the Anglo-Russian Committee and its support by the trade union movement of Norway, Finland and a number of other countries, all this shows not only the **actuality** but also the **practical possibility** of the creation of a single trade union international. The Communist Parties of all countries must put their whole energy into the struggle for a single united international. They must explain to the masses that an International capable of most effectively assuring the establishment of unity in the international trade union movement can only be created at an international unity Congress, through the fusion of all the existing Internationals and by attracting all those trade union organisations which were and still are outside any of the existing Internationals. Struggle for one united International to embrace the trade union organisations of all countries, all races and all continents is all the more necessary, since International Social Democracy and the leading upper stratum of the Amsterdam International are endeavouring to represent Amsterdam, which has the support of only part of the working class of Europe, as the only world organisation. An energetic and relentless struggle must be carried on against such demagogy. The Amsterdam International embraces only part of the organised proletariat of Europe. Amsterdam, far from being a world organisation, is not even an all-European organisation. One must also take into consideration that the majority of the members of the Amsterdam International are certainly for unity and against the split policy of the present leading upper stratum of that International. The struggle for an international unity congress, for fusion of the Profintern and Amsterdam, and for one united international, must be carried on parallel with a propaganda campaign to explain what kind of international is needed for the working class. We need an International based on class struggle, an International of action, an International which will organise parallel and joint simultaneous actions by workers of all countries against Fascism and reaction, against all attempts to lower the existence level of the masses, against the enslavement of the colonial countries, and for the complete liberation of the toiling masses from the power of capitalism.

#### XV. Consolidation of the Profintern.

Struggle for one united International, as well as activity in the direction of bringing together Communist and Social Democratic workers, can only have satisfactory results if at the same time we do our utmost to consolidate our own ranks on a national and international scale. Whilst energetically agitating for the unity of the trade union movement and submitting to trade union discipline, Communists must also insist vigorously on their right to carry on an ideological struggle within trade union organisations, on their right to defend their own viewpoint and to defend their views in an organised manner. This struggle for the consolidation of our ranks in every country, the struggle for the proper organisation of the Profintern followers must be

carried on side by side with the struggle for the consolidation of the Profintern itself. What is needed is steady, systematic work aiming at the consolidation of all organisations and revolutionary minorities adhering to the Profintern in accordance with the tactics of the united front and trade union unity.

At the same time a determined struggle must be conducted for the united front and the unification of all unions: Social Democratic, liberal, democratic, Red, etc. into a single national organisation.

It is essential to popularise the programme and tactics of the Profintern. It is essential that every Social Democratic worker be made to realise that as long as the upper stratum of the Amsterdam International looks down upon the workers of colonial and semi-colonial countries, the majority of whom, as far as they are organised, rally to the Profintern, so long as it will refuse to form a united front with the Profintern to unite the revolutionary trade union movement of all countries in the struggle against Fascism and the capitalist offensive, so long will it be impossible to resist the attack of the bourgeoisie and to defend even the most elementary demands of the workers. This we must inculcate very thoroughly into the masses, this must be one of the basic tasks of our entire propaganda and agitation. The stronger we are on a national and international scale, the sooner will we achieve real and not merely formal unity in the trade union movement.

#### XVI. Into the Trade Unions — to the Masses.

Despite the repeated decisions of Comintern Congresses concerning the extraordinary importance of work in the trade unions, in spite of the fact that all the Enlarged Plenums and the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. systematically pointed in that direction, there are still Communist Parties in which the majority of members not only avoid trade union work, but are not even members of trade unions. On the other hand, wherever Communists have organised themselves into trade union fractions, those, instead of devoting themselves to practical work in the trade unions and by this practical activity capturing the masses, devote nine-tenths of their time to international questions of "high politics", forgetting that the Social Democrats maintain their influence in the trade unions by their practical work. Such systematic violation of all the decisions of the Comintern and of the very substance of Bolshevik tactics, finds an explanation in the fact that many Communists consider work in the trade unions disagreeable and of secondary consideration. The idea is that every Communist should turn his attention to politics, and that the small everyday work in the trade unions is beneath Communist dignity. Such a frame of mind exists in many Parties, and what is more serious, insufficient efforts are made to fight it. Relentless war must be declared on such a non-Bolshevik attitude towards work in the trade unions. Parties unable to create cadres of trade union experts even by means of tedious menial everyday work in the trade unions, unable to produce capable leaders for the everyday economic struggle of the proletariat and unable to compete with the reformists not only in correct policy, but also in their practical work — such Parties will never be able to win more confidence among the workers than is held by the reformists, such Parties will never capture the masses.

Comintern attaches extreme importance to the organisation of women and youth in trade unions and their participation in the active struggle. In this respect all Communist Parties must develop a maximum of initiative and energy. Winning over women and youth must become a central task in Communist work among the masses and in trade unions.

It is essential to compel all Party members to be not only card holders, but active members of trade unions. An end must be put to the passive resistance to the decisions of the Comintern Congresses. One must realise once and for all that work in the trade unions is the most important political work of every Communist Party, and the measure of its success will be the measure of its success in the trade union movement.

#### XVII. The Programme of Action.

The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I., taking into consideration the continuous economic capitalist offensive, the growth of Fascist reaction, the destruction of Left trade unions in a number of countries, the constant expulsions of the Communists from trade unions, and the Social-Democratic-Reactionary bloc directed against the revolutionary trade unions (Yugo-Slavia,



Roumania, etc.), resolves to carry on an energetic campaign in all countries on a basis of the following programme of action:

1. Struggle against the direct or indirect prolongation of the working day. Maximum 8-hour day and a 6-hour day for underground work and industries injurious to the health.
2. Struggle against the lowering of the standard of living and for a higher real wage, and equal pay for equal work.
3. Struggle for State Unemployment Insurance based upon the existence minimum.
4. Struggle for the complete freedom of trade union organisations.
5. Struggle against Fascist reaction and the monopoly of Fascist trade unions.
6. Struggle for the transference of the tax burdens to the propertied classes.
7. Struggle against bureaucracy and for workers' democracy in the trade unions.
8. Struggle for freedom of opinion within the trade unions.
9. Struggle against all forms of class collaboration in general and against its new American forms in particular.
10. Struggle to get all workers, women workers and working class youth into the trade unions.
11. Struggle for the establishment in every country of a single organisation of trade unions.

12. Struggle for the rapprochement between the workers of all countries with the working class of the U. S. S. R.

13. Struggle for the rapprochement between the workers of the West and the workers of the oppressed East.

14. Struggle against the League of Nations and the International Labour Office.

15. Struggle against war.

16. Struggle for active fraternal unity between Communist, Social Democratic and non-Party workers against capitalism.

17. Struggle for the establishment of one united class International embracing the trade unions of all countries, all races and all continents.

This programme of action, far from excluding, presupposes the elaboration of a practical programme of action for every country, every district and every enterprise. Such programmes of action must take into consideration the economic system of the country, the status of the enterprise in question, the correlation of forces, etc. The programme of action given here can and must however, on the whole, serve as a platform for the unification and mobilisation of large numbers of workers, not only to resist the reactionary offensive, but also as a platform for an attack on capitalism and its bourgeois State.

## Resolution on the Report of the Executive.

The Enlarged Executive has with satisfaction taken note of the E. C. C. I. report and declares that in carrying out the resolutions of the V Congress and of the Enlarged Executive of 1925, the Executive has great successes to record.

In the first place the achievements in the fight for the unity of the trade union movement must be recorded.

Important steps were taken in the work of Bolshevisation. The Communist Parties in Great Britain and China have achieved big results. The Open Letter of the Executive to the C. P. of Germany created the basis for the consolidation of the C. P. G. and

for its first big successes among the masses. The Right danger in Czecho-Slovakia, as well as the ultra-Left danger in Italy were overcome with the aid of the Executive.

The Enlarged Executive expresses its confidence in the Executive and calls upon it to establish inner-Party democracy in a greater measure both nationally and internationally. The Enlarged Executive calls upon the Sections of the C. I. to support the E. C. C. I. with all their power in its work to create real mass Parties which, also in the period of relative stabilisation, can win and hold the confidence of the masses.

## Resolution on the German Question.

### 1. The Situation in Germany.

The present situation in Germany is characterised primarily by an acute economic crisis which takes the form of a market crisis with all its attributes.

There are two sides to this crisis. On the one hand the general crisis of German economy as a whole, called forth by the international situation in Germany, the Versailles Peace Treaty and the Dawes Plan. Germany has lost its colonies and the export facilities have been severely restricted by the customs policy of a considerable number of States. On the other hand, Germany is compelled to create premises for the realisation of Reparation payments, viz. it must increase production. This is in contradiction to the severe limitation of export market facilities and the decreased purchasing power of the population in the country itself, all of which finds expression in the general economic crisis.

An attempt to overcome this tendency appears in the ever-growing foreignisation (especially Americanisation) of the German industry and in the intense efforts on the part of the German bourgeoisie to bring about a reorganisation of the entire productive process (closing down of less profitable enterprises, reduction of the productive apparatus, intensification of labour, technical reorganisation of factories, extensive syndication and trustification, extension of the work day, wage reductions, etc.). But these efforts lead only to the further impoverishment of the masses, to increased unemployment, to a further diminished demand for manufactured goods and also — at least for the near future — to the sharpening of the economic crisis.

Under the leadership of foreign capital the trust and bank magnates are now trying to transfer the whole cost of this process onto the shoulders of the masses. This purpose is served by the customs policy, the taxation policy, the ex-

propriation of the middle classes, the pauperisation of considerable sections of the working peasantry because of the tax burden and the agrarian crisis, the limitation of social welfare policy and the offensive against the working class. Thus the unemployment and impoverishment of large sections of the population are the centre of all the socio-political problems in Germany.

The impossibility of solving the fundamental contradictions of the general situation; the complications created through the Locarno Pact (on the one hand an apparent way out and on the other hand the far-reaching enslavement of Germany under the yoke of foreign capital); the effects of the economic crisis — all this leads to a permanent political crisis.

On the basis of this state of crisis there develops the great restratification process within the working class. Under the pressure of the existing conditions the mass of the workers more and more adopt the platform of united class struggle. On the other hand, the upper strata of the Social Democracy and of the trade unions endeavour shoulder to shoulder with the ruling finance capitalists, to split the workers, to corrupt a section of the labour aristocracy and — quite on the model of the American Federation of Labour — to "emancipate" these workers from all thought of the Socialist class struggle (propaganda of so-called "Americanism" in the German Labour Movement). This open betrayal of the interests of the German proletariat runs parallel with the servile support of all the most important measures of the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the Left tendency is developing among the broad strata of the working masses, as well as within the trade unions and Social Democracy. The opposition in the trade unions and throughout the country, the opposition in the "Reichsbanner", the unemployed committees, the Left tendencies in the ranks of Social Democratic workers, the differentiation process among the Christian workers, etc. — all these are symptoms of great

ferment among the workers. On the one hand, the hopelessness of the position of bourgeois Germany, dependent on the mercy of foreign capital; on the other, the steady economic development of the Soviet Union, the workers' delegations and their effect in Germany — work in the same direction. **The idea of working class unity in the struggle against capital is becoming the centre of attention of the entire working class.**

## 2. The Course to — Win the Masses.

This general situation determines our Party's main tasks.

The only effective way out for the German proletariat is its emancipation from the double yoke of domestic and foreign capital. The only way out of the blind alley of economic decline, of a reduced standard of life, of permanent political crises and of the enslavement and semi-colonisation of Germany is the path of Soviet Germany.

The Workers' and Peasants' Government as the embodiment of Soviet Power is now the slogan of the proletarian vanguard. This slogan cannot be made a reality without marshalling a majority of the proletariat behind us. The C. P. G. must look upon the capture of the masses as its main task. Within the working class the C. P. G. must always act as the political protagonist and political embodiment of the idea of unity. Most energetic activity within Trade unions, united front tactics, the formulation of and struggle for partial demands that can rally the support of large sections of the proletariat. — these are the only correct tactics under present conditions. The Leftward development within the working class is one of the most important phenomena in German political life. It is the task of the Party to further this development by mobilising the forces of the entire proletariat for the struggle against the bourgeoisie.

With respect to the everyday questions of the working class, the Communist Party must be able to act in a much more positive manner and more energetically than the Social Democrats. At the same time the C. P. must be able to show to the proletariat by its practice that, in contradistinction to Social Democracy, it really fights for the everyday demands of the workers. The Party must bring this struggle into harmony with the general revolutionary aims of the Party.

The Enlarged Executive of the E. C. C. I. is glad to record that the C. P. G. has succeeded in carrying out big campaigns, in mobilising large sections of workers, creating thereby a basis for further mass movements of the proletariat which is striving toward unity.

The aim of the United Front tactic consists in leading increasing numbers in the daily struggle, against the bourgeoisie, liberating them from the anti-proletarian influences of the Social Democrats and trade unions leaders, gradually winning over the masses for the aims of Comintern and finally bringing over the entire working class into the platform of the Communist International.

## 3. Ultra-Left Tendencies.

Recently the great obstacle in the way of the Party in its endeavour to capture the masses was and still is the Ultra-Left ideology of certain Party groups, this is giving way only under the growing pressure of facts as well as under the pressure of the Communist International. The ultra-Left forgot entirely the Marxist doctrine that tactics are determined by the existing objective situation. They were completely incapable of apprehending the new, let alone of correctly analysing it; hence they transferred quite mechanically the old methods to the entirely new situation. During the Frankfurt Party Congress stubborn resistance was offered to the standpoint of the C. I. on the trade union question. During the V World Congress, opposition was raised against the international unity campaign on the plea that this tactic was allegedly in the interests of the Russian Government and signified support to the MacDonald Government. There was an utter inability to find correct paths of approach to the Social Democratic workers. Thus the ultra-Left was the greatest disturbing element in the process of the capture of the masses.

It is necessary to point out particularly the utterly rotten almost Social Democratic kernel of this ideology which has an entirely obvious liquidatory character. There is talk about Russian "Red Imperialism" in complete unison with the bour-

geois and Social Democratic press; about the possibility of an August 4th, 1914 for the C. I., about alleged alliances of the Soviet Union with Japanese imperialism, about "Russian State requirements" in the matter of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee (all this is said by Comrade Professor Korsch); it is claimed that the "new tactics" (namely the correct Leninist tactics) are tantamount to the monstrous betrayal of the year 1914 (ex-Comrade Katz); rumours are spread concerning the relationship between our struggle for international trade union unity and the alleged entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations (Ruth Fischer); there is gossip about things of "world historical importance" in the sense of an alleged collapse of the C. I.; it is asserted that the "Bolshevisation dream has come to an end" and that "the V World Congress lies in ruins" and not only that, but some people want to know "what will become of the Comintern" (Ruth Fischer).

These and similar trends of thought which have sprung up lately, prove completely the correctness of the appraisal of the ultra-Left given in the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. to the German Party. It was said in this Letter:

"The so-called ultra-Left tendency is sometimes only a screen for the Social Democratic, reformist 'Levite' moods which threaten to take on the form of a direct betrayal of the international working class."

The bourgeois Social Democratic origin of such ideological tendencies is perfectly clear. The C. I. declares that all healthy forces of the Party must be mobilised against this liquidatory ideology in order to extirpate it.

The problem of the capture of the masses is even now incomprehensible to some ultra-Left groupings and their leaders. Maslow wrote that Lenin committed gross errors at the III World Congress and had misunderstood entirely the character of the German Party, Katz writes in his leaflets that the tactic of the Party is the tactic of 1914; Comrade Scholem considers the joint ballots in Berlin as Zeigner-policy of the worst kind; Ruth Fischer writes concerning the "babble about the Left Wing", she writes in a derisive and contemptuous manner about the Party's plebiscite campaign; the Scholem-Rosenberg manifesto ("Unity of the Left") asserts that the Open Letter delivers over the Party to the Right etc.

Thus the ultra-Left is therefore really the disruptive element. The C. P. G. must overcome completely this ideological sickness in order to be capable and qualified to capture the masses. To convince and win over the ultra-Left workers remains the most important Party task, for it is comprehensible that after a series of most serious defeats, after a series of most bitter disillusionments, there are workers who believe that the present policy of the Party is incorrect. They must be convinced, they must be shown how the policy of the ultra-Left necessarily leads to isolation from the masses, to K. A. P. (Communist Labour Party) moods and objectively even to direct liquidatorship.

The Enlarged Executive declares that under the pressure of the workers the ultra-Left fraction has entered upon the process of self-liquidation. On the other hand, some groups as for instance the Scholem-Rosenberg-Conrad group, began to traverse the correct paths by declaring that they were in agreement with the political line of the Central Committee of the Party and of the Comintern. On the other hand there are tendencies which have carried ultra-Left errors to the point of open Party treason (Katz), or who run the risk of ending upon this path (Korsch). The Executive expresses the hope that the ultra-Left workers will understand the enormous harm which threatens the Party if it does not overcome the ultra-Left tendencies.

## 4. The Maslow-Ruth Fischer Group.

The Ruth Fischer Group is the most vacillating and unsteady element in the Communist Party of Germany. The ideological basis of this group is lack of faith in the Communist Party, in the labour movement and the proletarian revolution. Because of this, Maslow advanced the perspective of the German Revolution retarded for decades and even endeavoured (in his statement in Court) to prove "that it is impossible to be guilty of high treason under such a perspective." From such lack of faith Ruth Fischer asserted that the German Communists do not feel themselves the protagonists of the future but only as

traditional folk, who are in the Party because it is the proper thing, that "a disguised liquidatory mood can even be found among the rank and file of the Party"; that "the masses seek refuge from the humdrum of everyday life", etc., etc.

Such a standpoint expresses the disillusionment of the ruined petty-bourgeoisie and not the beginning of the revival of the German labour movement and of the Communist Party.

On the basis of such an ideology it is utterly impossible to carry on a firm and clear policy. This is the explanation for the continuous unprincipled vacillations of this group. At the Frankfurt Party Congress, the Maslow-Ruth-Fischer group on the most important questions vacillated between the policy of the Comintern and the policy of its ultra-Left opponents.

When the ultra-Left, in April 1925, launched into an open struggle against the Comintern, the Ruth Fischer group formally severed connection with them in order not to forfeit the leadership of the Party. After this "breach" the vacillations did not diminish, they became still greater and more frequent.

The Tenth (Berlin) Party Congress was just one big vacillation between the Comintern and the ultra-Left. Finally, the Ruth Fischer group allied itself with the ultra-Left which it had just previously been opposing, for a joint attack on the Comintern. This drew from the Executive the Open Letter to the Members of the Communist Party of Germany, dated August 1925. Ruth Fischer signed this letter, thereby joining in the condemnation of her own attitude.

Immediately on the return of the German delegation, she nevertheless organised an underground struggle against the Comintern policy and launched into a fractional petty war against the new Party Executive.

The leading Berlin Party authorities, the district executive and the Central Executive which were completely under the control of the Ruth Fischer group then rejected the Open Letter. Only under the pressure of the membership and after considerable hesitation did they accept the letter, continuing, however, the struggle all along the line against the Central Committee. Under Ruth Fischer's leadership an opposition was organised against the absolutely correct decision of the Central Committee to utilise the surplus votes of the Berlin municipal election by organising joint candidates' lists with the S. P. G. Ruth Fischer together with the Berlin district executive and with the Scholem Group, opposed this policy. She also opposed the measures by which the C. C. proposed to carry out the new political course to attract the former opposition — all this jointly with the ultra-Left group from Scholem to Katz.

Whilst until the appearance of the Open Letter the Ruth Fischer fraction constituted a "middle group" between the Comintern and the ultra-Left, during the last Party discussion it developed more and more into a "middle group" between the C. C. of the C. P. G. and the K. A. P. elements.

On several important political questions, Ruth Fischer stands close to the conceptions of Korsch — especially her deprecation of the German labour movement, her anti-Bolshevik attitude to the Russian Revolution and to the international policy of the Soviet State, the spreading of demoralising legends concerning an alleged "veering to the Right", namely an opportunist degeneration of the C. P. G. and the Comintern.

Simultaneous with this actual support of anti-Communist propaganda, Ruth Fischer "solidarises" in words with all Comintern decisions and with the policy of the German Central Committee. She declares "that the struggle against the ultra-Left must be carried on."

Such double dealing has a disintegrating and destructive effect on the Communist Party.

As long as those who use such methods can figure as "leaders" of the Communist Party, the non-Party and Social Democratic workers' respect for Communists will be destroyed and the confidence of the C. P. members in the leadership of their own Party will be killed.

Therefore, the healthy development, the normalisation, the growth of the C. P. G. demand the speediest liquidation of the Ruth Fischer fraction with its double entry politics, and practice of saying one thing and doing something quite different.

Her lack of principle and diplomacy injurious to the Party shattered the confidence of the Party membership in the leadership, and shook the mutual trust of the leading cadres and the faith of certain sections of the Party in the Comintern.

Thus, the Ruth Fischer fraction is politically, organisationally, and morally bankrupt.

As a result of its continuous vacillations between the Communist International and the most unstable ultra-Left sections of the German Party membership, as a result of the substitution of an unstable demagoguery for the proper leadership and education of the Party, the Ruth Fischer group lost not only the confidence of the Communist International, but also that of the Left Party membership.

The Enlarged Executive declares with indignation that Ruth Fischer has broken the pledges which she made by signing the Open Letter. The Executive of the Comintern and the C. C. of the German Party had given Ruth Fischer every opportunity to correct her errors and to show by deeds that she is willing to work in the Communist International.

In spite of this, Ruth Fischer continued her disorganising activity, her struggle against the policy of the Comintern.

The Enlarged Executive declares that the field of Communist Party work is open to all members of the C. P. G., particularly also to all those followers of the former Right and ultra-Left groupings who show not only by words, but by deeds that they are sincere supporters of the policy of the Comintern and of the German Party Executive.

The followers of the Maslow-Ruth-Fischer group must make their choice between the policy of the C. C. and the methods of unprincipled opposition. There is no middle path, no intermediate group between these two standpoints.

### 5. Overcoming the Right Tendencies.

The Enlarged Executive points out that the danger of Right deviations continues to exist in the C. P. G. A determined fight must be carried on against them. The new C. C. of the C. P. G. has fought with most drastic measures against every Right deviation that came to light. This is shown by the expulsion of Schönknecht — only Comrades Scholem and Schwab did not vote for this expulsion; the condemnation of the opportunist attitude of the local group in Zeitz and the election of the Social Democrat Melich, the Communist abstention from voting in the formation of the government in Baden, the setting up of joint ballots in the municipal elections in certain rural districts in Württemberg (temporary cessation of the fight against the Social Democrats), and the correction of a number of smaller Right mistakes.

Precisely in the interest of a real fight against concrete Right deviations, the ultra-Left talk of a supposed "swing to the Right" must be combated, because it only serves opportunism. "Whoever overdoes the fight against Centrism, helps the Centrists" (Lenin's letter to the Jena Party Congress).

The Enlarged Executive declares that only a complete lack of understanding of the new Situation and of the new tasks of the Party can lead to the conception that the present course of the C. P. G. means a return to the old Party situation before October 1923. The Party is not only not going backwards, it is going forward. The fight which was conducted against the Brandler Group will not be stopped by the change in the leadership of the C. P. G., on the contrary achievements will but be secured. This fact cannot be erased in any way from the consciousness of the German Party members.

The objective situation, the slow development of the revolution, the influx of new masses from the reformist camp, carry with them opportunist dangers for the Party. Such dangers may appear particularly strongly in Communist work in parliaments, municipal assemblies, trade unions, co-operatives, etc. The Enlarged Executive is convinced that the Party leadership will continue to track down these opportunist tendencies with the greatest attention and eliminate them.

The Enlarged Executive declares that the Ernst Meyer Group acknowledged its most serious mistakes and in its Party work has taken serious steps to correct them and to approach the correct political standpoint of the present Party leadership. It must furthermore quite frankly and unequivocally renounce its entire former fractional attitude and show the Party clearly that not only in a general form but also in its practical position on the various political inner-Party questions it differentiates itself from the Brandler tendency. Comrade Meyer must especially realise the incorrectness of his statement that it was not he who approached the C. C. of the Party but that the C. C. of the Party approached him politically, that is that it moved to the Right.

## 6. The Leadership of the C. P. G.

The present leadership of the C. P. G. emerged in the fight against the Right errors and grew strong in the struggle against the ultra-Left errors. The group of workers now at the helm of the C. P. G. is the nucleus of a really Leninist Party leadership. On this is based its freedom from fractional limitations, its correct attitude toward the masses of German workers and its attitude of mutual confidence in the Communist International.

Under the new leadership the Party has achieved a series of successes, especially in the Berlin municipal elections, the campaign for the expropriation of the ex-reigning princes, the fight against Locarno; to a certain extent in the trade unions and in the inner-Party sphere in the reorganisation on the basis of factory nuclei, in conducting an extensive educational Party discussion, in drawing in Party members who had heretofore been kept in the background and in developing new cadres of Party workers.

At the same time there are still many defects in the Party. The ideological Party front, the theoretical training of the members is especially weak. Trade union work, in spite of incipient results, and in spite of great hindrances, (economic situation of the working class and bureaucratic measures of the trade union bureaucracy) is still inadequate. The active Party cadres must be thoroughly broadened, strengthened and trained. The Party leadership itself must be strengthened at the next Party Congress. The membership status of the Party, in numbers and especially in its social composition (necessity of transferring greater weight to the industrial centres and the large factories) is still very insufficient. The C. C. is proceeding with determination to overcome these faults.

The Enlarged Executive rejects the attacks by the various groups on the policy and leadership of the C. P. G., and expects that the Party leadership will more strongly than ever continue its present policy of winning over the masses, of liquidating the remnants of fractional formations and of concentrating its main struggle on safeguarding the Party policy against the ultra-Left danger, while at the same time relentlessly repelling every Right deviation.

It is the task of the leadership to draw into active work all the Party members, regardless of what group they belonged to formerly, who advocate the political line of the Party not only in words, but also in deeds.

A correct application of Party democracy will multiply the forces of the Party and foster and facilitate the crystallisation of new active cadres from the broad sections of the membership. Discussions which serve the ideological deepening and strengthening, but not the disorientation and disintegration of the Party, are entirely in the interests of Party development.

## 7. The Immediate Tasks of the C. P. G.

The chief political task of the Party is the conquest of the basis masses of the German proletariat, the coalescence of the growing Left tendencies in the German working class under the leadership of the Communists and with the simultaneous guidance and organisation of the mass struggle against the Dawes burdens, against the lowering of the workers' standard of living, against unemployment; the establishment of a fighting alliance with all the toiling sections of the population, both with the urban petty bourgeoisie, and especially with the toiling poor peasantry, under the leadership of the industrial proletariat and its revolutionary Party, the C. P. G.

In order to fulfil this task, in order to combat not only the opportunist abandonment of the goal of the revolutionary seizure of power, but also the ultra-Left negation of partial demands, in order to link up the fight for partial demands with the course toward the proletaria dictatorship and revolutionary perspectives, in order to win over the masses of workers in the free trade unions to clear and goal-conscious Communist trade union work, and to give the still ephemeral Left currents a firm aim, the Party must summarise the most important demands of the toiling masses in a programme of action.

In the present situation, the following demands are in the vortex of the fight of the toilers:

1) **Fight against the employers' offensive:** fight for the unemployed, fight against every decrease in wages and for increases, universal eight-hour day and seven-hour day in mines; formation of a fighting alliance of the decisive trade union organisations after the pattern of the British trade unions, energetic fostering of the Factory Council movement. Enrolment of the unemployed in the productive process, adequate support of

all the unemployed throughout the whole period of unemployment, defence of the unemployment benefits against the reactionary unemployment insurance. Fight for the defence of the interests of the unemployed through the trade unions, formation of unemployed councils and their affiliation to the trade union organisations. The C. P. G. must in every case, even when the trade unions give no serious support to the unemployed, independently take every measure to represent the interests of the unemployed (calling of local unemployed meetings, organising demonstrations, unemployment congresses, etc.).

2) **Transfer of the Dawes burdens to the possessing classes.** Abolition of the mass taxation and the consumption taxes. Fight against all increase in rents.

Fight for the nationalisation of the banks, and the key industries (mining, metal and chemical industry, transport) and of the big concerns under the control of the workers and employees.

**Control of closing down enterprises by commissions of Factory Councils and trade union representatives.** In all cases of sabotage of production, the uncompensated expropriation of the factory and its continued operation by the State or municipality under workers' control. No State credit without a commensurate participation of the State and simultaneous control by the workers.

3) **To strengthen the trade unions:** Powerful united militant trade union organisations, built up as industrial unions. Hundred percent free trade union organisation in every factory. Organisation of the unemployed in the trade unions, amalgamation of unions which have split off. Creation of trade union unity in Germany and on an international scale.

4) **Fight against Monarchy and Fascism:** Increasing the active struggle for the complete uncompensated expropriation of the ex-royalty in the broadest, united popular movement.

Dismissal of the monarchist officers in the Reichswehr and police, disarmament and the dissolution of the counter-revolutionary societies, cleaning out the administrative apparatus in the Reich, in the provinces and in the municipalities. Sharp struggle against the corrupt monarchist class justice and for the liberation of political prisoners.

5) **Fight against distress amongst toiling peasantry:** Expropriation of the large landowners, especially the nobles. Distribution of land to the land-hungry peasants, tenants, settlers and agricultural workers, alleviation of the tax burden, credits to needy peasants. Fight against Junker privileges. Annulment of the trade agreements and tariffs directed against the workers as well as against the toiling peasants, and especially against the vine-growers.

6) **Organisation of the work and most active struggle for the demands of the young workers and toiling women, as well as the employees and impoverished sections of the petty bourgeoisie.**

The proletarian united front for the fight against the general need must grow out of the struggle for these demands of the broadest toiling masses, based upon the Left bloc in the German labour movement which is developing in the framework of this movement, upon powerful trade union organisations and unity committees.

In connection with the fight for the everyday interests of the toilers, the Communist Party must become the active leader in the fight against Versailles, Dawes, and Locarno, and for the breaking of the bonds of imperialism.

The comprehensive slogan of this fight is the slogan for an Independent Socialist Germany in free alliance with the Soviet Union, with the class conscious workers and all the oppressed peoples of the world.

This fight can be waged to a victorious conclusion only by the overthrow of the capitalist government, by the assumption of power by the workers and peasants government, based on workers' councils, on the armed power of the working class, on the strength and confidence of the working class.

The role of the Communist Party in these long difficult struggles, fraught with sacrifice, must be that of the determined, never-vacillating and clear-visioned leader.

On the shoulders of the Communist Party rests a great historic responsibility. It must close its ranks, march unitedly and compactly, and bring all the forces of the Party to their highest development. It must become in reality the iron cohort of the revolution.

**Long live the German Working class!**

**Long live the Communist Party of Germany!**

# Resolution on the French Question.

## I. The Economic Situation.

### Changes which have taken place in the Structure of French Capitalism.

Contemporary France differs radically from pre-war France. Great changes have taken place in the structure of French capitalism, changes which have a decisive influence on the very type and the forms of the labour movement.

Since the war, France has experienced an amazing industrialisation. Already the war itself, with its enormous requirements, helped this process. The enormous orders of war material, the necessity to make up for the loss of the industrial regions occupied by the enemy, creating new enterprises, the big orders made for the reconstruction of the devastated regions, and finally France's acquisition of new industrial regions, such as Alsace-Lorraine, all this combined has helped to change the economic aspect of contemporary France.

In pre-war French national economy agriculture, small and medium industry and petty commerce occupied a foremost position, whereas today it is the big capitalist type which is the predominating phenomenon in the national economy.

Due to this transformation the small and medium urban bourgeoisie, and the small and medium peasantry have experienced a decline in their economic importance. It is amalgamation between coal and steel in the hands of the French capitalists, which has played the most decisive role in this process. The medium enterprises of the manufacturing industry have made way for gigantic enterprises, mainly producing instruments of production. The old rudimentary form of bank capital whose operations were limited to the floating of loans have become obsolete: a fusion has taken place between industrial and bank capital and whole branches of industry are under the control of finance capital. In the economic world the place of the modest rentier has been taken by heads of financial enterprises of a new type; the place of industrial capitalists and isolated merchants by powerful monopolist organisations — the cartels and trusts; the place of skilled workers scattered throughout the small and medium industries, by tens of thousands of semi-skilled and unskilled proletarians concentrated in heavy industry. At present French industry is on a much higher level than before the war by the magnitude of its productive apparatus as well as by the importance of the enterprises and the technical perfection of the material.

This rapid industrialisation was accompanied by a profound displacement in the property system of France. Two factors had a decisive influence in this process of regrouping: 1. the war excess profits; 2. inflation. Owing to the inflation the petty urban bourgeoisie and the peasants lost five-sixths of their money capital which has got into the hands of the financial sharks. The latter invested this capital in real values and utilised it for the development and perfection of the apparatus of production. In this way the middle classes lost about 100 milliard francs, which represents one-third of the national wealth of France. About 10 million people have suffered from inflation, 4 to 5 million of whom are on the road to ruin and are becoming more and more proletarianised.

Great changes have also taken place in the agricultural economy of France. Already before the war there was a shortage of agricultural workers, but the war has made this situation still more critical. The French countryside has lost over a million peasants killed and crippled. The development of industry continues to deprive the countryside of man-power. The difference between the prices for agricultural and industrial produce (problem of the scissors) which is unfavourable for the peasantry, also influences the diminution of man power in the agricultural districts. Whilst inflation has helped to diminish the mortgage debts of the poor peasantry, it has at the same time absorbed the revenue of the more well-off sections of society. In the rural districts a levelling of conditions has taken place accompanied by a general economic impoverishment. As a result of shortage of labour and means, many peasants are unable to cultivate the whole of their land, the countryside is becoming depopulated, the area under tillage is diminishing. Big capital takes advantage of this, and seizing the land, ensconces itself in agriculture in the guise of limited companies.

This impoverishment of the French rural districts which is just beginning, is bound to increase the political activity of the peasants, and to give rise to great discontent among them. The peasantry knew how to profit by the war in order to increase its wealth, but in the present period it feels very acutely the consequences of the impoverishment of the toiling masses.

### Regrouping of the Classes.

These sudden economic changes are having an influence on the regrouping of the classes within the country. The concentration of industry, the growing influence of finance capital, the displacement of capital, have caused a more profound differentiation among the social classes than that which existed in France before the war. The old democratic France which developed peacefully within the limits of the parliamentary regime is making room for a new France, a France with acute class struggles, with rapid radicalisation of the ruined sections of the population, with attempts by the different classes to raise the problem of power and to solve it by non-parliamentarian means.

At one of the political poles there is the **big industrial commercial and agrarian bourgeoisie** united by the big banks. It has in its hands the rudder of economic dictatorship, it is strongly organised in cartels and trusts, it has always the possibility to demand through its banks the payment of 20 milliard short-term loans, and to create thereby at any moment a parliamentary crisis. It no longer rests content with the old political parties — its agents in parliament. It has replaced them by politico-economic organisations, of a non-political aspect, which it declares are above parties and by the aid of which it brings pressure to bear on the government of the Bloc de Gauches. But it is still trammelled by the old parliamentary forms based on the domination of political parties which are the reflex of the former economic relations of the country. These parties which have their origin in pre-war France at the time when the interests of certain groups or of certain branches of industry were predominant, no longer correspond with the present interests of concentrated capitalism. Hence the attempts of big capital to make parliament the servant of its interests or to break down the resistance of the petty bourgeoisie and its political parties and to solve the social conflict by non-parliamentarian means.

Parallel with this the big French bourgeoisie possessed by a perfect frenzy to export, enriched by inflation, intoxicated by its victory over Germany, is inclined to continue its imperialist expansion on the European continent and in the colonies. Its role in international politics goes on changing according as the economic situation of French capitalism changes. Finance capital which has established its rule in post-war France assumes a more and more aggressive character. But, its economic basis is too narrow to enable it to exercise hegemony in Europe. It is not in harmony with the external policy of France and constitutes a threat of new military adventures for the toiling masses. The wars in Morocco and Syria are the first step along this path of more serious military action. The disharmony between the pretensions of the French bourgeoisie and its real international role was revealed at the Locarno Conference which lowered the political position of France in Europe and gave it a secondary rank among the European powers.

At the other pole is the **proletariat**, which can play a decisive role in the social conflicts which may break out any moment. It has grown numerically. The losses in men suffered during the war, the slow growth of the population of France and particularly the industrialisation of France have caused a great influx of foreign workers. About 3 million Polish, Italian, Spanish, Belgian and other workers have been added to the ranks of the French proletariat. Several industrial centres present a variegated concentration of workers of all nations quite in the American fashion. The French proletariat, important because of its numerical strength, concentrated in powerful industrial centres, the majority of whom is reduced to a common level through the modern technique of big industry, represents a powerful potential force. It rests with our Party and with the C. G. T. U. to organise in the forthcoming social conflicts more sections of this proletariat which will have to fulfil its historic mission.

Finally, there are between the proletariat and the big bourgeoisie the middle sections of society, always hesitating and economically impoverished, who are gradually losing their political power. At the last elections these sections, under the influence of their impoverishment caused by inflation and the bellicose policy of the national bloc have adopted an orientation to the Left, and together with the workers, who have not yet parted with their petty bourgeois illusions, have contributed to the victory of the Bloc de Gauches. Since the advent to power of the latter, 20 months have elapsed thus revealing the impotence of the petty and middle bourgeoisie in their struggle against big capital. The entire policy of the Bloc des Gauches was nothing but a series of capitulations before the offensive of the financial oligarchy. And it is precisely because the petty bourgeoisie and the peasants could not make up their minds to solve the complicated problems of the financial crisis by leaving the ranks of the capitalist regime, to seek union with the only force capable of resisting big capital — the proletariat — that the entire policy of the Bloc des Gauches, could not be anything but a demonstration of its impotence.

It is precisely the fact that the very diminished economic role of the petty bourgeoisie does not correspond with its political influence which is the origin of the permanent parliamentary crisis. The masses who followed the Bloc des Gauches and who were demoralised by its impotence are beginning to lose faith in its policy and are veering more to the Left. The task of our Party consists in utilising this veering to the Left of the toiling masses in order to establish contact with them for the imminent class struggles.

There are in this group of more and more impoverished middle strata of society declassed social groups: partly ruined small rentiers, intellectuals, ex-officers who under certain conditions can supply big capital with cadres for the Fascist cause. The process of differentiation through which the petty bourgeoisie is going at present, can add new groups to these strata of society. That is why our Party must follow with the greatest attention the regrouping which is taking place within these strata in order to take in good time the necessary measures and not be taken unawares by their attacks.

#### Regrouping of the Political Parties.

Parallel with the regrouping of classes we witness a regrouping of political parties. The struggle between the national bloc and the Bloc des Gauches has already shown that the question of the creation of political groups, more extensive than the old parties, was the order of the day in France. The concentration of capital corresponds with the concentration of the political forces and with the intensification of social differences. The social basis of many of the parties is undergoing a modification.

This process is very evident in the Social Democratic Party which is at present becoming objectively the Party of the petty bourgeoisie, in spite of the presence of workers in its ranks. The role played by Social Democracy in the Bloc des Gauches bears testimony in an unmistakable manner of the evolution which it has undergone during the last few years. The struggle between it and the Communist Party for influence over the impoverished petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry will develop more and more. Our task will consist in convincing these masses of the necessity of violent revolutionary methods which the proletariat understands how to follow and to prove in the light of concrete experiences that the Communist Party alone carries on a real struggle for the interests of the masses, and also in getting these masses to follow the vanguard of the working class.

#### The Financial Crisis.

The present financial crisis in France shows that French capitalism is pursuing a path leading inevitably to important revolutionary complications. This crisis gives rise at this juncture to the following important questions:

1. The budget question. On what classes should devolve the burden of the necessary taxes if the budget is to be balanced? Already the fourth petty bourgeois government is in vain racking its brains with regard to this question.

2. The question of the bankruptcy of the State Treasury. In order to avoid this bankruptcy, at the moment of the repayment of short-term loans (about 60 milliard francs) it is essential for the holders of bonds to agree to postpone repayment, and this raises in all its acuteness the question of the "confidence crisis" with regard to the solvency of the State, a confidence crisis which can develop into a big revolutionary crisis.

3. The exchange question. In spite of the fact that the trade balance is active the franc is steadily falling, for the State's need of money is provided for by continuous emissions of paper money.

4. The question of inter-allied debts. One cannot stabilise the national valuta without the help of foreign credits. But the French bourgeoisie can obtain loans from abroad only on condition that its external debt which amounts to about 40 milliard francs is consolidated. If this debt is settled in the manner demanded by the Americans it would mean an annual tribute of about 2 milliard gold francs to be paid for nearly a century. Hence, the difficulties in arriving at a balanced budget and at the same time the acknowledgement of the suzerainty of Anglo-American capital in essential branches of the national economy. By this settlement America wants to achieve the economic colonisation of France which would greatly impair her political independence. The penetration of American capital into France and into the French colonies is preparing a kind of Dawes regime for France, an essential condition of the stabilisation of the finances of the State and of the franc.

All this combined creates a very unstable situation for the ruling classes of France. But if the French bourgeoisie succeeds in overcoming certain financial difficulties, even if it succeeds in stabilising the franc, this will not prevent a serious industrial crisis from following the present exchange crisis. The seeming prosperity of French industry is at present due mostly to inflation and is purely artificial. The country has been deprived of the capital accumulated before the war and invested abroad to the amount of 38 milliard gold francs. The active trade balance — the result of inflation, is in fact tantamount to a steady impoverishment of the country, for the sale of French products is effected at prices below the cost of production. At present we witness a tendency to bring the retail prices of the internal French market into keeping with those of the world market, and this does away with the necessity of inflation for the bourgeoisie. In this case French industry will be confronted with the problem of lack of working capital, of prodigious rise in the selling price of products, of the impossibility to compete on the world market, of a goods-export crisis and unemployment. In order to get out of this situation the French bourgeoisie will initiate an offensive against the working class for the purpose of being again able to compete on the world market at the expense of the proletariat.

Another cause of the aggravation of living conditions of the working class and of the revolutionary situation will be the attempts of the French bourgeoisie to balance its budget. It would not be able to do this except by the imposition of indirect taxes, namely, at the expense of the workers. All this goes to show that France is approaching a serious revolutionary crisis during which temporary lulls may take place. But the general trend of the evolution is towards extra-parliamentary and extra-legal methods as a solution of the crisis.

#### The Role of the Proletariat and of the Party.

The changes which have taken place in the structure of the national economy and in the political positions in contemporary France, raise in a very acute form the question of the role of the proletariat in the coming events. The proletariat cannot remain a disinterested spectator in the struggle which is developing now between big capital and the petty bourgeoisie which it has expropriated. Already in the struggle against the war in Morocco and Syria the proletariat has shown that it is the only class which offers consistent resistance to the imperialist policy of the French bourgeoisie, and which takes the initiative of the movement into its hands.

The foremost essential task confronting our Party consists in developing in all its magnitude before the broad masses the question of the hegemony of the proletariat in the struggle against big capital. Only the proletariat conscious of its historic mission, organised in powerful trade unions, and in a Communist mass Party will have a decisive influence on the issue of class conflicts. That is why the second essential task of our Party consists not only in increasing its influence by agitation among the proletarian masses, but also in firmly establishing it by means of the organisation of the masses.

Our Party must fully realise that without the capture of the trade unions and the inclusion into their ranks of an overwhelming majority of the working class, it will not be able to be a successful leader of the proletariat in its class struggles. We must frankly admit that up till now the French Communist Party has only been able to influence the vanguard of the labour

movement. The Socialist Party on its part allowed itself to be taken in tow by the petty bourgeoisie and the politically backward sections of the working class. On the strength of this situation the Right of the French Party erected a whole theory according to which the struggle between the big and the petty bourgeoisie, with respect to inflation, taxation and inter-allied debts does not interest the proletariat in the least. By this reduction of the role of the proletariat, the Right elements endeavour to bring back the present labour movement to its former Socialist passivity.

To these reformist theories the Leninist Party must oppose with the utmost clarity — this is its third essential task — the question of the establishment of close contact between the proletariat on the one hand, and the pauperised middle strata and the peasantry on the other hand.

We are at present in France confronted with the alternative: Whether the proletariat will succeed in capturing the majority of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry, and in solving by revolutionary means the present crisis at the expense of big capital, or as in Italy the petty bourgeoisie will follow the big bourgeoisie, and the latter establish a reactionary regime based on an increased exploitation of the proletariat and of the petty bourgeoisie by which the whole burden of the crisis will be placed on their shoulders.

To lead the wide proletarian masses along the path of revolutionary struggle and together with these masses the petty bourgeois and peasant sections of the population, to place them under the political leadership of the proletariat, to head a broad revolutionary movement against capitalism — such is the main task of our Party.

## II. The Internal Situation of the Party and its Tasks.

The unrest we observe in the French Party arises from one of the typical crisis which have taken place during these last few years in the various Comintern Sections. We are in the presence of quite a peculiar malady of a Party, which while having undoubtedly made an enormous step forward during the last three years on the way to Bolshevisation, is nonetheless a party which has not yet undergone the test of a civil war.

### Ideological Weaknesses of the Party.

Three years ago the Party experienced a most violent crisis which purged it of the most opportunist elements represented by Frossard. During these three years, the Party, by its social composition has really become a workers' party. It has embraced the vanguard of the labour movement, it has dealt decisive blows to the relics of anarcho-syndicalism within the trade unions and it has assimilated the fundamental principles of Leninism.

But as the overwhelming majority of the French Party is composed of a young generation which has come to Communism since the war and entered the Party without any serious Marxist education, as this young generation has not yet during a class combat been able to acquire the necessary experience in the application of its Leninist tactics, the ideological basis of the Party still remains very unstable. The Party endeavours to elaborate its tactical line haphazardly; it acts from day to day under the pressure of daily events and it often lacks wide perspectives. The complicated changes which take place within the working class have not been the object of a sufficiently serious and profound examination on the part of the Party.

### Lack of Experience of Recent Revolutionary Struggles.

To this ideological weakness is to be added the lack of political education of the Party cadres, the absence of firmness acquired during hard battles. The Bolshevisation of the German Communist Party was effected during the bloody combats of the German proletariat, combats which were so many great revolutionary lessons and which left an indelible imprint on the German workers. The Italian Communists were tempered and hardened by war in the struggle against Fascism. It has existed under a regime of legality; its political experience is extremely limited and its mass movements at the most have been expressed in strikes and street demonstrations, which at best have resulted

in collisions with the police. That is why in France the Bolshevisation of the Communist Party has not penetrated as profoundly as in those Parties which have led great mass struggles.

### Under-Estimation of the Right.

The danger of the Right in France also is not so keenly felt as in the countries which have gone through the era of civil war. In France the workers have not yet had the opportunity of judging the conduct of Souvarine at the time of armed struggles as their German brothers had with regard to Paul Levi during the March action. Communists have still only an abstract conception of the real treachery of Souvarine. Therein lies the danger of an under-estimation of the Right danger within the Party. However, this Right danger is already knocking loudly at the doors of the Party. This danger comes not so much from the intellectual and petty bourgeois group headed by Souvarine as from certain Syndicalists allied with the Right who have not yet abandoned their out-of-date conceptions concerning autonomy of the Trade Union Movement. The organ of Rosmer and Monatte, at the present time offers a ready-made ideology to this latter group. The Enlarged Executive approves the energetic ideological struggle undertaken by the Party against the Right after its conference of December 1—2.

### Ultra-Left Errors.

The lack of experience of the Party in the class struggle has retarded its development, preventing it having a full comprehension of its ultra-Left errors. In the Communist Party of France there have never been any clearly characterised ultra-Left groups. The French Party has never had to smash such a movement at the cost of a violent struggle, such for instance as the Italian, German and Polish Parties have conducted. It has only known such struggles by hearsay, but has never itself experienced them.

The tendency of Treint to turn the colonial war into a civil war when he was examining it from a relatively close perspective, was a great political error in the actual circumstances.

Such a perspective as that established in May 1925, and according to which decisive combats between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie had to take place, caused relatively little trouble in the Party, because it did not correspond with the situation, but only resulted in isolating from the Party certain working class and petty bourgeois strata. Since these ultra-Left errors did not have graver practical consequences for the masses, no exact estimation of their extent was possible.

### Narrow Conception of the Problem of Bolshevisation.

Now, real Bolshevisation of the Party cannot be realised without a concrete examination of its past experience. The French comrades thought it sufficient to reorganise the Party on the basis of factory nuclei in order to become a real Bolshevik Party, without striking a blow. Of course the strengthening of the proletarian nature of the Party is one of the preliminary conditions of its Bolshevisation. But this is only part of its task and it cannot be reduced to a mere question of organisation. In thus restricting the whole problem of Bolshevisation, the Party treats the question in a mechanical manner and reduces complicated tasks to a series of circulars, orders, etc.... Instead of gradually obtaining within the Party organisation an organic synthesis of the two generations, i. e. the old cadres and the young, the Party has mechanically got rid of the old cadres by purely formal methods of organisation. The most characteristic feature of the physiognomy of the French Party is the complete renewal of its cadres during the last few years. It would be a great error to deny the importance of this considerable influx of new forces. But this renewal could not do anything less than lead to a reduction of the effective Party membership and to throw the "veteran" element into opposition in respect to the "young". That is the origin of a certain unrest in the Party organisations, an unrest which demands immediate attention.

### Relations between Party and Trade Unions.

Good relations between Party and trade unions, an accurate knowledge of the role of the unions are fundamental conditions

for contact between the Party and the wide masses, whereby the Party can assume the role of leader of the labour movement.

At a time when the fundamental task of the trade union movement is to become transformed from minority trade unionism to mass trade unionism, in accordance with the post-war industrial development, it is evident that the leading role of the Party should be emphatically expressed. That is why the relations between the Party and the unions assume a decisive importance for the French labour movement.

The ultra-Left errors, slogans which do not correspond with the situation show that the Party had a false conception of its leading role and of its relations with the masses. This false conception has as a direct result the under-estimation of the role of the trade unions; it first and foremost contributed toward causing bad relations between the Party and the unions.

This situation is still more complicated by the fact that while the Party was experiencing an accelerated period of renewal and reorganisation, the Trade Unions in their organisation were based on the old cadres. The process of renewal of these cadres could not follow the pace of the Party. The young cadres of the Party on their part, placed in a new situation, did not have time to acquire sufficient experience to work efficaciously within the trade unions and to win the confidence of the organised masses. Between the Party and the trade unions a lack of equilibrium was produced which could not be eliminated by the mere entry of a few members of the Confederal Bureau (of the C. G. T. U.) into the Party. Among the old Trade Union cadres there are certain people who have not yet completely abandoned their prejudices, which become apparent in the question of the "independence" of the trade union movement with regard to the Party. Great patience, persevering and intense work were needed to educate and progressively renew the militant trade union cadres that could not be assimilated and to create friendly collaboration.

The error of the leadership of Comrade Suzanne Girault consisted just in the fact that she over-mechanised the relations between the Party and the Trade Unions, not taking into consideration the peculiarities of the French Trade Union Movement.

The Militants of the party and of the C. G. T. U. should take clearly into account the fact that it is only in a collaboration based upon a correct policy and upon mutual confidence that there is the guarantee of a normal development of the Trade Union Movement and of the Party. The comrades working in the trade unions should understand that within the unions they remain workers of the Party whose general instructions they fulfil. In the present period they should put forward the idea of the united front tactics with particular emphasis, for it is only along this path that they will be able to widen their basis hitherto too restricted. Furthermore, our Party should submit to serious criticism its own over-administrative methods with regard to the trade unions which characterise the old policy of the Party leadership up to the time of the December 2, Conference.

Without overcoming internal resistance to the correct application of the united front tactics, neither the Party, nor the trade unions will be capable of winning over the wide masses.

#### Through the Unions to the Masses.

The Red Unions now constitute the chief basis of a mass Communist Party in France. In all countries the question of relations between the Party and the Unions is the index of the political maturity and of the capacity for winning the masses. Every difficulty in the relations of the Party with the Unions is immediately reflected in the influence of the Party over the masses, and vice versa. The lack of normal relations between the Party and the Unions is also a proof that there is a crisis in the relations of the Party and the C. G. T. U. with the masses. When the Party membership does not increase and certain trade union organisations lose members, at a time of one of the most serious financial crises, at a time of inflation and impoverishment of the middle class strata, at a time of the disintegration of the old parties and regrouping of classes, at a time of decomposition of parliamentarism, during two colonial wars and with the growing discontent of the masses, such disturbing facts should alarm the whole Party and the C. G. T. U., and make them understand that there is something that must be adjusted

in their relations with the masses. In France work among the masses especially entailed agitation, but the work of organisation remained far behind the influence acquired by this agitation.

#### The Sectarian Traditions of the Labour Movement.

Nowhere is the number of workers organised in the Party and in trade unions so small as in France in proportion to the unorganised workers. The French labour movement has entered upon a new post-war era, divided into several tendencies and chapels of a sectarian character. This state of the labour movement reflected the economic situation in France, a country of small rentiers, of thrifty petty bourgeois and middle bourgeois elements. The famous individualism of French workers was the result of the backwardness of French industry and of the close union between the proletariat and petty bourgeois sections of society. It is only in this country of a divided and scarcely organised labour movement that the "theory of active minorities" could originate, which provided an ideological justification for the sectarian practice of the old schools and the isolated tendencies of the masses. In the pre-war period it became customary in the course of many years to preserve these sects which were satisfied with narrow groups of their own followers and which are atrophied in their petty chapel interests. The post war economic development of France, the formation of new proletarian sections, all this combined shook the very foundation of the labour movement and its former groupings. But the Party itself and the C. G. T. U. have not yet completely overcome the relics of the conservative spirit of the former era. The methods of work of the C. G. T. U. and the type of organisation of the trade unions founded as it is on the territorial principle and not on a factory basis, have undergone but little change during the post-war period. The somewhat mechanical relations between the Party and the trade unions as well as the relations between the apparatus of the Party and the membership, the estrangement of the Party centre from the basic organisations, all this combined was to a certain extent in keeping with the sectarian spirit. The Party and the C. G. T. U. rested on the conquests made during the post-war period of agitation and effervescence. In view of the state of organisation in the pre-war working class, this was no doubt a success. But if one considers that post-war France has become the country of a proletariat concentrated in big enterprises, the importance of this success is certainly only relative. In post-war France history has placed our C. P. and the C. G. T. U. in an exceptionally favourable situation.

#### The Main Task: Capturing the Unorganised Masses.

The French Communist Party and the trade union organisation can and must develop on a large scale if we succeed in fighting not only for the workers already grouped in other organisations, but also in finding means for the capture of the not yet organised proletarian masses. That is why in France — and in this France differs from the other countries where the proletariat is organised — united front tactics must be looked upon as joint action not only with workers belonging to reformist trade unions and the Socialist Party, but also with the workers not yet organised, peasants, and pauperised middle sections of society. Hence the united front tactics must not only aim at exposing the treachery of the leaders, but also at showing to the unorganised masses our determination to fight for the realisation of our immediate demands. In France, more than anywhere else, we must whenever we mobilise the masses by revolutionary agitation, lay emphasis on the importance of organisation in the united front tactic. The French Party has already acquired a certain amount of experience on this field. All the workers and peasant congresses had as their point of issue the extension and the intensification of this work. The Party must endeavour to find new bases enabling it to penetrate more deeply into the masses in order to organise them. It must make a serious study of all deviations in order to reject them in the application of united front tactics, as such deviations instead of bringing us nearer to the masses, would dissociate us from them or would lead us to political liquidation of the Party. It must free its tactical policy from all deviations created by its political nervousness.

During the past year the Party did not always apply united front tactics in a proper manner. To bring forward all the slogans of the Party (fraternisation, etc.) as an indispensable con-



dition for the realisation of the united front with the reformist workers was an error which greatly impeded the realisation of the united front. This error has already been rectified by the conference of December 2nd. The Party must make it a rule to issue united front slogans which can be understood by the masses.

### The Tactical Errors of the Party.

However, imposing the demonstration which took place in Paris when the ashes of Jaures were transferred to the Pantheon, the Party should not have over-estimated its importance, jumping to the conclusion that the Parisian worker was ready for insurrection. This could only take away the attention of the Party from the work of organisation and deliver it to a subjective tactic which threatened to sever the connection between the Party and the working class. Other errors just as serious during the first months of 1925 were the over-estimation of the Fascist peril where the objective situation did not imply an acute conflict between the classes. It was impossible to keep the Party in a prolonged state of tension when there was really no revolutionary situation. The Party should have directed this state of mind into the right channels in order to strengthen its organisation. It was a similar error to issue the slogan for a revolutionary tribunal when the situation was not actually revolutionary. Such an estimate of the situation could not bring the masses into motion. The splendid and courageous campaign of the Party and the C. G. T. U. against the wars in Morocco and Syria, the historic 24 hour's strike have resuscitated the best revolutionary traditions of the French working class. But it certainly does not preclude a sane criticism of the organisation and preparation of this strike. The Party should not only have rejected and denounced in a most decisive manner the counter-revolutionary defeatism of the Right with regard to the strike, it should have also made the lesson of this strike the subject of careful study on the part of the rank and file of the Party and of the trade union organisations. In the present situation in France the Party should not rest content with a million strikers in a demonstration strike, since the French proletariat consists of 10 million workers.

In this respect too, the Party and the C. G. T. U. must break with the old tradition which has accustomed them to consider a general strike which mobilises only a feeble minority of the working class a normal phenomenon. At the present juncture the Party can and must carry with it the majority of the working class of France. The Party must realise this and must become imbued with this idea for good and all. The analysis of the last strike must help us to make the rank and file of the Party and of the trade union organisations realise our weaknesses. We must make them understand that they must not only be agitators, but above all the organisers of the working class.

The Party committed a similar error in the conduct of its various campaigns. They had not the character of a coherent and systematic action by the Party concentrating for a definite period the attention of the working class on definite demands. Frequently the Party scattered its campaigns, calling them together without any plan only to abandon them subsequently without having obtained political results.

The Enlarged Executive Committee is glad to be able to say that during the last period the Party achieved important results in its colonial activity and also among the peasantry, women and in its agitation against the colonial wars.

The Executive's criticism of the errors of the Party does not aim at minimising the importance of these successes. On the contrary the object is to help it to draw the necessary lessons from the errors of the past and to march resolutely forward.

The conference of December 2nd organised at the initiative of the Party itself is a splendid example of self-criticism, and remedying of errors committed. It is a great stride forward in the direction of the re-establishment of united front tactics.

The Enlarged Executive expresses its approval of the decisions of the conference and associates itself with the policy which was outlined there. It declares that it would severely condemn all attempts to revert to pre-December 2nd tactics and policy. It urges the Party Executive to apply the decisions of this conference to all the Party forces and to do away with every vestige of the Party's old methods of work.

1. To determine its policy, the Party must concentrate on the aggravation and intensification of the present financial and poli-

tical crisis. Without pre-judging the date of the revolution, the Party must set itself the task to extend under the present favourable conditions its political influence over the masses, to consolidate by organisational measures each of its successes; only such a policy will allow the Party even in the event of a revolutionary ebb to maintain itself in the conquered positions.

2. In the period before us the Party must lay particular stress on the slogan of the workers and peasant government, in order to be able to use it not only as an instrument of propaganda but also as a means for the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses. The Workers and Peasants' Government must be set against every form of coalition government, Socialist or otherwise, which does not attack the foundations of private property and which is content to remain within the framework of capitalist society. The slogan of a workers and peasants' government to become a means of mobilising the masses should not be propagated as an abstract and empty slogan. The Party must combine its agitation for this slogan with a programme of revolutionary measures going beyond the limits of capitalist society. By connecting this slogan with the objective situation it must continually emphasise that only such measures can get the workers out of the impasse into which they have been driven by the French Bourgeoisie with the help of the Socialists and the trade union reformists.

3. Taking into account the transitory nature of the present political crisis, the Party must not renounce its partial demands which by going beyond the framework of the capitalist regime, become the point of issue of a big mass movement because they appear easy of immediate attainment to the masses, using, for example, the following slogans: a) liquidation of the internal debt of the State at the expense of the banks and big capital; b) transference of the entire burden of taxation to the wealthy; c) relentless measures against the export of capital abroad, etc.

4. These slogans cannot be included in the programme of revolutionary measures of a workers' and peasants' government. They will deprive it of its real revolutionary nature. Though they cannot be realised by any bourgeois government, they appear to the masses to be immediately realisable and are therefore capable of mobilising them, of leading them and of making them understand the necessity of a workers' and peasants' government and of revolutionary measures more radical than those in its programme. The Party must at the same time fight for the partial demands which can be won under the capitalist regime: equal civil and political rights for French and foreign workers; protection of women's and child labour; State insurance for workers, etc.

5. Whilst it is the duty of the Party to stand up for the interests of the peasant masses, and of the working class sections of society impoverished by inflation, it must at the same time concentrate its attention on the defence of working class demands. Above all the defence of the eight hour day, of a real wage and of the interests of foreign workers.

6. The reactionary offensive also raises the question of the struggle against Fascist leagues and associations which are more and more constituting a real menace to all the social conquests of the working class. The Party and the C. G. T. U. should conduct a campaign for the dissolution of these leagues and endeavour to make the reformist C. G. T. and the Socialist workers also participate in it.

7. In addition, an energetic campaign should be conducted for the ideological enlightenment of the Party and the wide masses on the question of the methods and forms of the proletarian struggles under perspectives of a revolutionary development. The capitalist offensive on the economic field as well as on the political field demands that the C. G. T. U. clearly and with particular firmness presents the question of trade union unity.

8. The wars in Morocco and Syria should be the occasion for the Party to continue its anti-war work and intensify its anti-militant work. It should also profit from the entanglement of French imperialism to develop its work widely in the French colonies particularly in those of the Mediterranean basin. The necessity of intensifying and perfecting the colonial work of the Parties in France and in the colonies implies an effective direction of the Colonial Commission by the Polbureau and the control of its activities by the Central Committee.

### Within the Party.

On this field the Party should in the first place liquidate the remnants of the old struggle of groupings within the leadership, concentrating its entire attention on the danger from the Right. Only a change of course inside the Party can assure the normal development of the Party. The nature of the present unrest proves that the Party has overcome the fractional and sectarian phase of leadership through one single group. At a moment of such a serious crisis within the country which imposes formidable tasks, the Party should no longer remain under the direction of a fraction. All attempts to put the leadership of the Party back into the hands of a single group would inevitably meet with an active reaction on the part of the Party. The task of the group leading the C. P. F. demands an extension of the basis of the Party leadership. The leading group should become really a centre which unites all the active forces of the trade unions and the other organisations, it should also group around it, on the platform traced out by the E. C. of the C. I. all the Party forces against the Right Wing elements which disorganise the Party at the time it is preparing for imminent combats.

a) Realisation of internal democracy of the Party; Rectification of the exaggerated centralism of the Party apparatus, more initiative on the part of the lower organisations, closer liaison between them and the centre, appointment of one of the secretaries of the C. C. for work of liaison with the provincial organisations.

b) Serious political discussion before the Congress, if during the next few months events allow of extensive debates, and do not demand from the Party greatest concentration of forces in view of political action of wide scope.

c) More effective control on the part of the C. C. as a real organ of Party leadership — over the work of the Political Bureau.

d) Establishment of normal relations in all sections of the Party, with the active elements of the trade union organisations, on the basis of the closest collaboration and also on the basis of fundamental instructions established by the Party.

e) A more systematic political direction by the Party of the work of the youth and particular attention to the special organisational needs of the youth.

f) Effective leadership of the parliamentary group and greater attention on the part of the C. C. to the political work of the deputies.

g) The lower organisations of the Party should be made more active.

h) Great importance to be attached to the organisation and direction of the whole Party press, if possible local organs should be established in the large industrial districts.

### III. Against the French Right.

#### Analysis of Right Tendencies in the C. P. of France.

In the present situation the Communist Party of France is faced with the immense task of mobilising the masses for defensive struggles against the high cost of living, inadequate wages, unbearable taxes, colonial wars, reactionary plots, etc.

The growing crisis of the French bourgeoisie will impose still greater tasks on the Party in the near future.

It is certain that the French bourgeoisie, feeling the crisis grow will strive to disintegrate the Communist Party, to lead the masses away from it, to render the Party incapable of leading the proletarian masses into action and of fulfilling its historic task.

The objective situation in France is very favourable for the development of our Party. However, during the recent period the successes of the Party have not been in accordance with this situation. The Leftist faults of the Party leadership have certainly contributed to this state of affairs. What is more they have provided the Right Wing with a platform of criticism which has allowed it to rally discontented elements with the aid of which the Right has been able to conduct a policy disintegrating the Party. The purely negative criticism of the Right, its revolt against all discipline, its gross insults and calumnies in respect of the Party and the International, above all its clearly non-Communist political platform, instead of hastening the necessary improvement of the Party policy, have on the contrary contributed towards its obstruction in view of the Party having to defend itself

against the dangers of petty-bourgeois opportunism and against the recognition of syndicalist ideology. Objectively the Right has served the interests of the French bourgeoisie. At the present moment in face of the responsibilities and the tasks incumbent upon our Party, it is the principal danger which must be mercilessly combated.

The Right is connected by a certain number of its members, and by its action in general, with elements excluded from the Party for their indiscipline, who from the outside attempt to discredit and disintegrate our Party by spreading vile slanders against the Party and International (Souvarine) who endeavour to diminish or deny the role of the Communist Party in order to revive the old syndicalism of the Charter of Amiens ("Revolution Proletarienne" of Monatte and Rosmer).

This open and masked collaboration on the "Bulletin Communiste" and the "Revolution Proletarienne", the solidarity that the Right has continued to display in respect to these two organs, destroys Party discipline and tends to disintegrate it.

The Right is endeavouring not to correct its errors or to rectify the political policy of the Party, but to discredit the Party and the International in the eyes of the French workers.

#### Campaign of Disparagement.

The whole series of the "Bulletin Communiste" is nothing but an odious pamphlet against the C. P. F., the Comintern and the Russian Revolution. At the very moment when it ceases publication, the "Bulletin Communiste" which is supposed to be making a gesture of discipline, hurls a pack of insults at the Party:

"The leaders of the French Party are incapable of putting an end to the intolerable regime which is crushing the Party because such an act would mean their own suicide. The Party has not elected them, does not recognise them and will never accept them. They know this and hope to prolong their miserable political existence a few months longer with the aid of the gag, calumny and imposture...."

"There must be an absolute condemnation of the lack of morals, the cynicism, hypocrisy, knavery, lies, forgeries and utilisation of forgery, duplicity, the intrigues characteristic of the high politics of newly-baked 'Leninists' who waited until Lenin died in order to make capital for themselves."

Not even the worst enemies of the Party have ever hurled against it so much as the "Bulletin Communiste" with which the Right Wing of the Party is in agreement. When the "Peuple" or the "Matin" publish such insults, they have no effect on the working class. The latter knows that the bourgeoisie endeavour to discredit the revolutionary Party by every possible means. But when this discrediting is sown among the ranks of the working class and of the Party itself by an organ which pretends to be Communist, the work of disintegration which the bourgeoisie cannot accomplish with its organs, is continued and the duty of the Party is to react with the greatest energy.

It is not only on the French Party, it is above all on the International that the French Right in collaboration with the "Bulletin Communiste" is endeavouring to hurl discredit and calumny, seeking to destroy all confidence of the workers in the International. There is an abundance of quotations in the "Revolution Proletarienne" just as in the "Bulletin Communiste". The renegades Levi, Frossard and Höglund have never hurled so much mud.

According to the Right the whole International is corrupt and is disintegrating.

"Our Bulgarian Party, first decimated, has also been ex-terminated. Our Esthonian Party suffered an almost identical fate.

Our German Party has lost everything it gained in 1923, has lost three quarters of its members, has lost two millions of working class votes at the elections, has lost all influence in the Trade Unions (two Communists at the last Trade Union Congress) and its main positions in the Factory Councils.

Our Swedish Party has committed suicide, one fraction rejoining the Social Democracy.

Our British Party, with a negligible membership, received the most ridiculous votes at the election and suffered

a crushing defeat at the recent Liverpool Congress of the Labour Party.

Our Czecho-Slovak and Italian and American Parties have undergone profound crises and have only avoided a split, thanks to the falling back of the executive of the International on the verge of disaster.

Finally, the French Party, deprived of half its membership, disorganised, discredited, and beaten in everything it undertakes . . . . It is especially the intellectual and moral decay of the Party that is so serious. The post-war prestige of Communism is nothing more than a memory. The bourgeoisie laughs at us and Social Democracy, which is progressing everywhere does not fear us. The immense majority of the working class sees in the Communists people who are incapable and irresponsible bunglers, adventurers, and at the best of cases unreasonable utopians . . . . Let us look for one movement at the Communist press of Western Europe. There are only presumptuous assertions, vulgarities, invective . . . . What will remain of this poor period which followed the death of Lenin? Nothing — except ruins."

In the "Revolution Proletarienne" we find the same press but still more cynical:

"Why was the change in the leadership of the Czech Party imposed from Moscow in 1924? Who were the people imposed in this leadership? They were people who had something to get themselves forgiven for, Leninists of 1924: A policeman, a thief, a blackleg, a drunkard, etc. . . . .

The Executive, compromised with people who are tarnished and mixed up in intrigues really too vulgar, will discredit itself just a little more."

What do the "Bulletin Communiste" and the "Revolution Proletarienne" seek by such campaigns? The reinstatement of the people who are writing such ignominy against the International revolutionary movement. Or else to sow mistrust amongst the French proletariat and to discredit it towards the Communist International to the advantage of the French bourgeoisie which is in the clutches of a profound crisis, and which itself cannot demoralise and disintegrate the proletarian forces.

It is impossible to think and to pretend that this role is not conscious.

The discontented workers who have let themselves be led away by the Right should open their eyes as to its true function and condemn this action of revolutionary defeatism.

We see the same defeatism with respect to the Russian Revolution which the Right pretends to defend, but which it is endeavouring to belittle and besmirch in the eyes of the French workers.

Louzon tries to demonstrate in the "Revolution Proletarienne" that nothing remains of the revolutionary conquests in Russia while the "Bulletin" goes so far in its cynicism as to write the day following the death of Frunze:

"The Lenin Mausoleum containing the embalmed body, with its mysterious illuminated roof, its armed sentries at the foot of the Kremlin, where an illuminated banner waves, recalls sooner the tomb of a Mahomet or a Tamerlane than that of a leader of the workers and peasants.

"Lenin was a hero, now they are manufacturing them. Frunze was a strategist of genius, a revolutionary with an extraordinary firmness, a brave man at all trials — that is what they write about him. But all those who have known him know that he was a third-rate person and that in prison he behaved in such a manner that the Society of Ex-political Prisoners refused to admit him as a member." That is an infamous calumny on Frunze.

At a time when numbers of workers' delegations are coming to Russia to become convinced that the revolutionary conquests of the workers and peasants are something different from those of the reformists, why is there this eagerness to belittle and besmirch everything? It is to help the Bérauds and the other agents of the bourgeoisie to sow pessimism and distrust amongst the working class.

This attitude towards Soviet Russia is also based on the idea that in the present situation the role of the Russian Party is finished and the proletarian dictatorship superfluous.

Souvarine writes in the "Bulletin Communiste":

"In Russia they are arresting the Mensheviks although the Soviet Republic does not fear them any more. They must be very hard pressed for arguments if they cannot invoke any other but that of repression."

Marthe Bigot in the same organ writes the following passage which is very characteristic of the mentality of the French Right:

"In this period of lull at the present time one would like to see the formation and creation of the Socialist organisation of the new world in the only country where the proletariat is master over its own destiny . . . . And the working class does not perceive the new Social rhythm that is hoped for, it does not see anything else but forms which it understands as being necessary during the acute revolutionary struggle, but which are being prolonged without advantage during the present period, which should be one of creation."

Thus the Russian Revolution has not created a new social rhythm, the present period is not one of creation, there only remain out-of-date forces of the civil war period.

### Sabotage of Party Activity.

This systematic disparagement of everything that the Russian Revolution, the Communist International and the French Party has done, naturally leads to sabotage of Party activity. In the October number of the "Revolution Proletarienne" a Party member explains the tactics adopted by the Opposition in the following manner:

"Our comrades in the group after a long exchange of opinions have decided to cease completely all activity in the Party and to practice the policy of 'do your worst'! . . . . For my part I hesitate all the more as the comrades in the group have lost faith and at the slightest bump are ready to get themselves excluded or tear up their cards."

"I think that the quicker we produce a vacuum before them, the sooner we will have rid the Party of them."

Is that a way to bring the Party into line, to correct its errors? That is organised sabotage and disintegration of our Party. To practise the policy of "do your worst", to be ready to get oneself excluded — such are the tangible results of this revolutionary defeatism in the Party ranks.

This sabotage and this disintegration of the Party have been pursued during a period when our Party was engaged in action against the Moroccan war, when it had need of all its forces for the work of mobilising the masses against French imperialism and bourgeois rapacity.

### Colonial and National Questions.

The Right has criticised Party activities against the colonial wars and has sabotaged its action because on the question of the Moroccan war, it shares the conception of French imperialists that the Moroccans are an inferior race, are uncivilised tribes. On this point the petty-bourgeois, and Social-patriotic mentality of the French Right is most characteristic. The "Revolution Proletarienne" of July 1925 brings forward views on this subject which should be emphasised:

"The French Communist leaders have taken up the same attitude towards Abd-El-Krim as our Russian comrades have towards Sun-Yat-Sen, that is to say, in considering him as the representative of a Proletarian National Revolutionary movement . . . . That is no reason for the French Communists unrestrictedly associating themselves with Abd-El-Krim who is a representative of very different social category and pursuing very different social objectives. Kémal Pasha was the embodiment of a really national independent movement, not the action of provincial tribes . . . ."

Thus the heroic struggle of the Riffi against the rapacity of French imperialism is not a struggle for national independence, a struggle which holds in check French imperialism and awakens the spirit of independence of the oppressed colonial peoples. Communists should not support this struggle of the warlike tribes of the Riff against French imperialism. The "Com-

munist" who writes these things endeavours to demonstrate that Abd-El-Krim should be combated because he is not a Communist. Undoubtedly we must combat religious and social prejudices, the Pan Islamism of the colonial peoples and develop a popular peasant and workers movement among them. But when warlike tribes rise up against the imperialism of the Metropolis and are warring for their independence, we should combat not their leaders, imbued though they may be with certain prejudices, but the imperialism which attempts to subject them. This peculiar Communist who wants to combat Abd-El-Krim at the time when the French bourgeoisie is trying to strangle the Riff rising by a war, shouts: "**Morocco for the Moroccans**", yes, but not for Abd-El-Krim.

This is the same standpoint that Painlevé evinced a little later in the Chamber when not wanting to negotiate peace with Abd-El-Krim but directly with the tribes. It is the standpoint of French Social patriotism and imperialism in order to justify the continuation of the war and of colonial banditry.

It is from this purely Social patriot standpoint that the Right Wing criticism in respect to fraternisation arises. In a theses by Paz it affirms:

"Fraternisation is not an abstraction, it cannot be applied in all situations. It is based on reciprocity, it therefore presupposes a certain equality in the degree of economic development of the warring peoples as a result of a certain similarity in the political maturity of the troops confronting one another; it also presupposes on both sides the existence of a revolutionary organisation capable of propagating the slogan. This is not the case when the workers and peasants of a capitalist imperialist country are facing peasants who under the leadership of a feudal chief are seeking to realise national independence: therefore the slogan of fraternisation should not have been issued in respect to the Moroccan war."

How could soldiers of law and of civilisation fraternise with semi-barbaric peasants? Is this not a reminiscence of the best days of social patriotism?

This social patriotic position we may find again in the question of Alsace-Lorraine.

The letter of the 280 asserts:

"Just as much as the slogan for an Alsace-Lorraine plebiscite in 1918 was correct, today it is just as destined to meet with indifference and ridicule. Why not the evacuation of Nice, Savoy, and Corsica?"

This mocking tone hides a clearly chauvinist mentality. Since 1918 Alsace Lorraine had been subjected to the Jack-boot regime of French imperialism. The population desires an autonomous regime. The Right thinks that if it was the duty of our Party in 1918 at the time of Versailles to protest against the annexation by France, it should now consider Alsace-Lorraine like Nice or Savoy, as being definitely annexed and should not arouse the Alsace-Lorraine population against the tyranny of the French State. This phrase resembles those referring to the Moroccan war and indicates the purely social patriotic deviation of the French Right.

### The 24-Hour-Strike.

The attitude of the Right towards the 24-hour protest strike is just the same.

It was against the strike first of all because it thinks that Abd-El-Krim should be combated and not supported. But it was still for other reasons against this Party anti-war activity. Undoubtedly no one could have expected that the 24-hour strike would be general. It would have been better prepared if the members of the Opposition instead of sowing their mistrust and their pessimism, instead of practising their policy of "do your worst" and of "creating a vacuum" before the Party leadership, had resolutely set to work. The tactics used for preparing and launching the strike may be criticised. But the protest strike against the war was a necessary action, it was the first political strike for which the Party had issued the slogan, with the trade union organisation, in the history of the modern French labour movement. It did not rally the entire proletariat, it was not a complete success, neither was it the set-back that the Opposition, outdoing the bourgeois papers, wanted to see in it. The Party must conduct its activity, even at the cost of certain

reprisals. It must endeavour to obtain the maximum of results, undoubtedly, and on this question of the 24-hour strike, the Party was not free from faults, but the position taken up by the Right against the strike in itself, the recriminations against the repression which followed, have nothing revolutionary about them.

The whole of this standpoint of the Right with respect to the National and colonial question and of the action which the Party should conduct against the war is all the more dangerous as the emancipation movement of the colonies is spreading and as it is playing an important role in the development of the post-war capitalist crisis as an ally of the proletarian movement.

### Everyday Problems.

A similar lack of comprehension is to be found in the series of articles by Louzon in the "Revolution Proletarienne".

The question of taxes, of high cost of living, of the financial crisis in France — all these questions which are closely bound up with the everyday life of the working class, which upset the relations between the big bourgeoisie and the middle classes, should be of no importance for our Party and for proletarian activity, according to the "Revolution Proletarienne" of May 1925.

"Therefore on the question of the high cost of living just as on so many other questions let the proletariat cease marching in tow of the petty-bourgeoisie. Let it stop weeping at the high cost of living but welcome it as the hour of combat. On all fields the high cost of living will help it to gain victory. The worst thing that could happen now for the proletariat would be the fall of the dollar."

Why not launch the slogan: Long live the high cost of living and the profiteers who favour it: This policy of "do your worst" is the opposite of all Communist conceptions of the daily struggle to win the proletariat and to neutralise or to lead with us the most backward strata of the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie.

There is the same attitude with regard to taxes ("Revolution Proletarienne" of January 1926).

"The war of taxes is a war between the bourgeoisie, it is not a war of the proletariat."

In this issue for December 1926 on the same subject we read:

"Now, just because of the fact that the proletariat possesses nothing, financial crisis would not affect it, at least directly. The conflict as to who will pay the taxes does not come within the sphere of the proletariat."

As long as there be such a conception of taxes, the problem for inter-allied debts or of the Dawes Plan is as foreign to the proletariat as that of taxes.

In the "Revolution Proletarienne" for October 1925 Louzon asserts:

"Bourgeois affairs, affairs between mutual creditors, which do not directly interest the proletariat.... The milliard of gold francs to be paid per year to the Anglo-Saxon bourgeoisie will have to be assessed either on the French industrial magnates by an increase of taxes or else on the French rentiers by a further fall in the value of the franc.... Phenomena which directly interest the rentier, which do not directly interest the proletarians.

If this wealth, and this is what is important, did not go into the pockets of the Anglo-Saxon bourgeoisie, it would for all that not remain in the pockets of the French workers, it would go into the pockets of the French bourgeoisie. The worker has therefore no interest as to whether his boss pays the debts or does not pay them."

The whole of this paradoxical analysis shows how the opposition, which is in alliance with the "Revolution Proletarienne" deviates from Communist policy toward a kind of anarchistic maximalism absolutely foreign to the life of the masses. According to these theories, the Dawes Plan bears no consequence for the German proletariat. If Germany pays, if France pays, it is the bourgeoisie which pays, according to Louzon it cannot increase the exploitation of the workers at the point of preserving its profit while paying the American capitalists with the profits extracted by an increased exploitation of the proletariat.

The example of Germany and of Italy shows the entire paradox in the arguments of the "Revolution Proletarienne".

According to Hairius in the "Revolution Proletarienne", No. 12, the defence of petty savings by our Party is considered as a Social Democratic deviation.

"It is not Social Democratic when solutions of the financial crisis of the bourgeois State, are presented which are accepted by radical deputies and when one declares oneself a defender of petty savings..."

The political consequences for a Party which would interpret the problem of the high cost of living, of taxes, of the financial crisis and of relations with the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry in this manner, would be disastrous.

### The Role of the Party.

The "Revolution Proletarienne" moreover, attempts completely to revise Communism as far as the role of the Party in the labour movement is concerned. This is a more or less masked return, according to the authors, to the syndicalism of the Charter of Amiens. Chambelland writes in the "Revolution Proletarienne" No. 10:

"In wresting the C. G. T. U. out of the hands of the anarchists, we thought we were remaining faithful to the very spirit of the Charter of Amiens... to organise and develop in the two C. G. T. U. a movement for returning to true syndicalism, syndicalist autonomy, to unity, to the freedom of action for tendencies — that is the work of a syndicalist league."

The result of this return to the Charter of Amiens is the diminution of the role of the Communist Party. It should not interfere in the struggles of the working class.

Allot writes: After the Douarnenez Strike:

"The Douarnenez strike in no way resembles those which took place in our country during the last few years. At Douarnenez — this is I think quite a new fact — we saw the Communist Party intervene closely in the strike. A delegate, the deputy Henriët, was sent down from the very commencement.

In this conflict the syndicalist organisation and the C. G. T. U. appeared to be quite eliminated and cut a pitiful figure. One could really say that the C. G. T. U. lacked men who could lead the movement and engage in the struggle to ultimate victory. One could have said that it wanted to justify those who pretend that the Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat, the general staff which should lead, and that the trade union movement is not capable of finding within its own midst sufficient energy, and that is has need of being 'fertilised'. If the District Union, the Foodworkers' Federation and the Confederal Bureau who were leading the strike had been simple branches of the C. P., they would not have acted otherwise." In No. 8 of the same journal *Monatte* writes:

"Beware of the day after October (that is to say, the aftermath of the revolution) if the trade unions are not capable of giving the revolution a proletarian nature and of guarding it, and of counter-balancing triumphant Blanquism.

They know that the working class should itself provide its leaders and not go and pick them up ready-made elsewhere. They know that the Syndicalism of the past must be adapted to the needs of present day struggles and that there is no need for it to be the lining of the tail to a party."

For Louzon, the Party is a militarised organisation which is excellent for the insurrection, indispensable for success, but is not capable of preparing the whole class for the revolution. An organisation of this type is not capable of developing class-consciousness. It is not capable of rendering the working class sufficiently confident in its own capacity so that a revolutionary will is created in it.

The "Revolution Proletarienne" No. 6, disputes that the Party has the role of revolutionary education.

"A Political Party cannot fulfil the role of educator of the working class. If it undertakes to instruct, it tends to teach a catechism rather than teach its pupils to exercise their critical instinct. Its role as a Party, moreover, imposes this

method on it. I conclude: It would be desirable that there exist in France and in all countries an organisation independent of political parties, which although placing itself clearly on the field of the class struggle, would pursue the task of educating the proletariat."

All these quotations show that the "Revolution Proletarienne" is by no means an organ which is endeavouring to bring the Party into line, but on the contrary is trying to revive the old syndicalist conception of the Charter of Amiens, trying to belittle the role of the Party, to eliminate it from the labour movement. The Right Wing inside the Party far from condemning and combating such dangerous deviations has supported the activity of the "Revolution Proletarienne".

### United Front and Organisation.

The Right has formulated certain conceptions of the united front manifestly opportunist. Lorient declares: "To think that one can separate the leaders from the masses is pure Utopianism, the united front cannot be made over the heads of the leaders."

To think that one cannot separate the reformist leaders from the working masses means not having any perspective as to the development of the revolutionary action of our Party. Our whole action in France, should on the contrary tend to separate the masses from the reformist leaders who are deceiving them and who place them at the service of the bourgeoisie in distress.

Finally, in the question of nuclei, the French Right has adopted quite an erroneous position: in face of mechanisation of Party life and the lack of political activity of the nuclei, the Right, instead of trying to improve an organisation which is correct, though young and imperfect, has attacked the very principles of organisation on a factory basis.

The Right, whether it be in its theses, in its writings, or in the organs with which it collaborates, has therefore, committed a series of deviations which are very serious and very dangerous for our Party.

## II. Resolution on the Right.

The Party must act with energy against the ideological deviations of the Right, against the disintegrating action and its lack of discipline.

But in its fight it must take into account the fact that this Right is far from being homogeneous.

The past policy of the Party has created a certain number of discontented elements who have rallied to the Right, not because they were in agreement with it in its Social Democratic or Trade Union programme, but because it formulated criticisms identical with theirs against the mechanism of the internal life of the Party, against the misunderstanding of its relation with the trade unions, its slogans and its Leftist policy. So a good number of workers and active trade unionists who became discontented rallied to the Right without accepting all its programme; others, understanding how much the ideological platform of the Right deviated from Communism, constituted a centre group (Morin, Himberot); others again in greater number, though discontented, have not lost confidence either in the Party or in the International and have contributed by their criticisms as well as by their disciplined work in the rectification of the political line of the Party and the correction of its faults.

There can be no doubt that the modifications brought about by the conference of December 2, in the policy and interior regime of the Party, in its relations with the trade union movement, modifications which have been confirmed and even extended by the Plenum of the International, provide all these legitimately discontented elements who are firmly attached to their Party and the International the possibility of working for their Party.

Besides these discontented elements who have been momentarily dragged after the Right without sharing their ideology, the opposition is constituted by a coalition of groups, various and heterogeneous both in their ideology and their social composition, but which are intermingled and lead a concerted attack against the Party policy.

(a) The "Bulletin Communiste" group with a character clearly intellectual and petty bourgeois both in composition and ideology which shows characteristic Social Democratic de-

viations, which has specialised in the disparagement of the Party and the C. I. and in the work of disintegration inside the Party by seeking to break down its discipline and directing a factional work from the outside.

The Central Committee must fight this group with energy, and not hesitate to use the disciplinary measure of exclusion in order to repress its lack of discipline.

(b) The Lorient-Paz-Dunois group related by its social composition and ideology to the preceding group, but which struggles to remain within the framework of the discipline of the Party and which while having the same Social Democratic deviations, rejects some of those who take part in the "B. C." campaigns of disparagement and of disintegrating the Party.

(c) The Revolution Proletarienne group which rests essentially upon certain trade union cadres and whose composition is proletarian, but which struggles to revive syndicalist ideology.

This tendency is, in the bosom of the Right, certainly the most dangerous current, because it exploits certain mistakes of the Party in order to bring about the revival of a tradition which has had a great importance in the French working class movement which was healthy and necessary at a time when no revolutionary party existed, but which signifies a step backward and a false conception of the role of the Party and the role of the trade unions in France.

These last, in this period of wide industrialisation should strive to become mass trade union organisations and not sectarian syndicalist organisations of the type of the C. G. T. before the war. The Party should devote particular energy and attention to the struggle against this syndicalist ideology.

The "Communist Syndicalists" of 1926, are very different and play inside the working class movement quite another role from that which they played in 1922. At that time, they were evolving from syndicalism into Communism and were striving to make clear all that they had in common with the Communist International. In this way, they hastened the unification of the revolutionary forces around the ideology of the Communist Party; to-day, they are bringing about a recoil from Communism to syndicalism, attempting to emphasise what separates them from the Party and to proceed to a new division of the French revolutionary forces. In face of the growing crisis of imperialism and the tasks which it puts before the revolutionary movement in France, our Party must fight this attempt energetically by means of an ideological campaign which points out in what degree this position is retrograde.

The Party should fight these last two groups:

1. By carrying out a correct policy and by avoiding in the future the Leftist tactical errors which have allowed the false ideology of the Right to develop among the discontented elements in the heart of the Party.

2. By establishing inside the Party a regime of internal democracy which shall make the authoritarian and mechanical methods of direction disappear right to the very last.

3. By establishing normal relations with the trade unions.

4. On the basis of this political correction, the Party should lead a sustained ideological fight against the Social Democratic or syndicalist deviations of the Right, in order to detach from it those sincere discontented Communists who have become momentarily estranged.

5. By re-establishing in the heart of the Party, by means of internal democracy, a stern discipline towards those elements who would collaborate or unite with organs outside the Party, or would continue to sabotage the action of the Party by practising the policy of "do your worst".

In certain of these latest documents, a part of the Right has attempted a strategic retreat on certain points by no longer reprinting the grossest deviations which have already been denounced by the French Party.

It is not sufficient to be silent, the 280 ought clearly to say whether they abandon their false conceptions on certain important tactical questions, whether they break away from the Bulletin Communiste and the Revolution Proletarienne and whether they condemn their anti-Communist political line and their work of disintegrating the Party.

The Right has put forward the question of the re-admission of the expelled members. The International has never refused to re-admit those who, though expelled, have remained faithful and disciplined to the International even outside the Party, or who having recognised their errors have themselves condemned them and have expressed their wish to re-enter the Communist International. As for Souvarine, certain conditions were fixed for him after the V World Congress; he has not observed them and the Presidium replied by a refusal of his request for re-admission; the Enlarged Executive confirms this resolution of the Presidium.

The Party and the International will not refuse to consider the re-admission of the expelled comrades who, faithful and disciplined in the Party in spite of the measure which has struck them, shall have proved by their activity as militants that they have nothing in common with anti-Communist ideology, nor any solidarity with the traducers and splitters of the revolutionary movement, and will demand their re-admission. These questions having been clearly put, the Party and the International will be pitiless towards those who, in spite of the modifications applied in the policy and internal regime of the Party by the conference of December 2, and by the Enlarged Executive, carry on with their factional and disintegrating work.

The Enlarged Executive demands in a categorical manner that the Right should disunite and break away definitely from those elements which seek to disintegrate the Party from the outside, and further that it shall work loyally inside the Party on the basis of the political line, which has been rectified by the Party and the International.

The Enlarged Executive appeals to all the comrades of the Party on the basis of the political line confirmed by the International, to collaborate loyally with all their strength in the work and struggles of the Party.

# Resolution on the Situation in Great Britain.

## The Achievements of the Communist Party and their Lessons for the Sections of the Communist International.

1. The outstanding feature in relation to the situation of Great Britain is the continual decline of British Imperialism. British financial capitalism has been unable to retain the position it held before the war. It has lost its position as the dominating imperialist power to the United States of America.

This fact is reflected in the continued unfavourable trade balance and chronic unemployment and the reduction of production in the basic industries below the pre-war level. At the same time the cost of living remains at least three quarters higher than during the pre-war period.

While the new policy of British imperialism in relation to its colonies, i. e. economic concessions to sections of the native bourgeoisie and the export of capital together with more severe political oppression may bring temporarily greater profits to some sections of the British capitalists, the consequence of this policy is to create sharper competition for the industries of the homeland and thus further weaken the industrial system of Great Britain.

During the period of the dominance of British imperialism the British capitalists were able to enlist the active support for imperialist policy of the upper sections of the British working class through making concessions to them out of the super-profits wrung from the colonial peoples. With the loss of its dominant position the British capitalists are endeavouring to pass on the workers their losses together with those resulting from the war, through reducing the wages and standard of living of the workers.

### 2. The Revolutionisation of the British Working Class.

The method used by the British capitalists in an effort to regain their former position — through compelling the workers to shoulder the losses of British industry — is bringing about the gradual revolutionisation of the British working class. The effort to reduce the wages of the workers, together with the chronic unemployment, is driving the workers to united resistance and a struggle against the capitalist system in order to secure relief.

Another factor which has operated as an influence driving the British workers to the Left is their experience with the Labour Government. On the one hand the experience aroused the political consciousness of larger masses of the workers who had never actively participated in political life, on the other hand the failure of the Mac Donald Government to bring relief to the working masses and at the same time its open support of British imperialism has caused widespread disillusionment with reformist leadership amongst the active minority of the workers in the labour movement.

At the same time the continued progress and achievements of the Soviet Union in creating a Socialist economic structure and raising the standard of living of the workers is aiding in the revolutionisation of the British workers.

### 3. Symptoms of Revolutionisation of the British Working Class.

The revolutionisation of the British working class has expressed itself in the following developments:

1. The growth of a Socialist ideology among the workers.
2. The development of a strong Left Wing tendency in the British trade union movement of which the Minority Movement is the most crystallised section.
3. The resolutions adopted by the Scarborough Trade Union Congress. (Resolution against imperialism, Dawes Plan and for factory committees.)
4. The movement of trade union unity as it expressed itself in the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council.
5. The support given to the fight of the Communist Party against the resolutions of the Liverpool Labour Party Conference.

6. The beginning of the organisation of a Left Wing in the Labour Party.

7. The mass movement of the unemployed.

8. The movement of the workers for the release of the twelve members of the Central Committee of the British Communist Party (petition signed by 300,000 workers).

9. The mobilisation of the workers in support of the miners on "Red Friday" (formation of Councils of Action and Industrial Alliance).

10. The pressure of the rank and file of the Independent Labour Party on their leaders for a united front with the Communists.

11. The growth of the influence of the Communist Party.

### 4. The Achievements of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party has played an important and leading role in developing the revolutionisation of the working class of Great Britain. Its successes in this field have been achieved through its quick response to the day-to-day struggles of the workers and its correct application of the United Front.

The achievements of the Communist Party of Great Britain in extending its influence and successes toward winning the leadership of the working masses are of importance for all the Sections of the Comintern.

The strength of the Communist Party in this work is based upon the following factors:

1. Since 1924 there has been no factionalism in the British Party. The Party has been able to develop team work among all the leading elements in the Party and also to create a clear understanding of the position of the Party among the membership through constant close contact, thereby by drawing the whole membership into active and reasoned support of its policy.

2. The British Party has learned from its experience the necessity of entrenching itself in the trade unions. It has insisted that all its members should be active members of their unions and that they participate in the day-to-day work of the unions, thus building up their influence and leadership.

3. The Party understood the necessity of building bridges over which it can reach the masses. It has aided materially in the development of the Minority Movement in the trade unions and is devoting itself to the task of crystallising the Left Wing in the Labour Party. The systematic organisation of fractions in the trade unions, the co-operatives and the Labour Party has been an important factor in this work.

4. The tactics of the Party in persistently demanding affiliation to the Labour Party and the fight carried on against individual expulsions from the Labour Party shows that the Party fully recognises the importance of maintaining permanent contact between the vanguard of the working class and the masses of the labour movement.

5. The Party has achieved great success in combining the fight of the unemployed workers with that of the employed workers. This has been done through the setting up of unemployed organisations (while insisting on the unemployed retaining membership in the trade unions) by affiliating these unemployed organisations with the local labour bodies, and by setting up a national joint council of the unemployed and the trade union congress.

6. The Party has demanded continued active work on the part of its membership and thus, although a small party, has been able to bring to bear a high proportion of its proportionate strength.

7. The support developed for international trade union unity through the work of the Party, has strengthened this movement as expressed in the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Committee.

8. Through its continuous active support of the miners in their struggles the Party has won wide recognition amongst the miners as their only champion among the political parties in Great Britain in relation to the present prolonged crisis in the British Mining Industry.

9. By the continuous explanation to the British workers of the practical significance for their wages and general standard of living of the exploitation of the colonial workers the British Party has succeeded in creating for the first time a widespread realisation by the workers of the need of fighting imperialism. This realisation took shape in a series of actions bearing witness to important changes within the British Labour Movement (the substantial financial help given to the Indian textile workers, the material and moral support given the Chinese workers, the Scarborough resolution against Imperialism).

10. The Party has succeeded in drawing the attention of the masses of the workers to the importance of winning the soldiers over to their side, particularly in view of the impending capitalist offensive (The Open Letters to the General Council and the Labour Party Executive, the Communist Trial, and the workers' response).

### 5. The Tasks of the Communist Party.

1. The Party must continue to devote the maximum of attention to work in the trade unions which remain the chief field of mass work in Britain, and to give the utmost assistance to the Minority Movement. In this connection the systematic formation of Party fractions and their direction by efficiently working industrial departments in the locals and districts becomes more important than ever. In view of impending industrial struggles, work in the co-operatives also deserves special attention.

2. The task already begun of aiding in the crystallisation of the Left Wing in the Labour Party is of great importance for the development of the British movement and must be in the forefront of the work of the Party.

3. The British Party must continue its active support of international trade union unity, pointing out to the workers that the lowering of the standard of living of the European working class and the development of the industries of the colonies requires more than ever before; the unity of the British workers with all the workers in an all inclusive international federation of trade unions.

4. The British Party must take up actively the struggle of the oppressed peoples of the colonies and mobilise the British working masses in support of every revolt which develops against British imperialism. The British colonial policy in China is becoming one of direct intervention due to the antagonisms between American and British imperialism. It is the task of the British Party to arouse the British working class against such intervention. Further, the Party must continue and extend its fight to mobilise the British workers against the Dawes Plan and the Locarno Pact, the two instruments respectively intended to transform Germany into a colony of British and American imperialism and as a weapon against the Soviet Union.

5. The Party has made progress in establishing itself in the heart of the masses of the British workers through its factory groups. This work must be carried farther so as to achieve a complete organisation of the Party on the basis of factory groups.

6. The work of framing a land policy for Great Britain is a major task before the British Party. It must frame a tactical policy for the masses of agricultural labourers, small holders and small tenant farmers who are at present suffering from intensive exploitation and unite the struggle of the exploited sections with that of the industrial workers in a general drive against capitalism.

7. Great masses of the British workers are still dominated by parliamentary illusions and the traditions of liberalism. The Party must carry on an energetic campaign against the illusion that the British working class can gain its freedom through the bourgeois parliament, and must point out to the workers that the British capitalists will never permit the working class to take over and hold power through its own government without precipitating a direct conflict of forces outside of parliament. Further, the watchword of the general strike is winning more and more popularity amongst the workers, thereby bearing witness to their increasing activity. At the same time the Party should continue to point out that, while the general or mass strike is a powerful method of struggle against the capitalists and their government, the British capitalist class is already showing that it is prepared to resort to terror and civil war in order to break it. Therefore the Party must continue to explain to the British workers that the general strike cannot be successful unless the workers are prepared to break the armed violence of the capitalist class.

8. While the Party has made progress in developing its ideological influence among the British masses it has not yet succeeded in crystallising this influence into new membership for the Party. It is one of the most important phases of the work of the Party to raise the members in the immediate future. The Party should, if it takes up this work with determination, be able to at least double its membership during 1926.

9. A start has been made with the work amongst women and some successes have already attended the first efforts. This work must be developed especially among the women in the industry and among the wives affected by the first blow of the wage cutting offensive of capitalism. The Party should pay particular attention to trade union organisation of women working in the factories and also councils of the housewives to draw these women into support of the struggles of the workers.

10. The Party must give increased attention and support to the work of the Y. C. L. lending all possible assistance to the League in its campaigns for the organisation of young workers in trade unions and against militarism. Special attention must be given to the united front operations of the League with other working class youth organisations. Further the Party must assist in the organisation of factory groups and District Committees of the C. Y. L.



## Resolution on the American Question.

1. The Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern attaches specially great importance to the question of the creation of a real **proletarian mass party in America**. The hegemony of the imperialists of the United States of North America over the capitalist world renders the work of the American Communists an important and specially responsible one. The Communist Party of America is called upon to play a tremendous role, and in many respects even a decisive role. Even for that reason alone all the Sections of the Comintern, and the Comintern as a whole, will attentively follow the activity of the American Section and support it in every possible way.

2. At the same time, the Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern realises clearly the tremendous objective difficulties which the American Party must overcome during the next period of its development.

It is in America where reformism has developed its most hateful characteristics. The corruption of the upper strata of the working class by the bourgeoisie assumed particularly strong forms here because the American bourgeoisie has squeezed out heretofore unheard of extra profits: it had thus the opportunity of corrupting the labour aristocracy and availed itself of this opportunity on a broad scale.

In spite of this the American Communists, with correct tactics and with the support of the whole Comintern, will doubtlessly succeed in mastering all difficulties. It will succeed to rally broad masses of workers around its banner because the interests of these masses can never be identical with those of the demoralised and corruptible upper strata of the Labour aristocracy in the American Federation of Labour.

3. The first condition which puts the American Communist Party in a position to fulfil its historic mission, is the complete and absolute abandonment of the factional fight within the Party. The Enlarged Plenum of the Executive has reason to expect that the majority of the Central Committee will not misuse the apparatus and simply steam roller the Minority. Since there is no basis for doubting the loyalty of the latter toward the Comintern. The Communist International is firmly convinced that after the hard and tormenting factional fight which the American Communist Party has gone through, a renewal of the fight might ruin the Communist movement in America for a long time to come.

4. The Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern approves the policy laid down in the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in the Spring of 1925. The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. believes that any revision of this policy, in no case, has become necessary. The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. is of the opinion that there can be no question of a new change in the composition of the present Central Committee of the American Communist Party; the Party itself determines the composition of the C. C. at its Party Congress. The task of the Party consists in carrying out the established line in friendly cooperation, and in putting an end once and for all to the factional fight.

The Enlarged Executive Committee calls upon all members of the Party to support the Central Committee which in the short time of its existence has already succeeded in achieving substantial success in the unification of the Party. The C. E. C. has centralised, through energetic reorganisation, the Party which up to recently was divided into 18 language sections. The Party press also shows decided ideological improvements. In bringing new life into the Labour Party campaign and building the movement for the protection of foreign born workers, the Central Committee has correctly applied the united front tactics. The Central Committee has continued the campaign for bringing the Party members into the trade unions.

The Enlarged Executive Committee expects that the Central Committee and the whole Party membership will unitedly and sincerely carry out the decisions of the Enlarged Executive on the American question.

5. The Enlarged Executive finds correct the basic line of the Trade Union Resolution adopted unanimously by both tendencies at the last convention of the Workers Party. This resolution finds its further development in the present resolution of the Enlarged Executive.

The Plenum is of the opinion that resumption in any manner, of the fractional struggle on the question of the Party's tactic

on the field of the trade union movement would be greatly harmful.

6. The Enlarged Executive has the opinion that more attention must be paid to the trade union work than hitherto and that the C. C. of the American Communist Party should divide the work within its ranks in the following way: Comrade Foster and those of his followers who have close contact with the trade union movement, are to be primarily entrusted with the trade union work. Of course, none of the remaining Party members will be excluded from this work. For this purpose Comrade Foster and his followers must have the majority in the Trade Union Commission of the C. C., which will have the task of organising and guiding directly the trade union work of the Party members. It is necessary that the Trade Union Commission of the C. C. is given full freedom to exercise this function. It is, of course, self-understood that this work must be carried on in full contact and under the control of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the Party. The Enlarged Executive expects that the Political Bureau will not exercise that petty control. The C. I. in the resolution of the Org. Conference on the organisation of a trade union Commission has warned all the Sections against such petty control. The Enlarged Executive expects at the same time that no decision or no measure will be taken by the Trade Union Commission which will lead to a disorganisation, crossing, or confusing of the political and inner Party line of the Party.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern believes that the majority of the Central Committee must really give Comrade Foster and his closest comrades the opportunity of using their forces in this field. The attempt to fight Comrade Foster and those of his comrades, who on their part will desist from the fractional struggle, is in no case permissible.

Such a division of work within the leading circles of the American comrades is of specially great significance at this time; it must be put into effect in the near future, and must be conscientiously adhered to by all the comrades.

7. The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. deems it necessary to extend the composition of the present Polit-Bureau of the American Party, so that one more comrade from the Minority will be added.

8. The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. is of the opinion that the Party must devote more attention than heretofore to such decisive sections of the workers as the miners, the railroad workers, the metal workers, etc. Without neglecting the trade union work among the textile workers, garment workers, fur workers, etc. which has been carried on so far, the work among the great masses of workers in heavy industry must be taken up with the greatest energy, and gradually intensified. Not for one moment should one lose sight of the fact that in a country like America, the decisive section is the proletariat of heavy industry, and not the workers of light industry.

9. In the trade union tactic the Party must not content itself with work of ideological enlightenment, but has the task of applying the tactic of the united front everywhere. To gain mass influence, it is necessary, as a rule, to carry on patiently preparatory detailed work, and to conduct a tenacious fight for simple, concrete, every day demands of the workers in question, above all through local united front committees. Unprepared approach to the masses directly in the name of the Communist Party (which was done recently in the anthracite miners strike) does not lead to the desired results and must therefore be avoided. As soon as opportunities present themselves for gaining a leading position in a trade union by the application of the tactic of the united front, such opportunities must always be taken advantage of in a skilful manner. One of the most important tasks of the Communist Party is the struggle for power in the trade unions, which, of course, must be carried on in conformity with the principles and tactics of the Comintern and which must not be permitted to degenerate into an unprincipled chase after office.

In the formation and work of the Communist trade union fractions, the greatest care must be taken that the Communists never isolate themselves from the rest of the workers. Seccsional movements and the formation of parallel trade unions should not be instigated or encouraged in any form.

10. As far as the Trade Union Educational League is concerned, the Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. is of the opinion that its general programme must be radically revised. An organisation which is called upon to embrace not only Communist workers, but also sympathising and non-Party workers, cannot and should not officially have a purely Communist programme. This organisation must conduct its work in such a way that it **will really get the opportunity of carrying out the tactic of the United Front**, that is, it must put forward a number of immediate demands which will unite the Communist vanguard with the broad non-Party masses instead of repelling them.

1. It would be wrong to place the blame for the fact that the Party and the Trade Union Educational League made a number of mistakes in their programme and in their work on this or that individual, the mistakes, however, must be rectified at whatever cost.

The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. does not deem it necessary to change the name of the Trade Union Educational League immediately, but the character of the activity of the League and its programme must be brought into accord with the tasks of the tactic of the united front. The leading staff of the Trade Union Educational League must be changed in such a way that a much larger number of non-Party and sympathising leaders of the Trade Union movement are drawn into it. Comrade Foster must remain at the head of the Trade Union Educational League.

12. The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. relies on all the members of the American Party to carry out the adopted resolution conscientiously. The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. declares that the complete and unconditional abandonment of the factional struggle is a demand of the Comintern and that everyone who violates this demand, must reckon on the most serious consequences for himself.

Discussions are in the interests of the Party, when they serve to achieve ideological clarity, the deepening and strengthening of the Party and do not bring about the disorientation or disintegration of the Party.

13. One of the most important tasks of the Communist Party is to bring into the unions the hitherto unorganised millions of workers. This is a fundamental step towards the **revolutionising** of the American labour movement. The organising programme must be to build up the existing unions and to support the establishment of new unions in industries where no unions exist. An important phase of the campaign to organise the unorganised is the elimination of the company

unions. This must be achieved under the slogan "Destroy the company unions and build trade unions". Where the company unions have a mass character our comrades must penetrate these organisations, raise the demands of the workers, and utilise the resultant movement as a starting point for the formation of real trade unions.

14. Further the Party must devote more attention than heretofore to the work among the Negroes. This work will attain greater political significance from day to day.

15. The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. holds the view that the agrarian crisis, becoming again more acute, must induce the Party to devote the greatest attention to the **farmer problem**.

16. The Party must carry on an energetic campaign among the proletarian women so as to attract them to the trade unions and the class struggle.

17. Greater attention must be paid to the building of a mass Young Communist League and Pioneer movement. In the future the Communist Youth will serve as a reservoir of trained Party members. The slogan "A League organisation wherever a Party organisation exists", issued by the C. E. C. is correct and steps should now be taken to carry this into effect. Careful supervision and mutual agreement is necessary in transferring League members into Party work, especially at the present time when the League is still very weak.

18. The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. points out to the American Communist Party the tremendous importance which the Labour movement (and the movement for independence) is assuming in the countries of **South America**. There is no doubt that in the ensuing struggle for the overthrow of the imperialist yoke of the bourgeoisie of the United States, the working class and the peasantry of Latin America will play a tremendous role. The American Communist Party must not be a Party of self-centred interests, but must become a Party which understands how to raise the question of the hegemony of the proletariat in the whole movement for freedom, which is directed against the imperialists of the United States. Moreover, it is necessary that the Workers Party maintain the closest contact with the labour movement in the Colonies of Cuba, the Philippines, etc., and support them in their fight against American imperialism.

In view of this the Executive Committee of the Comintern instruct the Central Committee of the American Communist Party to devote the most serious attention to the tasks indicated and above all to appoint an earnest group of Party workers to participate in the current work in Latin America in agreement with the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

## Resolution on the Norwegian Question.

In the ranks of the Norwegian proletariat a strong desire for **working class unity** is becoming manifest. The workers are beginning to realise that they can defend themselves against unemployment, against wage reductions, against housing crises and against the general capitalist offensive, only if the whole working class marches with united forces against the Norwegian bourgeoisie. The Enlarged Executive of the Communist International welcomes this tendency towards unity and endorses the initiative of the Communist Party of Norway in its struggle to **found a Labour Party** as a united front organisation, which will embrace the trade unions and all workers' political parties.

The Enlarged Executive declares with the greatest emphasis in reply to all slanders, that for the C. I. the question of the L. P. is not a mere question of ambiguous "manoeuvring". The creation of a Labour Party signifies the rallying of all the forces of the Norwegian proletariat which must defend itself against the capitalist offensive.

All the Norwegian workers must understand the great political importance of the L. P. slogan. Primarily, however, the workers organised in the Communist Party of Norway must become conscious of the full historical import of this impulse towards unity in the ranks of the workers.

The Communist Party must become the driving force of this movement. Through the L. P. the closest contact will be established between the Communist Party, as the advance guard of the proletariat and the broad masses of workers.

The Party must understand that the fight for the creation of a L. P. in itself is of great importance. Tranmael issued the sanctimonious slogan for the "rallying of the workers in the Norwegian Workers' Party" purely to strengthen his own Party. Tranmael cannot postpone the disintegration of the Norwegian workers into the various opposition camps. This kind of "union" could, however, make no effective resistance against the capitalist offensive. The Tranmael slogan must therefore be opposed by the Labour Party slogan. Only, on the basis of the proletarian class struggle can the union of all trade unions and of the three parties, by maintenance of their independence, bring about a rallying of the working class which will fight to the end in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and its State power.

The Enlarged Executive declares that in the struggle of the Communist Party of Norway for the Labour Party, which in general has been conducted correctly, some comrades have made serious mistakes. It is a complete lack of understanding of the leading role of the Communist Party when it is suggested that the L. P. must be so formed that the Communist Party should join the Norwegian Workers' Party. Such a proposition, to give up the independence of the Communist Party and its affiliation with the III International, must of course, be flatly rejected by the Communist workers as a liquidatory tendency.

The Enlarged Executive of the C. I. declares its determined opposition to the false **Right interpretation of the L. P. slogan**. The Communist workers can under no circumstances sacrifice the most precious possession of the Norwegian working class, its Communist Party, its advance guard.

Just as the Right tendencies in the Party were caused by the powerful unity sentiment of the working class, **ultra-Left convulsions** were also produced in the Communist Party by this trend toward unity. The Right sentiments reacted on the desire for unity so that they were prepared to obliterate the political character of the Party, to let the Party dissolve completely in the mass. The ultra-Left sentiment, however, simply wanted to run away from the masses of workers, lest the "rallying disease" infect our Party. The Right tendency is injurious because it does not understand the leading role of the Party and the ultra-Left tendency sacrifices the contact of the Party with the masses.

The coalescence of the Norwegian labour movement in a united class front can be brought about only with the participation of the Communist Party, and the Communist Party can only then become the driving force of the rally if it does not surrender its independence, but becomes simultaneously the Party of the masses. The sound nucleus of workers of the Communist Party of Norway must finally overcome the Right and ultra-Left deviations which have revealed themselves in the fight for the Labour Party.

Even if the negotiations from above which were carried on for the formation of a L. P. at the initiative of the Secretariat of the Trade Union Federation, should be broken off by the foes of unity, this circumstance must not lead to the relinquishing of the fight for the L. P. **The fight for the L. P. is the best means for showing** how Communist workers should meet the unity sentiments of the masses, how they can bring about unity and at the same time fulfil the revolutionary role of the Communist Party. The fight for the L. P. is also the best suited to compel the Party members to go among the masses, and to become active especially in the trade unions, without the participation of which the formation of the L. P. is impossible.

Only by overcoming its passivity can the Party pull itself together and effectively carry on the struggle for the L. P. both in the local trade unions and Trade Union Council. **This fight must be linked up with the fight against high prices, unemployment and the housing crises.** It is extremely necessary that the Party combine in a programme of action the most important immediate demands of the working class with the most important political demands. The Party must thoroughly organise the Leninist education of its membership.

The situation of the Norwegian workers is serious. Great struggles on the part of the workers against the capitalist offensive will be unavoidable, but a large section of the workers does not realise this yet. The social backwardness of the country presses heavily upon the working class. The lack of revolutionary traditions makes the liberation of the working class from reformist illusions a tedious process. But the misery of the proletariat is increasing. The aggressiveness of the bourgeoisie is becoming more obvious from day to day. Only the rallying of the working class can break the united front of the bourgeoisie. The formation of a L. P. is the preliminary condition for the smashing of the capitalist offensive. **The Communist International calls on all the honest Norwegian workers to follow the Communist Party in its struggle for the L. P.**

## Resolution on the Chinese Question.

1. The Shanghai and Hong-Kong political strike of the Chinese workers (June-September, 1925) constitute a turning point in the liberation struggle of the Chinese people against the foreign imperialists. These strikes marked the beginning of a tremendous general-national movement under the slogans of national independence and a people's government. During this movement, the Chinese working class, organised in class trade unions and led by the Chinese Communist Party, appeared as the vanguard of the democratic mass movement, as the skirmisher and chief fighter for the independence of the country and for the establishment of a people's government. At the same time, this political activity of the Chinese proletariat under revolutionary-democratic slogans, particularly the subsequent economic strike struggle against the Chinese capitalists and the strengthening of the proletarian class organisations led to a de-stratification of the national-liberation movement, to the breaking away of certain elements of the Chinese large trading and industrial bourgeoisie from the proletariat.

2. The political activity of the proletariat gave a powerful stimulus to the subsequent development and strengthening of all revolutionary and democratic organisations throughout the country, primarily of the National Revolutionary Party — Kuomintang, and the revolutionary government in Canton. The Kuomintang Party, whose principal group entered into an alliance with the Chinese Communists, represents a revolutionary bloc of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and urban democracy on the basis of a community of the class interests of these strata in the struggle against the imperialists and the whole militarist-feudal order for the independence of the country and for a single revolutionary-democratic Government.

The revolutionary Government formed by the Kuomintang Party in Canton has already been able to establish contact with the broadest masses of workers, peasants and urban democracy, and with their support it has shattered the counter-revolutionary bands supported by the imperialists and is now conducting work for the radical democratisation of the whole political life of the Kwantung Province. The Canton Government, which is the vanguard in the liberation struggle of the Chinese people, serves as a model for the future revolutionary-democratic order of the whole country. The Communist Party and the Kuomintang should help in every way to extend the work of democratising the country on the lines of the Canton Government, organising democratic local organs in the various localities, introducing agrarian reforms, democratic freedom of speech, press, assembly, etc.

Various strata of the Chinese big bourgeoisie which temporarily had been grouped around the Kuomintang Party, have broken away during the last year resulting in the formation of small groups of the right Wing of Kuomintang which openly opposes the close alliance of Kuomintang with the toiling masses, which favours excluding the Communists from Kuomintang and combats the revolutionary policy of the Canton Government. The condemnation of this Right Wing at the Second Congress of Kuomintang (January 1926) and the confirmation of the necessity for a fighting alliance of Kuomintang with the Communists, strengthens the revolutionary trend of Kuomintang activity and of the Canton Government and ensures the Kuomintang the revolutionary support of the proletariat.

3. The growth of the mass national-liberation movement in China has still further increased the process of enfeeblement, disintegration and decline of the feudal Mukden and Chili military cliques which serve as the mainstay for the foreign imperialist domination of the country, and which, being constantly supported by the latter, comprise the main obstacle to the victory of the Chinese national-liberation movement.

On the basis of this decline and disintegration of the military-feudal cliques and of the growth of influence of the democratic organisations, the Chinese national-liberation movement has begun to form its own military forces in order to deal a decisive blow to the military-feudal cliques and to establish a base for the national independence of China against the foreign imperialists. In this respect the Canton Government

also created more consistent organisation forms of democratic military forces and of their correlation with the toiling masses of the population and the urban democracy. The formation of the People's Armies in Northern China and their struggle against the military-feudal cliques is an achievement of the national-liberation movement and, together with the Canton Army, serves as a basis for the formation of a revolutionary-democratic army for the whole of China. The task of the Chinese Communists, and of the Kuomintang, should be to give most decisive support to this work of forming military forces of the democratic revolution, and coupled with this the most persistent and determined work at revolutionising both the internal relationship in the army itself (its formations, selection and training of officers, serious organisation of political work) and its mutual relations with the masses of the population in the districts of the permanent or temporary terrain.

4. The growth of revolutionary-democratic tendencies in the Chinese national-liberation movement and the increase within it of the influence of the Chinese proletariat is closely connected with the tremendous moral and political support which the Chinese national-liberation movement receives from the world proletarian revolution through the Communist International and the toilers of the U. S. S. R. The struggle of the Chinese people against domination of the imperialists and the struggle of the entire world proletariat against these same imperialists are developing in close contiguity. The task of all sections of the Communist International should be to illustrate as widely as possible to the toiling masses of all imperialist countries the significance of the struggle which the Chinese toilers are conducting against the imperialists; there should be the most powerful support of this movement and a decisive struggle against all imperialist efforts to smash this movement by military intervention or blockade. This struggle should be conducted under the slogan "Hands off China!", of the recognition of the complete independence of China, abolition of all discriminatory treaties, evacuation from China of all troops of imperialist governments. At the same time, the Chinese Communists should explain to the toiling masses that only the Communist International, leading the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat, is the revolutionary ally of the Chinese toiling masses in their struggle for national and social emancipation. It is necessary to expose to the masses the entire treacherous nature of the conduct of the II International and Amsterdam in respect of the Chinese national-liberation movement, and their endeavours under the mask of benevolence to render support in reality to the imperialists by their efforts to liquidate the struggle of the Chinese people for independence.

5. The imperialists of various countries struggling to preserve their domination over China are striving to utilise the slight lull in the development of the mass national-liberation movement for a new attack on China, the main object of which is to smash the revolutionary-democratic centres and organisations. In the face of these new dangers, the Chinese Communist Party and Kuomintang should develop the widest possible political work, organising mass activities and support to the struggle of the Peoples' Armies, utilising the internal contradictions in the camp of the imperialists and counterposing them by a single national-revolutionary front of the widest strata of the population (workers, peasants, bourgeoisie) under the leadership of the revolutionary-democratic organisations.

6. The Chinese Communist Party can only execute the historical tasks confronting it — of leading the toiling masses of China in their struggle against the imperialists, if throughout the whole struggle, it will continually strengthen its organisation and influence as the class party of the Chinese proletariat and Section of the Communist International. The growth of the Chinese Communist Party to an independent Party has progressed considerably during the past year as a result of extensive economic and political strikes which have taken place under the leadership of the Party, but nevertheless the organisational process of formation of the Party is far from being completed. The political independence of the Chinese Communists will develop in the struggle against two equally harmful deviations: against right wing liquidationism which ignores the independent class tasks of

the Chinese proletariat and which leads to a formless merging with the general democratic national movement, and, against entire left moods which try to skip over the revolutionary-democratic stage of the movement straight to the tasks of proletarian dictatorship and Soviet power, forgetting all about the peasantry, which is the most important and decisive factor of the Chinese national-liberation movement. The tactical problems of the Chinese national-revolutionary movement, despite the very peculiar situation, very closely resemble the problems which faced the Russian proletariat in the period of the first Russian Revolution of 1905. The assimilation by the Chinese Communist Party of the lessons of this revolution, as formulated by Leninism, and the political and organisational strengthening of the Party will help considerably to overcome and avert the above-mentioned deviations from the correct tactical line.

7. The fundamental problem of the Chinese national-liberation movement is the peasant problem. The victory of the revolutionary-democratic tendencies of the Chinese national-liberation movement depends upon the degree in which the masses of the 400 million Chinese peasantry are drawn together with the Chinese workers and under their leadership into decisive revolutionary struggle. The Chinese peasantry live in incredibly bad conditions. The penetration of foreign capital into the country has undermined the patriarchal relations in the countryside. The extremely backward agricultural technique does not allow the ever-growing population of the country to subsist on the land. The competition of cheap foreign goods undermines the national handicraft trades. The continuous civil war between the imperialist cliques ultimately ruins the peasant masses. Tens of millions of peasants suffer from land famine, and pauperisation; they suffer from land shortage, slave lease conditions, and the money lending middlemen between the rich landowners and the mass of tenants. There is also the exhausting system of unbearable taxes with the established practice of assessing them several years in advance; there is widespread banditry and robbery on the part of the regular troops; there are special taxes on the articles of primary necessity, including a tax on salt established by foreign imperialists; there is the existence of customs barriers between countryside and town. All these factors are undermining the very economic foundations of the Chinese peasantry and transferring it into a colossal reservoir of revolutionary energy which may and must burst forth upon those to blame for all the miseries of the peasantry, upon the militarist cliques and the foreign imperialists. The masses of the peasantry still vividly remember the tremendous peasant wars, the risings of recent times (the rising of the Ti-Pings in the middle of the last century, the Boxer rebellion, etc.). In various districts the countryside is covered with a net-work of the most varying kinds of revolutionary peasant organisations, which from time to time have entered into an armed struggle against the oppressors. But in general the peasantry in China remains split and scattered, while the work of organising them has not yet proceeded far. The main task of the Chinese Communists and Kuomintang is to explain to the peasant masses throughout the whole of China that only the formation of an independent revolutionary-democratic government on the basis of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry can radically improve the material and political position of the peasantry, and draw the

peasant masses into an active struggle under fighting slogans which combine comprehensible and vital political and economic demands with the political tasks of the struggle against the militarists and imperialists. Here it should also be borne in mind that in the struggle against the relics of the military-feudal regime and against imperialism, the Chinese peasantry will not act as a unit for a long time. Therefore, taking into account the existence of various strata amongst the peasantry and in endeavouring to bring them nearer to the proletarian and semi-proletarian strata of the countryside and their organisations, it is necessary to unite all existing peasant organisations in the countryside into common revolutionary centres (see Theses on the Peasant Question passed at the Session of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern in April 1925) which would be capable of rousing the whole peasantry to an armed struggle against the militarists and against the administrators, middlemen and gentry who bolster up the semi-feudal order in the villages.

8. In the labour movement the C. P. C. should endeavour to extend the economic struggle for improvement of the extremely bad position of the workers, and for the strengthening and development of the trade union movement. The trade unions, led by the C. P. C. should continue the determined and sustained participation in the whole general-revolutionary struggle, but at the same time they must become genuine economic organisations of the workers, keenly serving the every-day needs of the workers and leading their struggles against the foreign and Chinese capitalists. It is necessary to strengthen the trade unions, to secure legal existence for them, to re-organise them on an industrial basis, organise delegate meetings, factory committees. At the same time the Party should form its own Party fractions within the Trade Unions, thus strengthening its influence in the unions.

9. The C. P. C. should pay particular attention to all attempts on the part of international reformism to create for itself points of vantage among the Chinese proletariat and in the national-liberation movement. We may look for an offensive of all groupings of international reformism on China, from the extreme Right in the form of American and Japanese Gompersism right up to the so-called Left Wing (headed by Otto Bauer). To counteract the propaganda which will be conducted by all these groups under the slogan of pacifism and democracy and which will serve as a screen for the offensive of American capital, the C. P. C. should develop an extensive explanatory campaign on the treacherous role of international reformism which in the East will endeavour to become the mainstay of imperialism in its struggle against the liberation movement of the toiling masses.

10. The Chinese Communist Party must become the mass organisation of the Chinese proletariat. Its growth during the past year, in view of the existence of class trade unions uniting hundreds of thousands of workers, has certainly been inadequate. The Chinese Communist Party must outlive as soon as possible the narrow sectarian views concerning membership of rank and file workers in the Communist Party. All superfluous, formal obstacles to the entry of workers into the Party must be removed. Only on the basis of extending and consolidating its ranks will the Party be assured of its leadership of the movement.

## **Resolution on the Development of Methods and Forms of the Organisation of the Masses under the Influence of the Communist Parties.**

1. Since the work initiated by the III. World Congress for the capture of broad masses of the proletariat under the influence of the Communist Parties has already achieved considerable political successes in many capitalist countries through the application of united front tactics, the time has now come to turn also special attention to the task of the **organisational utilisation and extension of this influence**. If our Parties fail to understand this task, they will not in the present epoch be in a position to prevent the constant diversion of a considerable part of the already acquired mass influence out of

their hands which will necessitate renewed efforts to win it back again. Our Parties should secure the consolidation and steady extension of their mass influence through the application and development of suitable organisational methods and forms.

Although this work for the organisation of the mass influence of the Communist Parties has already been taken hand in almost all capitalist countries, it has hitherto been conducted in an unsystematic and mostly inadequate manner. Henceforth, the methods and forms of this will have

systematically developed on all fields in accordance with Lenin's precepts concerning the art of organisation: "To use everything and everyone" in the proletarian class struggle, not only to organise adequately the work of Party members, but also to draw as many as possible of the other active forces of the proletariat, and even of the most progressive elements of the peasantry and middle class into the regular work connected with agitation and mobilisation of the broad masses.

2. The organisation of mass campaigns, demonstrations and united front actions is already a task which every Communist Party must learn to understand and to carry out better. But this alone is not enough. In connection with all such movements one must be able to draw from the masses participating in them the most active non-Party, syndicalist and Socialist Democratic elements in order to incorporate them in various committees of action and agitation committees, or in other united front organs, which can serve as organisational bases for further mass movements and for the further extension of influence over the masses. Such united front committees especially local committees (and those formed in the factories) represent almost on all the fields of work one of the most natural organisational forms for the activity of our Party members outside their own Party organisation.

Such committees may be formed for various temporary objects and also for periodical eventualities (unemployed committees), they may also be of a more or less permanent type (as for instance the agitation committees in the factories in Italy). In cases where they have been formed for temporary purposes, investigations should be made from time to time whether it would not be desirable to encourage these to permanent activity for other slogans. It behoves Communists to give constant guidance to these united front organs in their activity, to keep them in contact with one another and to co-ordinate their work. In such cases where a major interest demands it, international connections can be established with the consent of the respective Parties and the E. C. C. I.

3. On all fields of the labour movement, in the ranks of trade unions, co-operatives, workers' sport leagues, and in mass organisations for workers' education, etc., Communist fractions and the entire Communist work must be organised so as not to isolate the Communists thereby. On the contrary, our Party comrades must be kept continuously in contact with as many non-Party, syndicalist and Social Democratic workers as possible in order to stimulate their activity and to gain permanent influence over them. On each field of activity special organisational methods and forms can be developed for this purpose; but everywhere special conscious efforts must be made to organise a big Left mass movement which is inseparably bound up with the more or less invisible Communist fraction. The same applies also to work in the factory councils and, under special conditions, in the so-called "Labour Parties".

In many countries important mass organisations have arisen on the basis of post-war economy (organisations of war victims, inflation victims, tenants' societies, etc.) in the ranks of which Communists must work. In order to draw the most active forces of proletarian women into regular revolutionary work, the method of women delegate meetings should be applied everywhere most energetically and in a suitable form.

The organisation of our mass influence in the peasant movement, and, under particular circumstances, in the ranks of the national revolutionary movement demands special methods and forms.

4. A very important form of organisation of Communist mass influence are the sympathising mass organisations for definite special purposes. They can be either autonomous or independent organisations, but must be in reality under Communist leadership. Their organisational form must be as elastic as possible. Side by side with individual membership the method of collective membership should be used. In each country special understanding shall be reached with the Party Executive as to which of these organisations should be authorised to solicit the collective affiliation of the trade unions.

Of the already existing sympathising mass organisations the Aid is the organisation whose work must be supported primarily by the Communists. Of considerable importance is participation by Communists in the work of organisa-

tions which, as for instance the Workers' International Relief, have developed as independent non-Party organisations and which today embrace broad masses.

Peace societies against war, organisations against colonial atrocities and oppression of Eastern peoples are new types of sympathising mass organisations which will come to consideration in many countries in the immediate future. In countries where large sections of workers and peasants are in sympathy with Soviet Russia (especially in connection with a workers' delegation campaign) the formation of societies of working class friends of the New Russia may come into question. Under certain circumstances proletarian self-defence organisations also find favour among the masses and thereby assume great importance (as for instance the Red Front Fighters' League in Germany). Moreover, it may be expedient in various countries to organise smaller sympathising organisations such as workers' clubs, labour headquarters societies, workers' educational and students' societies, etc.

5. Formally non-Party publishing activity on a large scale, partly through sympathising mass organisations and partly through special publishing societies is in many capitalist countries an expedient and effective means for the consolidation and extension of Communist mass influence. The publishers, however, must thoroughly understand the selection of generally comprehensible scientific literature, popular illustrated workers' periodicals, popular calendars, revolutionary fiction, etc., in the interest of the revolutionisation of the masses. They must also understand the organisation of a suitable apparatus for extensive circulation. This circulation apparatus in itself can become an important "sympathising organisation".

6. All the methods and forms of organisation of our mass influence must be properly concretised and adapted to the conditions prevailing in the various countries. Here least of all is there any room for lifeless schematism. Moreover, this work requires that every Party should select as systematically as possible the next immediate tasks on which it proposes to concentrate its activity. No good can be achieved by an un-systematic splitting up of active Communist forces by using them simultaneously on too many new fields of activity.

7. It is particularly important that the illegal Communist Parties work energetically for the organisation of revolutionary work among the masses. This task, if properly understood, is in no sense an obstacle in the way of the steady consolidation of their Party organisation, but on the contrary, widens their opportunities. Illegal Parties should, to a much greater extent than hitherto, apply open forms for the organisation of the mass movement. They should carry on a steady and persistent struggle for the extension of legal and practical possibilities for participation in all mass movements of the proletariat.

8. The entire work of the Communists among the masses is under the political control of the leading Party organs, in accordance with the decisions and directions of the E. C. C. I. The political and tactical lines on which the leading Party organs work should be specially adapted as closely as possible to the various individual branches of work, and attention should be drawn not only to the correct line but also to the perils of deviations involved in the work. The Party organs should assign Party members to the various branches of mass activity and to exercise continuous control over the execution of their work. (Obligatory regular reporting, etc.)

Party Executives should not overlook the fact that a considerable number of our Party members in all the capitalist countries have not yet fully understood the obligations as emphasised by the III. World Congress, under which every Communist is to do his share of work; and also that they consider as Party work only work within the Communist Party organisation. Therefore, it is essential to impress on every member of a Party nucleus or a Communist fraction that his work among non-Party, Social Democratic, syndicalist workers (in factories, trade unions, co-operatives, workers' sport organisations, working women's organisations, sympathising mass organisations, etc. and also among the peasantry), is also Party work and that for the majority of Party members it must even be considered as the most important part of Party work. They should be careful not to lose their identity in the masses but should act as revolutionary organisers of mass activity.

# Resolution on the Question of Reorganisation of the Work of the E. C. C. I.

1. The work of the Executive Committee of the C. I. must become more systematic. The strongest Sections of the C. I. must be drawn into the direct leadership of the C. I. much more than heretofore. The reorganisation of the work of the Executive in this direction, which is not only of organisational but also of great political significance, is absolutely necessary for the following reasons:

The work of the E. C. C. I. must be much more closely connected with the Sections of the C. I. than formerly. The Sections must help more intensively in the solution of international problems, for only thus can a more rapid and normal development of the Communist Parties be attained. The greater collaboration of the Sections in the leadership of the C. I. is the prerequisite for giving the Parties the training necessary to enable them to assume leadership of the revolutionary movement in their own countries.

The more active collaboration of all Sections in the work of the E. C. C. I. will also require the selection of leadership both on an international and a national scale. It will develop the initiative of the Parties and their leadership, and will acquaint the masses of Party membership with an understanding of the problems of the Communist International to a greater degree than hitherto. Finally, the more active and intensive collaboration of all the sections in the work of the E. C. C. I. will also strengthen the recruiting power of the Communist Parties among the non-Party masses.

Development in this direction is already possible and necessary, since in the most important countries there are well-established Communist Parties which have revolutionary experience of six or seven and which have become internally consolidated.

On the basis of these considerations, the Plenum of the Enlarged Executive approves of the initiative displayed in the resolution of the Fourteenth Congress of the C. P. of the Soviet Union, which reads:

"The Congress instructs the C. P. S. U. Delegation to bring about a strengthening of the apparatus of the C. I. and to conduct a policy to increase the influence of the non-Russian Communist Parties in the leadership of the C. I."

The Enlarged Executive asserts that this initiative is completely in accord with the tendency of earlier decisions of the Comintern.

It is a matter of course that the C. I. must always remain as heretofore a centralised world Party. But the Parties must rely more upon their own forces. This applies especially in the question of the choice of the personnel of the leading organs of the Sections of the C. I.

To realise this reorganisation of the work of the E. C. C. I., the Plenum of the Enlarged Executive makes it incumbent upon the larger Sections of the C. I., the German, French and Italian Sections to appoint 2 representatives each, and the other larger Parties (including the Oriental Parties) one representative each, who will participate in the work of the E. C. C. I. for a period of at least six months.

The Enlarged Executive instructs the E. C. C. I. to carry out these measures immediately and unconditionally.

To carry out this reorganisation, the Plenum of the Enlarged Executive instructs the E. C. C. I., in its first session after the Enlarged Executive, to reconstitute the Presidium, the Org. Bureau and the Secretariat as well as the Budget Commission of the E. C. C. I.

2. The Plenum of the Enlarged Executive instructs the E. C. C. I. to formulate its work in the future more methodically and systematically. For this purpose the Plenum of the Enlarged Executive strongly approves of the correctness of the principles of the project formulated by the Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. for the reorganisation of the work of the E. C. C. I. The E. C. C. I.

must hold regularly, once a month, a session attended by all members present in Moscow. To decide the most important political and principal questions, a full meeting of the E. C. C. I. must be called once every three months, must be attended by the entire membership of the E. C. C. I. The meetings of the Presidium and Org-Bureau of the E. C. C. I. must also be organised regularly. The Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. must be enlarged and organised on the basis of national secretariats.

The work of the C. I. should be regulated by means of plans of work. The Sections of the C. I. must submit to the E. C. C. I. a report of their activity and plans of work once every three months. The Org. Bureau of the E. C. C. I. regularly examines such plans of work of the auxiliary organisations of the C. I. and of the Departments of the E. C. C. I. The Org. Bureau of the E. C. C. I. must regularly investigate not only the structure of the Parties, but also their whole organisational activity and the distribution of the press and Party literature of the Sections. The E. C. C. I. must carefully study the programmes of action of the Parties.

The problems of the Oriental peoples, in view of their new great significance, shall in future occupy much more place in the work of the Executive than hitherto.

The Enlarged Executive approves the measures undertaken by the E. C. C. I. to inaugurate International Lenin Courses, and puts the responsibility on the Parties to carry out the rules laid down by the Presidium.

In formulating the general plan of work of the E. C. C. I., the next World Congress of the C. I. must naturally play the chief role. The Plenum of the Enlarged Executive considers it desirable to convene the Sixth World Congress of the E. C. C. I. if possible February-March 1927, and authorises the E. C. C. I. to fix the date finally. The Congress must be carefully prepared by the E. C. C. I. Its agenda can naturally not be finally determined, at this time, yet all the material in connection with the fundamental questions of our policy (trade union questions, peasant question, national question, etc.) must be collected and studied and submitted in due time for discussion by the Sections. The E. C. C. I. should make all preparations for the treatment at the Sixth World Congress of the question of the C. I. programme. For this purpose, the Plenum instructs the E. C. C. I. to appoint a permanent authoritative commission which shall undertake the guidance of the discussion in the various Sections on the draft programme of the C. I.

3. The strengthening of the apparatus of the Executive in this manner will make possible an intensive control of carrying out of the decisions of the C. I. The E. C. C. I. and Sections of the Comintern must take measures to develop a system of reports from the lowest nuclei up to the Party Executive, from the Party Executives to the E. C. C. I. Only on basis of closest relations, is the realisation possible of the Bolshevik principle of control over the execution of decisions. The Enlarged Executive instructs the E. C. C. I., carefully and vigorously to control the carrying out of the decisions of the Fifth World Congress as well as of the decisions of the Enlarged Executive. As an example of the matters to be thus controlled, the following might be mentioned:

The carrying out of international campaigns; the Bolshevik training of the membership; the carrying out of the reorganisation of the Parties; the training of new Party functionaries; the carrying out of normalisation in inner Party life; the carrying out of the decision that each Party member join the trade union; the application of the tactics of the united front, etc.

At congresses of the Sections reports on the activity of the E. C. C. I. should be given.

The E. C. C. I. is instructed to organise this control step, but systematically.

# Reply to the Memorandum of the Right Group in the C. P. Cz.

(B. Hula, K. Vanek, I. Handler, I. Hora, M. Vanek, L. Gorlich, P. Friedrich.)

Having considered the memorandum submitted by the Hula group, which seeks to discredit the C. C. of C. P. Cz., the Enlarged Executive rejects most emphatically this memorandum and expresses its approval of the activity of the C. C. of the C. P. Cz. and of the reply given in this memorandum by the delegation of the C. P. Cz.

Since the V Enlarged Executive the C. P. Cz. has achieved very important successes.

Basing itself on the decision of the Enlarged Executive and on the internal Party bloc, proposed by the Executive, the C. C., by its firm and sensible policy, has been able to lead the Party out of a very critical position without serious disturbance.

The Party turned away quite definitely from avowed and covert Bubnikists, and at its III Party Congress in September 1925, at which the Right had hardly any representation, since it had no support in the Party, showed every sign of complete unanimity, revolutionary steadfastness, and unconditional loyalty to the Communist International.

After a brilliantly conducted election campaign, the C. P. Cz. won a big victory at the elections, polling about one million votes and becoming the second biggest Party in Czechoslovakia. The Party also carried out a series of campaigns which met with popular response from the masses and helped them to understand and assimilate Communist slogans and ideas. Amongst these was the campaign which the Party carried out in connection with the proposal of the Czech Social Democrats for the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government, the united front campaign which is still going on in connection with the proposal made by the German reformist trade unions and Social Democrats, and also the campaign on the national question in connection with the negotiations of the government coalition with the Hlinka Party. The Party was also very successful in its work of reorganisation, its work among the peasantry, in the cooperative movement and other branches of its activity.

On the field of the trade union movement, — the most important but at the same time most complicated and difficult work in Czechoslovakia — the achievements are not very great. But on this field the Party met with most determined opposition and even direct sabotage on the part of the Right elements, particularly on the part of one of the authors of the memorandum, Comrade Handler, who among other things, in spite of the denials of the Comintern, Profintern and the Party, prevented affiliation of the Woodworkers' Union to the I. A. V. In order to make progress on the trade union field, the Party must at all costs break down the opposition of the Right elements who have entrenched themselves there.

The memorandum either ignores the successes of the Party or distorts them. Thus, the Party's successes at the elections, which are even admitted by its opponents, the authors of the memorandum seek to minimise through cunning arithmetical tricks, failing to take into consideration the entire preceding history of the Party and the complicated conditions under which the Communist Party had to struggle against the strongly welded anti-Communist bloc which stopped short not even at basest calumny and most brutal persecutions.

It is also asserted that the Party spurns work in the factory committee movement, and yet real successes have also been achieved on this field: for instance a big campaign is now proceeding for the convention of a joint congress of representatives of industry, workshop and mines committees, and a similar movement may be recorded among the metal workers. The factory workshop committees were also drawn into the struggle against the introduction of the tax on wages. The factory committees publish a newspaper, "United Front". They also organise the tour of the Czechoslovakian workers' delegation as well as preliminary and report campaigns connected with this

On the whole, the document presented by the Right is full of uncomradely carping criticism whilst these same comrades have done nothing to help the Party solve the extremely difficult tasks with which it is confronted.

The authors of the memorandum are endeavouring to dissociate themselves from Bubnik, asserting that they did not give him any support and that the Bubnik question in general is of no particular importance to the Party (whilst in reality, this was a life and death question for the Party). These assertions are contrary to the facts. When the campaign against Bubnik was at its height, Hula, in the nucleus of the Editorial Board of the "Rude Pravo", brought forward a resolution in which he objected to Bubnik's expulsion. Moreover, Hula's views, which found a reflex in the memorandum, coincide entirely with the views of Bubnik and Co.; in the question of the causes of the crisis in the Party, and in the appraisal of the V Congress of the Comintern (relapse of "Infantile Diseases of Leftism") and in other questions.

Even after the Enlarged Executive, the Right group (Skalia, Kovanda) endeavoured, at a meeting of responsible workers in Kladno, to carry a resolution condemning the decisions of the Enlarged Executive.

Even until now the authors of the memorandum consider incorrect the decision of the Enlarged Executive to form an internal Party bloc, and have not discarded a single one of their erroneous views. On the contrary: they are endeavouring to make it appear that the Comintern is coming closer to their views and that it was only quite recently that the Comintern realised the necessity of struggle against ultra-Left deviations.

"At present" — says the memorandum — "when the Executive Committee of the Comintern has published its 'Open Letter' to the German Party, and when it has initiated a serious struggle against the relapse to petty-bourgeois revolutionism, and the basis of one of the most important sections has been straightened, all these questions in the C. P. Cz. can be solved in a more business-like manner than before — than in this period of acute crisis in a considerable number of sections of the Comintern."

Here, just as in a number of other countries, the Right endeavour to make use of the "Open Letter" to the C. P. of Germany for their own factional aims, they endeavour to make it appear as if in Czechoslovakia, just like in Germany, the menace to the Party was not from the Right but from the "Left". But already the preceding Enlarged Executive of the Comintern pointed out that the entire development of the C. P. Cz. and the entire national and international situation (the origin of the Party, the national peculiarities of the country, its provincialism, its position as a small country surrounded by big countries with antagonistic interests) — exposes the Party to the peril of opportunist (Right) deviations. Therefore the attempt of the Right to make use of the "Open Letter" for its factional aims is an improper one, as is also the attempt quite clearly revealed in the memorandum to utilise the discussion which took place at the XIV Congress of the C. P. S. U.

The Enlarged Executive condemns most emphatically these attempts, as well as the entire memorandum, which must be regarded as the endeavour of the Hula Group to create for itself a factional platform. This makes it uncumbent on the C. C. of the C. P. Cz. to carry on as before a most energetic struggle against this group, which although insignificant in numerical strength and influence is nevertheless an organised faction which cannot be tolerated. Those who want to remain loyal to the Comintern and to fulfil its directions, those who wish to work in the Party and in the C. C. sincerely and in a disciplined manner must be utilised by the Party, but an end must be put once and for all to any attempt to continue the faction work.

Long live the bolshevik unity of the Communist Party!  
Long live the Communist International!