

Workers of the World Unite!

**Statutes, Theses**  
*and*  
**Conditions of Admission**  
*to the*  
**Communist International**

Adopted by the  
**Second Congress of the Communist International**  
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## Join the Workers' Party

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**T**HE WORKERS' PARTY OF AMERICA was organized on December 24 to 27, 1921, at a convention held in New York City by several groups of Left Wing Socialists and Communists, representing about five thousand dues paying members. It is rapidly growing and at the present (March, 1923) its dues paying membership is well over twenty thousand.

The Workers' Party declares that the existing government is a dictatorship of the capitalists. Today in the United States a comparatively small group of capitalists, with headquarters on Wall Street, control the government. Through the capitalist government this group of financial and industrial kings enforce their will upon the thirty million workers and their families. The Workers' Party carries on propaganda to bring to the workers an understanding of the necessity of supplanting the existing capitalist government with a working class government—a Soviet government.

It will be the task of the government of the thirty million workers of this country to take from the capitalists the control and ownership of the raw materials and machinery of production upon which the workers are dependent for their life, liberty and happiness, and to establish collective ownership.

Together with this collective ownership the Workers' Government will as quickly as possible develop the management of the industries by the workers.

The Workers' Party declares its sympathy with the principles of the Communist International and enters the struggle against American capitalism, the most powerful of the capitalist groups, under the inspiration and leadership of the Communist International.

It rallies to the call "WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE."

## STATUTES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

In London in 1864 was established the first International Association of Workers, latterly known as the First International. The statute of the International Association of Workers reads as follows:

“That the emancipation of the working class is to be attained by the working class itself;

That the struggle for the emancipation of the working class does not mean a struggle for class privileges and monopolies but a struggle for equal rights and equal obligations, for the abolition of every kind of class-domination;

That the economic subjection of the worker under the monopolists of the means of production, i. e., of the sources of life is the cause of servitude in all its forms, the cause of all social misery, all mental degradation and political dependence.

That the economic emancipation of the working class is therefore the great aim which every political movement must be subordinated to;

That all endeavors for this great aim have failed as yet because of the lack of solidarity between the various branches of industry in all countries, because of the absence of the fraternal tie of unity between the working classes of the different countries;

That the emancipation is neither a local nor a national problem but a problem of a social character embracing every civilized country, the solution of which depends on the theoretical and practical co-operation of the most progressive countries;

That the actual simultaneous revival of the workers' movement into the industrial countries of Europe, on the one hand, awakens new hopes, while, on the other hand, it is a solemn warning of the danger of relapse into the old errors and an appeal for an immediate union of the hitherto disconnected movement.”

The Second International which was established in 1889 at Paris had undertaken to continue the work of the First International. In 1914, at the outbreak of the world slaughter, it

suffered a complete failure. Undermined by opportunism and damaged by the treason of its leaders who had taken the side of the bourgeoisie—the Second International perished.

The Third Communist International which was established in March, 1919, in the capital of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, in the city of Moscow, solemnly proclaims before the entire world that it takes upon itself to continue and to complete the great cause begun by the First International Workers' Association.

The Third Communist International was formed at a moment when the Imperialist slaughter of 1914-1918, in which the Imperialist bourgeoisie of the various countries had sacrificed twenty million men, came to an end.

Keep in mind the Imperialist war! This is the first appeal of the Communist International to every toiler wherever he may live and whatever language he may speak. Keep in mind that owing to the existence of the capitalist system a small group of Imperialists had the opportunity during four long years to compel the workers of various countries to cut each other's throats. Keep in mind that the bourgeois war has cast Europe and the entire world into a state of extreme destitution and starvation. Keep in mind that unless the capitalist system is overthrown the repetition of such criminal war is not only possible but inevitable.

The Communist International makes its aim to put up an armed struggle for the overthrow of the International bourgeoisie and to create an International Soviet Republic as a transition stage to the complete abolition of the State. The Communist International considers the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only means for the liberation of humanity from the horrors of capitalism. The Communist International considers the Soviet form of government as the historically evolved form of this dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Imperialist war is responsible for the close union of the fates of the workers of one country with the fates of the workers of all other countries. The imperialist war emphasizes once more what is pointed out in the statute of the First International: that the emancipation of labor is neither a local, nor a national task, but one of a social and international character.

The Communist International once for ever breaks with the traditions of the Second International which in reality only re-

cognized the white race. The Communist International makes it its task to emancipate the workers of the entire world. The ranks of the Communist International fraternally unite men of all colors: white, yellow, and black—the toilers of the entire world.

The Communist International fully and unreservedly upholds the gains of the great proletarian revolution in Russia, the first victorious socialist revolution in the world's history, and calls upon all workers to follow the same road. The Communist International makes it its duty to support with all the power at its disposal every Soviet Republic, wherever it may be formed.

The Communist International is aware that for the purpose of a speedy achievement of victory the International Association of Workers, which is struggling for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Communism, should possess a firm and centralized organization. To all intents and purposes the Communist International should represent a single universal Communist party, of which the parties operating in every country form individual sections. The organized apparatus of the Communist International is to secure to the toilers of every country the possibility at any given moment of obtaining the maximum of aid from the organized workers of the other countries.

For this purpose the Communist International confirms the following items of its statutes:

§ 1. The new International Association of Workers is established for the purpose of organizing common activity of the workers of various countries who are striving towards a single aim: the overthrow of capitalism; the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the International Soviet Republic; the complete abolition of classes, and the realization of socialism—the first step of Communist Society.

§ 2. The new International Association of Workers has been given the name of The Communist International.

§ 3. All the parties and organizations comprising the Communist International bear the name of the Communist party of the given country (section of the Communist International).

§ 4. The World Congress of all parties and organizations which form part of the Communist International, is the supreme organ of this International. The World Congress confirms the programmes of the various parties comprising the Communist International. The World Congress discusses and decides the

more important questions of programme and tactics, which are connected with the activity of the Communist International. The number of decisive votes at the World Congress for every party and organization is determined by a special regulation of the Congress; it is found necessary to strive for a speedy establishment of a standard of representation on the basis of the actual number of the members of the organization and the real influence of the party in question.

§ 5. The World Congress elects an Executive Committee of the Communist International which serves as the leading organ of the Communist International in the interval between the convention of World Congresses, and is responsible only to the World Congress.

§ 6. The residence of the Executive Committee of the Communist International is every time decided at the World Congress of the Communist International.

§ 7. A Special World Congress of the Communist International may be convened either by regulation of the Executive Committee, or at the demand of one-half of the number of the parties which were part of the Communist International at the last World Congress.

§ 8. The chief bulk of the work and greatest responsibility in the Executive Committee of the Communist International lie with the party of that country where, in keeping with the regulation of the World Congress, the Executive Committee finds its residence at the time. The party of the country in question sends to the Executive Committee not less than five members with a decisive vote. In addition to this, one representative with a decisive vote is sent to the Communist International from ten or twelve of the largest communist parties. The list of these representatives is to be confirmed by the Universal Congress of the Communist International. The remaining parties and organizations forming part of the Communist International enjoy the right of sending to the Executive Committee one representative each with a consultative vote.

§ 9. The Executive Committee is the leading organ of the Communist International between the conventions; the Executive Committee publishes in no less than four languages the central organ of the Communist International (the periodical "The Communist International"). The Executive Committee makes the necessary appeals on behalf of the Communist International, and

issues instructions obligatory on all the parties and organizations which form part of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International enjoys the right to demand from the affiliated parties the exclusion of groups of members who are guilty of the infringement of international proletarian discipline, as well as the exclusion from the Communist International of parties guilty of the infringement of the regulations of the World Congress. In the event of necessity the Executive Committee organizes in various countries its technical and auxiliary bureaus, which are entirely under the control of the Executive Committee.

§ 10. The Executive Committee of the Communist International enjoys the right to include in its ranks representatives of organizations and parties not accepted in the Communist International, but which are sympathetic towards communism; these are to have a consultative vote only.

§ 11. The organs of all the parties and organizations forming part of the Communist International as well as of those which are recognized sympathizers of the Communist International, are obliged to publish all official regulations of the Communist International and of its Executive Committee.

§ 12. The general state of things in the whole of Europe and of America makes necessary for the communists of the whole world an obligatory formation of illegal communist organizations along with those existing legally. The Executive Committee should take charge of the universal application of this rule.

§ 13. All the most important political relations between the individual parties forming part of the Communist International will generally be carried on through the medium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In cases of exigency direct relations will be established, with the provision, however, that the Executive Committee of the Communist International shall be informed of them at the same time.

§ 14. The Trade Unions that have accepted the Communist platform and are united on an international scale under the control of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, form Trade Union Sections of the Communist International. The Communist Trade Unions send their representatives to the World Congresses of the Communist International through the medium of the Communist parties of their respective countries. Trade Union sections of the Communist International delegate a rep-

representative with decisive vote to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International enjoys the right of sending a representative with decisive vote, to the Trade Union section of the Communist International.

§ 15. The International League of Communist Youth is subordinate to the Communist International and its Executive Committee. One representative of the Executive Committee of the International League of Communist Youth with a decisive vote is delegated to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International, on the other hand, enjoys the right of sending a representative with a decisive vote to the Executive organ of the International League of Youth. Organization relations between the League of Youth and the Communist party are basically defined in every country after the same system.

§ 16. The Executive Committee of the Communist International confirms the International Secretary of the Communist Women's Movement, and organizes a women's section of the Communist International.

§ 17. In case a member of the Communist International goes to another country, he is to have the fraternal support of the local members of the Third International.

## THE FUNDAMENTAL TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

### Theses Adopted by the Second Congress.

1. A characteristic feature of the present moment in the development of the international Communist movement is the fact that in all the capitalist countries the best representatives of the revolutionary proletariat have completely understood the fundamental principles of the Communist International, namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of the Soviets; and with a loyal enthusiasm have placed themselves on the side of the Communist International. A still more important and great step forward is the unlimited sympathy with these principles manifested by the wider masses not only of the proletariat of the towns, but also by the advanced portion of the agrarian workers.

On the other hand two mistakes or weaknesses in the extraordinarily rapidly increasing international Communist movement have shown themselves. One very serious weakness directly dangerous to the success of the cause of the liberation of the proletariat consists in the fact that some of the old leaders and old parties of the Second International—partly half-unconsciously yielding to the wishes and pressure of the masses, partly consciously deceiving them in order to preserve their former role of agents and supporters of the bourgeoisie inside the Labor movement—are declaring their conditional or even unconditional affiliation to the Third International, while remaining, in reality, in the whole practice of their party and political work, on the level of the Second International. Such a state of things is absolutely inadmissible, because it demoralizes the masses, hinders the development of a strong Communist Party, and lowers their respect for the Third International by threatening repetition of such betrayals as that of the Hungarian Social-Democrats, who had rapidly assumed the disguise of Communists. The second much less important mistake, which is, for the

most part, a malady inherent in the party growth of the movement, is the tendency to be extremely "left," which leads to an erroneous valuation of the role and duties of the party in respect to the class and to the mass, and of the obligation of the revolutionary Communists to work in the bourgeois parliaments and reactionary labor unions.

The duty of the Communists is not to gloss over any of the weaknesses of their movement, but to criticize them openly, in order to get rid of them promptly and radically. To this end it is necessary, 1) to establish concretely, especially on the basis of the already acquired practical experience, the meaning of the terms: "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and "Soviet Power"; and, 2) to point out what could and should be in all countries the immediate and systematic preparatory work to realizing these formulas; and, 3) to indicate the ways and means of curing our movement of its defects.

## I. THE SUBSTANCE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND OF THE SOVIET POWER.

2. The victory of Socialism over Capitalism—as the first step to Communism—demands the accomplishment of the three following tasks by the proletariat, as the only really revolutionary class:

The first task is to lay low the exploiters, and above all the bourgeoisie as their chief economic and political representative; to defeat them completely; to crush their resistance; to render impossible any attempts on their part to reimpose the yoke of capitalism and wage-slavery.

The second is to inspire and lead in the footsteps of the revolutionary advance guard of the proletariat, its Communist party—not only the whole proletariat or the great majority, but the entire mass of workers and those exploited by capital; to enlighten, organize, instruct, and discipline them during the course of the bold and mercilessly firm struggle against the exploiters; to wrench this enormous majority of the population in all the capitalist countries out of their state of dependence on the bourgeoisies; to instill in them, through practical experience, confidence in the leading role of the proletariat and its revolutionary advance guard. The third is to neutralize or render harmless the inevitable fluctuations between the bourgeoisie and the prole-

tariat, between bourgeois democracy and Soviet Power, on the part of that rather numerous class in all advanced countries—although constituting a minority of the population—the small owners and proprietors in agriculture, industry, commerce, and the corresponding layers of intellectuals, employees, and so on.

The first and second tasks are independent ones, demanding each of them their special methods of action in respect to the exploiters and to the exploited. The third task results from the two first, demanding only a skilful, timely, supple combination of the methods of the first and second kind, depending on the concrete circumstances of each separate case of fluctuation.

3. Under the circumstances which have been created in the whole world, and especially in the most advanced, most powerful, most enlightened and freest capitalist countries by militarist imperialism—oppression of colonies and weaker nations, the universal imperialist slaughter, the “peace” of Versailles—to admit the idea of a voluntary submission of the capitalists to the will of the majority of the exploited, of a peaceful, reformist passage to Socialism, is not only to give proof of an extreme petty bourgeois stupidity, but it is a direct deception of the workmen, a disguise of capitalist wage-slavery, a concealment of the truth. This truth is that the bourgeoisie, the most enlightened and democratic portion of the bourgeoisie, is even now not stopping at deceit and crime, at the slaughter of millions of workmen and peasants, in order to retain the right of private ownership over the means of production. Only a violent defeat of the bourgeoisie, the confiscation of its property, the annihilation of the entire bourgeois governmental apparatus, parliamentary, judicial, military, bureaucratic, administrative, municipal, etc., even the individual exile or internment of the most stubborn and dangerous exploiters, the establishment of a strict control over them for the repression of all inevitable attempts at resistance and restoration of capitalist slavery—only such measures will be able to guarantee the complete submission of the whole class of exploiters.

On the other hand, it is the same disguising of capitalism and bourgeois democracy, the same deceiving of the workmen, when the old parties and old leaders of the Second International admit the idea that the majority of the workers and exploited will be able to acquire a clear Socialist consciousness, firm Social-

ist convictions and character under the conditions of capitalist enslavement, under the yoke of the bourgeoisie, which assumes an endless variety of forms—the more refined and at the same time the more cruel and pitiless, the more cultured the given capitalist nation. In reality it is only when the advance guard of the proletariat, supported by the whole class as the only revolutionary one, or a majority of the same, will have overthrown the exploiters, crushed them, freed all the exploited from their position of slaves, improved their conditions of life immediately at the expense of the expropriated capitalists—only after that, and during the very course of the acute class struggle, it will be possible to bring about the enlightenment, education and organization of the widest masses of workers and exploited around the proletariat, under its influence and direction; to cure them of their egotism, their non-solidarity, their vices and weaknesses engendered by private ownership, and to transform them into free workers.

4. For victory over capitalism a correct correlation between the leading Communist Party—the revolutionary class, the proletariat—and the masses, i. e., the whole mass of workers and exploited, is essential. If the Communist Party is really the advance guard of the revolutionary class, if it includes the best representatives of the class, if it consists of perfectly conscious and loyal Communists, enlightened by experience gained in the stubborn revolutionary struggle—if it can be bound indissolubly with the entire life of its class, and through the latter with the whole mass of the exploited, and if it can inspire full confidence in this class and this mass, only then is it capable of leading the proletariat in the pitiless, decisive, and final struggle against all the forces of capitalism. On the other hand, only under the leadership of such a Party will the proletariat be able to employ all the force of its revolutionary onslaught, nullifying the inevitable apathy and partial resistance of the insignificant minority of the demoralized labor aristocracy, the old trade-union and guild leaders, etc. Only then will the proletariat be able to display its power which is immeasurably greater than its share in the population, by reason of the economic organization of capitalist society itself. Lastly, only when practically freed from the yoke of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois governing apparatus, only after acquiring the possibility of freely (from all capitalist exploitation) organizing into its own Soviets, will the mass—i. e., the

total of all the workers and exploited—employ for the first time in history all the initiative and energy of tens of millions of people, formerly crushed by capitalism. Only when the Soviets will become the only State apparatus, will effectual participation in the administration be realized for the entire mass of the exploited, who, even under the most cultured and free bourgeois democracy, remain practically excluded from participation in the administration. Only in the Soviets does the mass really begin to study, not out of books, but out of its own practical experience, the work of Socialist construction, the creation of a new social discipline, a free union of free workers.

## **II. IN WHAT SHOULD THE IMMEDIATE PREPARATION FOR DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT CONSIST?**

5. The present moment in the development of the International Communist movement is characterized by the fact that in a great majority of capitalist countries the preparation of the proletariat or the realization of its dictatorship is not yet completed—very often it has not even been begun systematically. It does not follow that the proletarian revolution is not possible, for the economic and political situation is extraordinarily rich in inflammable material which may cause a sudden flame; the other condition for a revolution, besides the preparedness of the proletariat, namely, the general state of crisis in all the ruling and all the bourgeois parties, it also at hand. But it follows from the above that for the moment the duty of the Communist Parties consists in accelerating the revolution, without provoking it artificially until sufficient preparation has been made; such preparation is to be carried on and emphasized by revolutionary activity. On the other hand, the above instance in the history of many Socialist parties draws our attention to the fact, that the “recognition” of the dictatorship of the proletariat should not remain only verbal.

Therefore the principal duty of the Communist Parties, from the point of view of an international proletarian movement, is at the present moment the uniting of the dispersed Communist forces, the formation in each country of a single Communist Party (or the strengthening and renovation of the already existing one) in order to perform the work of preparing the proletariat for the conquest of the governing power, and especially

for the acquisition of power under the form of a dictatorship of the groups and parties that recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat. This work has not been sufficiently subjected to the radical reformation, the radical renovation, which are necessary for it to be recognized as Communist work, and as corresponding to the tasks of the eve of proletarian dictatorship.

6. The conquest of political power by the proletariat does not put a stop to its class struggle against the bourgeoisie; on the contrary, it makes the struggle especially broad, acute, and pitiless. All the groups, parties, leaders of the Labor movement, fully or partially on the side of reformism, the "center," and so on, turn inevitably, during the most acute periods of the struggle, either to the side of the bourgeoisie or to that of the wavering ones, and the most dangerous are added to the number of the unreliable friends of the vanquished proletariat. Therefore the preparation of the dictatorship of the proletariat demands not only an increased struggle against all reformists and "centrist" tendencies, but a modification of the nature of this struggle.

The struggle should not be limited to an explanation of the fallacy of such tendencies, but it should stubbornly and mercilessly denounce any leader in the Labor movement who may be manifesting such tendencies; otherwise the proletariat will not know whom it must trust in the most decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie. The struggle is such, that the slightest hesitation or weakness in the denunciation of those who show themselves to be reformists or "centrists," means a direct increase of the danger that the power of the proletariat may be overthrown by the bourgeoisie, which will on the morrow utilize in favor of the counter-revolution all that which to short-sighted people appears only as a "theoretical difference of opinion" to-day.

7. In particular one cannot stop at the usual doctrinaire refutation of all "collaboration" between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie:

The simple defense of "liberty and equality," under the condition of preserving the right of private ownership of the means of production, becomes transformed under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat—which will never be able to suppress completely all private ownership—into a "collaboration" with the bourgeoisie, which undermines directly the power of the working class. The dictatorship of the proletariat means the strengthening and defense, by means of the ruling power

of the State, of the "non-liberty" of the exploiter to continue his work of oppression and exploitation, the "inequality" of the proprietor (i. e., of the person who has taken for himself personally the means of production created by public labor and the proletariat). That which before the victory of the proletariat seems but a theoretical difference of opinion on the question of "democracy," becomes inevitably on the morrow of the victory, a question which can only be decided by force of arms. Consequently, without a radical modification of the whole nature of the struggle against the "centrists" and "defenders of democracy," even a preliminary preparation of the mass for the realization of a dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible.

8. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most decisive and revolutionary form of class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Such a struggle can be successful only when the revolutionary advance guard of the proletariat leads the majority. The preparation of the dictatorship of the proletariat demands, therefore, not only the elucidation of the bourgeois nature of all reformism, all defense of "democracy," with the preservation of the right to the ownership of the means of production; not only the denunciation of such tendencies, which in practice mean the defense of the bourgeoisie inside the Labor movement—but it demands also the replacing of the old leaders by Communists in all kinds of proletarian organizations, not only political, but industrial, co-operative, educational, etc. The more lasting, complete, and solid the rule of the bourgeois democracy has been in any country, the more has it been possible for the bourgeoisie to appoint as labor leaders men who have been educated by it, imbued with its views and prejudices and very frequently directly or indirectly bribed by it. It is necessary to remove all these representatives of the Labor aristocracy, all such "bourgeois" workmen, from their posts and replace them by even inexperienced workers, so long as these are in unity with the exploited masses, and enjoy the latter's confidence in the struggle against the exploiters. The dictatorship of the proletariat will demand the appointment of such inexperienced workmen to the most responsible State functions, otherwise the rule of the Labor government will be powerless and it will not have the support of the masses.

9. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most complete realization of a leadership over all workers and exploited, who

have been oppressed, beaten down, crushed, intimidated, dispersed, deceived by the class of capitalists, on the part of the only class prepared for such a leading role by the whole history of capitalism. Therefore the preparation of the dictatorship of the proletariat must begin immediately and in all places by means of the following methods among others:

In every organization, union, association—beginning with the proletarian ones at first, and afterwards in all those of the non-proletarian workers and exploited masses (political, professional, military, co-operative, educational, sporting, etc., etc.) must be formed groups or nuclei of Communists—mostly open ones, but also secret ones which become necessary in each case when the arrest or exile of their members or the dispersal of their organization is threatened; and these nuclei, in close contact with one another and with the central Party, exchanging experiences, carrying on the work of propaganda, campaign, organization, adapting themselves to all the branches of social life, to all the various forms and subdivisions of the working masses, must systematically train themselves, the Party, the class, and the masses by such multiform work.

At the same time it is most important to work out practically the necessary methods on the one hand in respect to the "leaders" or responsible representatives, who are very frequently hopelessly infected with petty bourgeois and imperialist prejudices; on the other hand, in respect to the masses, who, especially after the imperialist slaughter, are mostly inclined to listen to and accept the doctrine of the necessity of leadership of the proletariat as the only way out of capitalistic enslavement. The masses must be approached with patience and caution, and with an understanding of the peculiarities, the special psychology of each layer, each profession of these masses.

10. In particular one of the groups or nuclei of the Communists deserves the exclusive attention and care of the party, namely, the parliamentary faction, i. e., the group of members of the Party who are members of bourgeois representative institutions (first of all state institutions, then local, municipal and others). On the one hand, such a tribune has a special importance in the eyes of the wider circles of the backward or prejudiced working masses; therefore, from this very tribune, the Communists must carry on their work of propaganda, agitation, organization, explaining to the masses why the dissolution of the

bourgeois parliament (Constituent Assembly) by the national Congress of Soviets was a legitimate proceeding at the time in Russia (as it will be in all countries in due time). On the other hand, the whole history of bourgeois democracy has made the parliamentary tribune, especially in the more advanced countries, the chief or one of the chief means of unbelievable financial and political swindles, the means of making a career out of hypocrisy and oppression of the workers. Therefore the deep hatred against all parliaments in the revolutionary proletariat is perfectly justified. Therefore the Communist Parties, and all parties adhering to the Third International, especially in cases when such parties have been formed not by means of a division in the old parties and after a long stubborn struggle against them, but by means of the old parties passing over (often nominally) to a new position, must be very strict in their attitude towards their parliamentary factions, demanding their complete subordination to the control and the direction of the Central Committee of the party; the inclusion in them chiefly of revolutionary workmen; the carrying out at Party meetings of a most intensive analysis of the Party press and of the parliamentary speeches, from the point of view of their Communist integrity; detailing of parliament members for propaganda among the masses; the exclusion from such groups of all those who show a tendency towards the Second International, and so forth.

11. One of the chief causes of difficulty in the revolutionary Labor movement in the advanced capitalist countries lies in the fact that owing to colonial deminions and super-dividends of a financial capital, etc., capital has been able to attract a comparatively more solid and broader group of a small minority of the labor aristocracy. The latter enjoy better conditions of pay and are most of all impregnated with the spirit of professional narrow-mindedness, bourgeois and imperialist prejudices. This is the true social "support" of the Second International reformists and centrists, and at the present moment almost the chief social support of the bourgeoisie.

Not even preliminary preparation of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is possible without an immediate, systematic, widely organized and open struggle against the group which undoubtedly—as experience has already proved—will furnish plenty of men for the White Guards of the bourgeoisie after the victory of the proletariat. All the parties adhering to the Third International must at all costs put into practice the mot-

toes: "deeper into the masses," "in closer contact with the masses," understanding by the word "masses" the entire mass of workers and those exploited by capitalism, especially the less organized and enlightened, the most oppressed and less adaptable to organization.

The proletariat becomes revolutionary in so far as it is not enclosed within narrow guild limits, in so far as it participates in all the events and branches of public life, as a leader of the whole working and exploited mass; and it is completely impossible for it to realize its dictatorship unless it is ready for and capable of doing everything for the victory over the bourgeoisie. The experience of Russia in this respect has a theoretical and practical importance; where the proletariat could not have realized its dictatorship, nor acquired the respect and confidence of the whole working mass, if it had not borne most of the sacrifices and had not suffered from hunger more than all the other groups in this mass, during the most difficult moments of the onslaught, war and blockade on the part of the universal bourgeoisie.

In particular it is necessary for the Communist Party and the whole advanced proletariat to give the most absolute and self-denying support to all the masses for a larger general strike movement, which is alone able under the yoke of capitalism to awaken properly, arouse, enlighten, and organize the masses, and develop in them a full confidence in the leading role of the revolutionary proletariat. Without such a preparation no dictatorship of the proletariat will be possible, and those who are capable of preaching against strikes, like Kautsky in Germany, Turati in Italy, are not to be suffered in the ranks of parties adhering to the Third International. This concerns still more, naturally, such trade-union and parliamentary leaders, as often betray the the workingmen by teaching them to make the strike an instrument of reform and not of revolution (Jouhaux in France, Gompers in America, and Thomas in England).

12. For all countries, even for most free "legal" and "peaceful" ones in the sense of a lesser acuteness in the class struggle, the period has arrived, when it has become absolutely necessary for every Communist party to join systematically lawful and unlawful work, lawful and unlawful organization.

In the most enlightened and free countries, with a most "solid" bourgeois-democratic regime, the governments are sys-

tematically recurring, in spite of their false and hypocritical assurances, to the method of keeping secret lists of Communists; to endless violations of their constitutions for the semi-secret support of White Guards and the murder of Communists in all countries; to secret preparations for the arrest of Communists; the introduction of provocateurs among the Communists, etc. Only the most reactionary petty bourgeoisie, by whatever high-sounding "democratic" or pacifist phrases it might disguise its ideas, can dispute this fact or the necessary conclusion; an immediate formation by all lawful Communist parties of unlawful organizations for systematic unlawful work, for their complete preparation at any moment to thwart any steps on the part of the bourgeoisie. It is especially necessary to carry on unlawful work in the army, navy, and police, as, after the imperialist slaughter, all the governments in the world are becoming afraid of the national armies, open to all peasants and workingmen, and they are setting up in secret all kinds of select military organizations recruited from the bourgeoisie and especially provided with improved technical equipment.

On the other hand, it is also necessary, in all cases without exception, not to limit oneself to unlawful work, but to carry on also lawful work overcoming all difficulties, founding a lawful press and lawful organizations under the most diverse, and in case of need, frequently changing names. This is now being done by the illegal Communist parties in Finland, in part in Germany, Poland, Latvia, etc. It is thus that the I. W. W. in America should act, as well as all the lawful Communist parties at present, in case prosecutors start prosecutions on the basis of resolutions of the congresses of the Communist International, etc.

The absolute necessity of the principle of unlawful and lawful work is determined not only by the total aggregate of all the peculiarities of the given moment, on the very eve of a proletarian dictatorship, but by the necessity of proving to the bourgeoisie, that there is not and can not be any branch of the work of which the Communists have not possessed themselves, and still more by the fact that everywhere there are still wide circles of the proletariat and greater ones of the non-proletarian workers and exploited masses, which still trust in the bourgeois democracy, the discussion of which is our most important duty.

13. In particular, the situation of the Labor press in the more advanced capitalist countries shows with special force

both the falsity of liberty and equality under the bourgeois democracy, and the necessity of a systematic blending of the lawful and unlawful work. Both in vanquished Germany and in victorious America all the powers of the governmental apparatus of the bourgeoisie, and all the tricks of its financial kings are being set in motion in order to deprive the workingmen of their press; prosecutions and arrests (or murder by means of hired murderers) of the editors, denial of mailing privilege, curtailing of paper supply, etc. Moreover, the information necessary for a daily paper is in the hands of bourgeois telegraph agencies, and the advertisements, without which a large paper cannot pay its way, are at the "free" disposal of capitalists. On the whole, by means of deception, the pressure of capital, and the bourgeois government, the bourgeoisie deprives the revolutionary proletariat of its press.

For the struggle against this state of things the Communist parties must create a new type of periodical press for extensive circulation among the workmen:

- 1) Lawful publications, in which the Communists without calling themselves such and without mentioning their connection with the party, learn to utilize the slightest liberty allowed by the laws, as the Bolsheviks did at the "time of the Tsar," after 1905.

- 2) Illegal sheets, although of the smallest dimensions and irregularly published, but reproduced in most of the printing offices by the workingmen (in secret, or if the movement has grown stronger, by means of a revolutionary seizure of the printing offices) giving the proletariat undiluted revolutionary information and the revolutionary mottoes.

Without a Communist press the preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible.

### III. THE AMENDMENT OF THE POLICY—PARTLY ALSO OF THE MAKE-UP—OF THE PARTIES ADHERING OR WILLING TO ADHERE TO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

14. The degree of preparedness of the proletariat to carry out its dictatorship, in the countries most important from the view-point of world economics and world politics, is manifested most objectively and precisely by the fact that the most influen-

both the falsity of liberty and equality under the bourgeois democracy, and the necessity of a systematic blending of the lawful and unlawful work. Both in vanquished Germany and in victorious America all the powers of the governmental apparatus of the bourgeoisie, and all the tricks of its financial kings are being set in motion in order to deprive the workingmen of their press; prosecutions and arrests (or murder by means of hired murderers) of the editors, denial of mailing privilege, curtailing of paper supply, etc. Moreover, the information necessary for a daily paper is in the hands of bourgeois telegraph agencies, and the advertisements, without which a large paper cannot pay its way, are at the "free" disposal of capitalists. On the whole, by means of deception, the pressure of capital, and the bourgeois government, the bourgeoisie deprives the revolutionary proletariat of its press.

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4.) Expulsion from the party of all members who persist in their adherence to the Second International.

5.) The transfer of all periodical papers of the party into the hands of Communist editors.

6.) The parties wishing to join the Third International but which have not yet radically changed their old tactics, must above all take care that two-thirds of their Central Committee and of their chief central institutions consist of such comrades as have declared their adherence to a party of the Third International before the Second Congress. Exceptions can be made only with the sanction of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The E. C. also reserves the right of making exceptions with regard to the representatives of the "centrist" movement mentioned in paragraph 7.

7.) Members of the party who repudiate the conditions and theses adopted by the Communist International must be excluded from the Party. The same applies to delegates of special congresses. The Second Congress of the Third Intern. must charge its Executive Committee to admit the above-named and similar parties into the Third International after a preliminary verification that all these conditions have been fulfilled, and that the nature of the activity of the party has become Communist.

16. In regard to the question as to what must be the line of conduct of the Communists at present constituting the minority at the responsible posts of the above-named and similar parties, the Second Congress of the Third International should establish, that, in view of the rapid progress of the actual revolutionary spirit among the workingmen belonging to these parties it would be undesirable for the Communists to leave the parties, so long as they are able to carry on their work within the parties in the spirit of a recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the criticism of all opportunists and centrists still remaining in these parties.

When the left wing of the centre party becomes sufficiently strong, it can—provided it considers it beneficial for the development of Communism—leave the party in a body and inaugurate a Communist Party.

At the same time the Second Congress of the Third International must declare itself in favor of the joining of Communist Party, and the groups and organizations sympathizing with Communism in England, joining the Labor Party, notwithstanding the

circumstance that this party is a member of the Second International. The reason of this is that so long as this party will allow all constituent organizations their present freedom of criticism and freedom of propaganda, and organizing activity in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of Soviets, so long as this party preserves its principle of uniting all the industrial organizations of the working class, the Communists ought to take all measures and even consent to certain compromises, in order to be able to exercise an influence over the wider circles of workmen and the masses, to denounce their opportunist leaders from a higher tribune, to accelerate the transfer of the political power from the direct representatives of the bourgeoisie to the "Labor lieutenants of the capitalist class," so that the masses may be more rapidly cured of all illusions on this subject.

17. In regard to the Italian Socialist Party, the Second Congress of the Third International considers as perfectly correct the criticism of this Party and the practical propositions which are stated, as propositions to the District Council of the Italian Socialist Party on behalf of the Turin section of this Party in the paper "New Order" (*L'Ordine Nuovo*) dated May 8th, 1920, and which completely correspond with the fundamental principles of the Third International.

Therefore the Second Congress of the Third International requests the Italian Socialist Party to convene an extraordinary congress of the party for the discussion of these propositions and the resolutions of both congresses of the Communist International, especially with regard to the parliamentary fraction, to the non-communist elements in the party, and concerning the tactics in the trade unions.

18. The Second Congress of the Third International considers as not correct the views regarding the relations of the Party to the class and to the masses, and the non-participation of the Communist Parties in the bourgeois parliaments and reactionary Labor unions, which have been emphatically repudiated in the special resolutions of the present congress, and defended in full by the "Communist Labor Party of Germany" and also partially by the "Communist Party of Switzerland," by the organ of the West European secretariat of the Communist International "Communismus" in Amsterdam, and by several of our Dutch comrades; further by certain Communist organizations in England, as for instances "The Workers' Socialist Federation," also

by the "I. W. W." in America, the "Shop Steward Committees" in England, and so forth.

Nevertheless the Second Congress of the Third International considers possible and desirable the immediate affiliation of such of these organizations as have not already done so officially, because, in the given case, especially as regards the I. W. W. of America and Australia, and the "Shop Steward Committees" of England, we have to deal with a genuinely proletarian mass movement, which practically adheres to the principles of the Communist International. In such organizations any mistaken views on the question of participation in the bourgeois parliaments, are to be explained not so much on the theory that they are members of the bourgeoisie advocating their own petty bourgeois views, as the views of the Anarchists frequently are, but on the theory of the political inexperience of the proletarians, who are, nevertheless, completely revolutionary and in contact with the masses.

The Second Congress of the Third International requests, therefore, all Communist organizations and groups in the Anglo-Saxon countries, even in case immediate union between the Third International and the "Industrial Workers of the World" and the "Shop Steward Committees" does not take place, to carry on a policy of the most friendly attitude toward these organizations, to enter into closer connection with them, to explain to them in a friendly way, from the point of view of all revolutions and the three Russian revolutions in the Twentieth Century especially, the fallacy of their above-stated views, and not to desist from repeated attempts to become united with these organizations so as to form one Communist Party.

19. In connection with this the Congress draws the attention of all comrades, especially in the Latin and Anglo-Saxon countries to the fact that among the Anarchists since the war all over the world a deep ideological schism is taking place upon the question of their attitude towards the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of Soviets. And it is just among the proletarian elements, which were frequently led into anarchism by their perfectly justified hatred of the opportunism and reformism of the parties of the Second International, that there is to be noticed a perfectly correct understanding of these principles, especially among those who are more nearly acquainted with the experience of Russia, Finland, Hungary, Lettland, Poland, and Germany.

The Congress considers it the duty of all comrades to support by all measures all the masses of proletarian elements passing from Anarchism to the Third International. The Congress points out that the success of the work of the truly Communist Parties ought to be measured, among other things, by how far they have been able to attract to their party all the uneducated, not petty-bourgeois, but proletarian masses from Anarchism.

## CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION TO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

The First Constituent Congress of the Communist International did not draw up precise conditions of admission to the Third International.

At the moment of the convocation of the First Congress in the majority of countries only Communist currents and groups existed.

The Second World Congress of the Communist International is convening under different conditions. At the present moment in most countries there are not only Communist tendencies and groups but Communist parties and organizations.

The Communist International more and more frequently receives applications from parties and groups but a short time ago belonging to the Second International, now desirous of joining the Third International, but not yet really Communist. The Second International is completely broken. Seeing the complete helplessness of the Second International the intermediary faction and the groups of the "centre" are trying to lean on the ever strengthening Communist International hoping at the same time, however, to preserve a certain "autonomy" which should enable them to carry on their former opportunist or "centrist" policy. The Communist International has become the fashion.

The desire of certain leading groups of the "centre" to join the Third International now is an indirect confirmation of the fact that the majority of conscious workers of the whole world is growing stronger every day.

The Communist International is being threatened with the danger of dilution with the fluctuating and half-and-half groups which have as yet not abandoned the ideology of the Second International.

It must be mentioned that in some of the large parties (Italy, Norway, Jugo-Slavia, etc.), the majority of which adhere to the point of view of Communism, there is up to this moment a considerable reformist and social pacifist wing, which is only await-

ing the moment to revive and to begin an active "sabotage" of the proletarian revolution, and thus assist the bourgeoisie and the Second International.

No Communist should forget the lesson of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

The unity between the Hungarian Communists and the so-called Left Social Democrats cost the Hungarian Proletariat very dearly.

In view of this the Second World Congress finds it necessary to establish most definite conditions for the joining of new parties, as well as to point out to such parties as have already joined the Communist International the duties which are laid upon them.

The Second Congress of the Communist International rules that the conditions for joining the Communist International shall be as follows:

1. The general propaganda and agitation should bear a really Communist character, and should correspond to the programme and decisions of the Third International. The entire party press should be edited by reliable Communists who have proved their loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be spoken of simply as a current hackneyed formula, it should be advocated in such a way that its necessity should be apparent to every rank-and-file working man and woman, to each soldier and peasant, and should emanate from everyday facts systematically recorded by our press day by day.

All periodicals and other publications, as well as all party publications and editions, are subject to the control of the presidium of the party, independently of whether the party is legal or illegal. The editors should in no way be given an opportunity to abuse their autonomy and carry on a policy not fully corresponding to the policy of the party.

Wherever the followers of the Third International have access, and whatever means of propaganda are at their disposal, whether the columns of newspapers, popular meetings, labor unions or co-operatives,—it is indispensable for them not only to denounce the bourgeoisie, but also its assistants and agents—reformists of every color and shade.

2. Every organization desiring to join the Communist International shall be bound systematically and regularly to remove

from all the responsible posts in the labor movement (Party organizations, editors, labor unions, parliamentary factions, co-operatives, municipalities, etc.), all reformists and followers of the "centre," and to have them replaced by Communists, even at the cost of replacing at the beginning "experienced" men by rank-and-file working men.

3. The class struggle in almost every country of Europe and America is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois laws. They should create everywhere a parallel illegal apparatus, which at the decisive moment should do its duty by the party, and in every way possible assist the revolution. In every country where, in consequence of martial law or of other exceptional laws, the Communists are unable to carry on their work law, fully, a combination of lawful and unlawful work is absolutely necessary.

4. A persistent and systematic propaganda and agitation is necessary in the army, where Communist groups should be formed in every military organization. Wherever, owing to repressive legislation, agitation becomes impossible, it is necessary to carry on such agitation illegally. But refusal to carry on or participate in such work should be considered equal to treason to the revolutionary cause, and incompatible with affiliation with the Third International.

5. A systematic and regular propaganda is necessary in the rural districts. The working class can gain no victory unless it possesses the sympathy and support of at least part of the rural workers and of the poor peasants, and unless other sections of the population are equally utilized. Communist work in the rural districts is acquiring a predominant importance during the present period. It should be carried on through Communist workingmen of both city and country who have connections with the rural districts. To refuse to do this work, or to transfer such work to untrustworthy half reformists, is equal to renouncing the proletarian revolution.

6. Every party desirous of affiliating with the Third International should renounce not only avowed social patriotism, but also the falsehood and the hypocrisy of social pacifism; it should systematically demonstrate to the workers that without a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism no international arbitration, no talk of disarmament, no democratic reorganization of the League

of Nations will be capable of saving mankind from new Imperialist wars.

7. Parties desirous of joining the Communist International must recognize the necessity of a complete and absolute rupture with reformism and the policy of the "centrists," and must advocate this rupture amongst the widest circles of the party membership, without which condition a consistent Communist policy is impossible. The Communist International demands unconditionally and peremptorily that such rupture be brought about with the least possible delay. The Communist International cannot reconcile itself to the fact that such avowed reformists as for instance Turati, Modigliani, Kautsky, Hillquit, Longuet, Macdonald and others should be entitled to consider themselves members of the Third International. This would make the Third International resemble the Second International.

8. In the Colonial question and that of the oppressed nationalities there is necessary an especially distinct and clear line of conduct of the parties of countries where the bourgeoisie possesses such colonies or oppresses other nationalities. Every party desirous of belonging to the Third International should be bound to denounce without any reserve all the methods of "its own" Imperialists in the colonies, supporting not only in words but practically a movement of liberation in the colonies. It should demand the expulsion of its own Imperialists from such colonies, and cultivate among the workingmen of its own country a truly fraternal attitude towards the working population of the colonies and oppressed nationalities, and carry on a systematic agitation in its own army against every kind of oppression of the colonial population.

9. Every party desirous of belonging to the Communist International should be bound to carry on systematic and persistent Communist work in the labor unions, co-operatives and other labor organizations of the masses. It is necessary to form Communist groups within the organizations, which by persistent and lasting work should win over labor unions to Communism. These groups should constantly denounce the treachery of the social patriots and of the fluctuations of the "centre." These Communist groups should be completely subordinated to the party in general.

10. Any party belonging to the Communist International is bound to carry on a stubborn struggle against the Amsterdam

"International" of the yellow labor unions. It should propagate insistently amongst the organized workers the necessity of a rupture with the yellow Amsterdam International. It should support by all means in its power the International Unification of Red Labor Unions, adhering to the Communist International, which is now beginning.

11. Parties desirous of joining the Third International shall be bound to inspect the personnel of their parliamentary factions, to remove all unreliable elements therefrom, to control such factions, not only verbally but in reality, to subordinate them to the Central Committee of the party, and to demand from each proletarian Communist that he devote his entire activity to the interests of real revolutionary propaganda.

12. All parties belonging to the Communist International should be formed on the basis of the principle of democratic centralization. At the present time of acute civil war the Communist Party will be able fully to do its duty only when it is organized in a sufficiently thorough way, when it possesses an iron discipline, and when its party centre enjoys the confidence of the members of the party, who are to endow this centre with complete power, authority and ample rights.

13. The Communist parties of those countries where the Communist activity is legal, should make a clearance of their members from time to time, as well as those of the party organizations, in order systematically to free the party from the petty bourgeois elements which penetrate into it.

14. Each party desirous of affiliating with the Communist International should be obliged to render every possible assistance to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist parties should carry on a precise and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport any kind of military equipment intended for fighting against the Soviet Republics, and should also by legal or illegal means carry on a propaganda amongst the troops sent against the workers' republics, etc.

15. All those parties which up to the present moment have stood upon the old social and democratic programmes should, within the shortest time possible, draw up a new Communist programme in conformity with the special conditions of their country, and in accordance with the resolutions of the Communist International. As a rule, the programme of each party be-

longing to the Communist International should be confirmed by the next congress of the Communist International or its Executive Committee. In the event of the failure of the programme of any party being confirmed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the said party shall be entitled to appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.

16. All the resolutions of the congresses of the Communist International, as well as the resolutions of the Executive Committee are binding for all parties joining the Communist International. The Communist International, operating under the conditions of most acute civil warfare, should be centralized in a better manner than the Second International. At the same time, the Communist International and the Executive Committee are naturally bound in every form of their activity to consider the variety of conditions under which the different parties have to work and struggle, and generally binding resolutions should be passed only on such questions upon which such resolutions are possible.

17. In connection with the above, all parties desiring to join the Communist International should alter their name. Each party desirous of joining the Communist International should bear the following name: Communist Party of such and such a country, section of the Third Communist International. The question of the renaming of a party is not only a formal one, but is a political question of great importance. The Communist International has declared a decisive war against the entire bourgeoisie world, and all the yellow Social Democratic parties. It is indispensable that every rank-and-file worker should be able clearly to distinguish between the Communist parties and the old official "Social Democratic" or "Socialist" parties, which have betrayed the cause of the working class.

18. All the leading organs of the press of every party are bound to publish all the most important documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

19. All those parties which have joined the Communist International, as well as those which have expressed a desire to do so, are obliged in as short a space of time as possible, and in no case later than four months after the Second Congress of the Communist International, to convene an Extraordinary Congress in order to discuss these conditions. In addition to this, the Central Committees of these parties should take care to acquaint

all the local organizations with the regulations of the Second Congress.

20. All those parties which at the present time are willing to join the Third International, but have so far not changed their tactics in any radical manner, should, prior to their joining the Third International, take care that not less than two-thirds of their committee members and of all their central institutions should be composed of comrades who have made an open and definite declaration prior to the convening of the Second Congress, as to their desire that the party should affiliate with the Third International. Exclusions are permitted only with the confirmation of the Executive Committee of the Third International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International has the right to make an exception also for the representatives of the "centre" as mentioned in paragraph 7.

21. Those members of the party who reject the conditions and the theses of the Third International, are liable to be excluded from the party.

This applies principally to the delegates at the Special Congresses of the party.

## THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

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The world proletariat is confronted with decisive battles. We are living in an epoch of civil war. The critical hour has struck. In almost all countries where there is a labor movement of any importance the working class, arms in hand, stands in the midst of fierce and decisive battles. Now more than ever is the working class in need of a strong organization. Without losing an hour of invaluable time, the working class must keep on indefatigably preparing for the impending decisive struggle.

The first heroic uprising of the French proletariat during the Paris Commune of 1871 would have been much more successful, and many errors and shortcomings would have been avoided, had there been a strong Communist party, no matter how small. The struggle which the proletariat is now facing, under changed historical circumstances, will be of much more vital importance to the future destiny of the working class than was the insurrection of 1871.

The Second World Congress of the Communist International therefore calls upon the revolutionary workers of the whole world to concentrate all their attention on the following:

1. The Communist Party is part of the working class, namely, its most advanced, intelligent, and therefore most revolutionary part. The Communist Party is formed of the best, most intelligent, self-sacrificing and far-seeing workers. The Communist Party has no other interests than those of the working class. It differs from the general mass of the workers in that it takes a general view of the whole historical march of the working class, and at all turns of the road it endeavors to defend the interests, not of separate groups or professions, but of the working class as a whole. The Communist Party is the organized political lever by means of which the more advanced part of the working class leads all the proletarian and semi-proletarian mass.

2. Until the time when the power of government will have been finally conquered by the proletariat, until the time when

the proletarian rule will have been firmly established beyond the possibility of a bourgeois restoration, the Communist Party will have in its organized ranks only a minority of the workers. Up to the time when the power will have been seized by it, and during the transition period, the Communist Party may, under favorable conditions, exercise undisputed moral and political influence on all the proletarian and semi-proletarian classes of the population; but it will not be able to unite them within its ranks. Only when the dictatorship of the workers has deprived the bourgeoisie of such powerful weapons as the press, the school, parliament, the church, the government apparatus, etc.; only when the final overthrow of the capitalist order will have become an evident fact—only then will all or almost all the workers enter the ranks of the Communist Party.

3. A sharp distinction must be made between the conception of "party" and "class". The members of the "Christian" and liberal trade unions of Germany, England, and other countries, are undoubtedly parts of the working class. More or less considerable circles of the working people, followers of Scheidemann, Gompers and Co., are likewise part of the working class. Under certain historical conditions the working class is very likely to be impregnated with numerous reactionary elements. The task of Communism is not to adapt itself to such retrograde elements of the working class, but to raise the whole working class to the level of the Communist vanguard. The confounding of these two conceptions—of party and of class—can only lead to the greatest errors and confusion. Thus, for instance, it is clear that notwithstanding the disposition or prejudices of certain parts of the working masses during the imperialist war, the workers' parties ought to have counteracted these prejudices, defending the historical interests of the proletariat, which demanded of the proletarian parties a declaration of war against war.

Thus in the beginning of the imperialistic war of 1914, the social-traitor parties of all countries, in upholding the capitalists of their "own" countries, unanimously declared that such was the will of the people. They forgot at the same time that even if this were so, the duty of the workers' party would have been to combat such an attitude of the majority of the workers, and to defend the interests of the workers at whatever cost. At the very beginning of the twentieth century the Russian Mensheviks (minimalists) of the time (the so-called "economists"), denied

the possibility of an open political struggle against Tsarism, on the ground that the working class in general was not yet ripe for the understanding of the political struggle. So also has the right wing of the Independents of Germany, in all its compromising, referred to the "will of the masses," failing to understand that the party exists precisely for the purpose of marching ahead of the masses and pointing out the way.

4. The Communist International is firmly convinced that the collapse of the old "Social Democratic" parties of the Second International cannot be represented as the collapse of the proletarian party organizations in general. The period of open struggle for the dictatorship of the workers has created a new proletarian party, the Communist Party.

5. The Communist International emphatically rejects the opinion that the workers could carry out a revolution without having an independent political party of their own. Every class struggle is a political struggle. The object of this struggle, which inevitably turns into a civil war, is the obtaining of political power. However, this power cannot be acquired, organized and directed otherwise than by means of a political party. Only in case the workers have for their leader an organized and experienced party, with strictly defined objects, and a practically drawn up program of immediate action, both in internal and foreign policy—then only will the acquisition of political power cease to be a causal episode, but will serve as a starting point.

This class struggle likewise demands that the general guidance of the various forms of the proletarian movement (labor unions, co-operative associations, cultural-educational work, elections, etc.) be united in one central organization. Only a political party can be such a unifying and guiding centre. To refuse to create and strengthen such a party and submit to its dictates, would mean to abandon the idea of unity in the guidance of the separate proletarian groups operating in the different arenas of the struggle. Lastly, the class struggle of the proletariat demands a concentrated propaganda, throwing light on the various stages of the fight, a unified point of view, directing the attention of the proletariat at each given moment to the definite tasks to be accomplished by the whole class. This cannot be done without the help of a centralized political apparatus, i. e., a political party. Therefore the propaganda of the revolutionary Syndicalists, and the partisans of the Industrial Workers of the

World (I. W. W.), against the necessity of an Independent Workers' Party, as a matter of fact has only served and continues to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary "Social Democrats." In their propaganda against the Communist Party, which the Syndicalists and Industrialists desire to replace by the labor unions, they approach the opportunists. After the defeat of the revolution in 1905, during the course of several years the Russian Mensheviks proclaimed the necessity of a so-called Labor Congress, which was to replace the revolutionary party of the working class; all kinds of "Laborites" of England and America, while consciously carrying on a bourgeois policy, are propagating among the workers the idea of creating indefinite shapeless workers' unions instead of a political party. The revolutionary Syndicalists and Industrialists desire to fight against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, but they do not know how to do it. They do not see that a working class without an independent political party is like a body without a head.

Revolutionary Syndicalism and Industrialism are a step forward only in comparison with the old, musty, counter-revolutionary ideology of the Second International. But in comparison with the revolutionary Marxian doctrine, i. e., with Communism, Syndicalism and industrialism are a step backward. The declaration made by the "Lefts" of the Communist Labor Party of Germany (in the programme-declaration of their Constituent Congress in April) to the effect that they are forming a party, but not one in the traditional sense of the word ("Kein Partei im überlieferten Sinne")—is a capitulation before the views of Syndicalism and Industrialism which are reactionary. The working class cannot achieve the victory over the bourgeoisie by means of the general strike alone, and by the policy of folded arms. The proletariat must resort to an armed uprising. Having understood this, one realizes that an organized political party is absolutely essential, and that shapeless labor organizations will not suffice.

The revolutionary Syndicalists frequently advance the idea of the great importance of a determined revolutionary minority. The Communist Party is just such a determined minority of the working class, which is ready to act, which has a program and strives to organize the masses for the struggle.

6. The most important task of a genuine Communist Party is to preserve constantly the closest contact with the widest

masses of the workers. For that purpose the Communists must carry on activity also within such organizations as are non-partisan, but which comprise large proletarian groups, for example organizations of war invalids in various countries, the "Hands-off Russia" Committee in England, Proletarian Tenants' Unions, and so forth. Of special importance are the so-called non-party conferences of workers and peasants held in Russia. Such conferences are being organized almost in every town, in all industrial districts and in the country. In the elections to these conferences the widest masses even of the most backward workers take part. The order of business at these conferences is made up of the most pressing questions, such as the food question, the housing problem, the military situation, the school question. The Communists exercise their influence on these non-party conferences in the most energetic manner, and with the greatest success for the party. They consider it their most important task to carry on the work of organization and instruction within such organizations. But in order that their efforts should bring forth the desired results, and that such organizations should not become the prey of opponents of the revolutionary proletariat, the most advanced Communist workers should always have their own independent, closely united Communist Party, working in an organized manner, and standing up for the general interests of Communism at each turn of events, and under every form of the movement.

7. The Communists have no fear of the largest workers' organizations which belong to no party, even when they are of a decidedly reactionary nature (yellow unions, Christian Associations, etc.). The Communist Party carries on its work inside such organizations, and untiringly instructs the workers, and proves to them that the idea of no political party as a principle is consciously cultivated among the workers by the bourgeoisie and its adherents, with the object of keeping the proletariat from an organized struggle for Socialism.

8. The old classical division of the labor movement into three forms (party, labor unions and co-operatives) has evidently served its time. The proletarian revolution in Russia has brought forward the fundamental form of the workers' dictatorship, the Soviets. The new divisions, which are now everywhere forming, are: Party, Soviet, Industrial Union. But the party of the proletariat, that is to say, the Communist Party, must constantly

and systematically direct the work of the Soviets as well as of the revolutionized industrial unions. The Communist Party, the organized vanguard of the working class, must direct the struggle of the entire class on the economic and the political fields, and also on the field of education. It must be the animating spirit in the industrial unions, labor councils and all other forms of proletarian organizations.

The existence of the Soviets as an historically basic form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in no way lessens the guiding role of the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution. The assertions made by the "Left" Communists of Germany (in their appeal to the German proletariat of April 14th, 1920, signed "The Communist Labor Party of Germany") that the party must always adapt itself to the idea of the Soviets and assume a proletarian character, is nothing but a hazy expression of the opinion that the Communist Party should dissolve itself into the Soviets, that the Soviets can replace the Communist Party. This idea is essentially reactionary.

There was a period in the history of the Russian Revolution when the Soviets were acting in opposition to the party, and supported the policy of the agents of the bourgeoisie. The same has happened in Germany, and may take place in other countries.

In order that the Soviets may be able to perform their historic mission, a party of staunch Communists is necessary who should not merely adapt themselves to the Soviets, but, on the contrary, should take care that the Soviets do not adapt themselves to the bourgeoisie, and to the white guard Social Democracy. The Soviets, with the aid of the Communist factions in them, should be brought under the banner of the Communist Party.

Those who propose to the Communist Party to "conform" to the Soviets, those who perceive in such "conformation" a strengthening of the "proletarian nature" of the party, are rendering a bad service both to the Party and to the Soviets, and do not understand the importance of the Party, nor that of the Soviets. The stronger the Communist Party in each country, the sooner will the Soviet idea triumph. Many "Independent" and even "Right" Socialists profess to believe in the Soviet idea. But we cannot prevent such elements from distorting this idea, unless there exists a strong Communist Party, capable of deter-

mining the policy of the Soviets and of making them follow it.

9. The Communist Party is necessary to the working class not only before it has acquired power, not only while it is acquiring such power, but also after the power has passed into the hands of the working class. The history of the Russian Communist Party, for three years at the head of such a vast country, shows that the role of the party after the acquisition of power by the working class has not only not diminished, but, on the contrary, has greatly increased.

10. On the morrow of the acquisition of power by the proletariat, its party still remained, as formerly, a part of the working class. But it was just that part of the class which organized the victory. During twenty years in Russia—and for a number of years in Germany—the Communist Party, in its struggle not only against the bourgeoisie, but also against those Socialists who diffuse bourgeois ideas among the proletariat, has enrolled in its ranks the staunchest, the most far-seeing and most advanced fighters of the working class. Only by having such a closely united organization of the best part of the working class is it possible for the Party to overcome all the difficulties that arise before the proletarian dictatorship in the days following the victory. In the organization of a new proletarian Red Army, in the practical abolition of the bourgeois governing apparatus, and the building in its place of the framework of a new proletarian state apparatus, in the struggle against the narrow craft tendencies of certain separate groups of workers, in the struggle against local and provincial “patriotism,” clearing the way for the creation of new labor discipline—in all these undertakings the final decisive word is to be said by the Communist Party, whose members by their own example animate, guide the majority of the workers.

11. The necessity of a political party for the proletariat can cease only with the complete abolition of classes. On the way to this final victory of Communism it is possible that the relative importance of the three fundamental proletarian organizations of modern times (Party, Soviets, and Industrial Unions), shall undergo some changes, and that gradually a single type of workers' organization will be formed. The Communist Party, however, will become absorbed in the working class only when Communism ceases to be the object of struggle, and the whole working class shall have become Communist.

12. The Second Congress of the Communist International must serve not only to establish the historical mission of the Communist Party in general, but it must indicate to the international proletariat, in rough draft, what kind of Communist Party is needed.

13. The Communist International assumes that especially during the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party should be organized on the basis of strict proletarian centralism. In order to lead the working class successfully during the long, stubborn civil war, the Communist Party must establish the strictest military discipline within its own ranks. The experience of the Russian Communist Party in its successful leadership of the civil war of the working class during three years, has proved that the victory of the workers is impossible without a severe discipline, a perfected centralization, and the fullest confidence of all the organizations of the party in the leading organ of the party.

14. The Communist Party should be based on the principle of democratic centralization. The chief principle of the latter is the election of the upper party units by those immediately below, the unconditional subordination of subordinate units to the decisions of those above them, and a strong party central organ, whose decrees are binding upon all the leaders of party life between party conventions.

15. In view of the state of siege introduced by the bourgeoisie against the Communists, a whole series of Communist parties in Europe and America, are compelled to exist illegally. It must be remembered that under such conditions it may become necessary sometimes temporarily to deviate from the strict observance of the elective principle, and to delegate to the leading party organizations the right of co-election, as was done in Russia at one time. Under the state of siege the Communist Party cannot have recourse to a democratic referendum among all the members of the party (as was proposed by part of the American Communists), but on the contrary, it should empower its leading central organ to make important decisions in emergencies on behalf of all the members of the party.

16. The doctrine of a wide "autonomy" for the separate local organizations of the party at the present moment only weakens the Communist Party, undermines its working capacity,

and aids the development of petty bourgeois, anarchistic, centrifugal tendencies.

17. In countries where the power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie or the counter-revolutionary Social Democrats, the Communist Party must learn to unite systematically legal with illegal work; but all legal work must be carried on under the practical control of the illegal Party. The parliamentary groups of Communists, both in the central as well as in the local government institutions, must be fully and absolutely subject to the Communist Party in general, irrespective of whether the Party on the whole be a legal or an illegal organization at the moment. Any delegate who in one way or another does not submit absolutely to the Party shall be expelled from the ranks of Communism.

The legal press (newspapers, publications) must be unconditionally and fully subject to the party in general, and to its Central Committee. No concessions are admissible in this respect.

18. The fundamental principle of all organization work of the Communist Party and individual Communists must be the creation of Communist nuclei everywhere where they find proletarians and semi-proletarians—although even in small numbers. In every Soviet of Workers' Deputies, in every government institution, everywhere, even though there may be only three people sympathizing with Communism, a Communist nucleus must be immediately organized. It is only the power of organization of the Communists that enables the advance guard of the working class to be the leader of the whole class. Communist nuclei, working in organizations adhering to no political party, must be subject to the party organizations in general, whether the Party itself is working legally or illegally at the given moment. Communist nuclei of all kinds must be subordinated one to another in a strictly hierarchical order and system.

19. The Communist Party almost always begins its work among the industrial workers residing for the most part in cities. For the rapid victory of the working class it is necessary that the Party should also work in the country, in the villages. The Communist Party must carry on its propaganda and organization work among the agricultural laborers and the poorer farmers. It must especially endeavor to organize Communist nuclei in the rural districts.

The international organization of the proletariat will be

strong only if in all the countries where the Communists are living and working the above principles of party organization and activity are firmly established. The Communist International invites to its Congress all labor unions which recognize the principles of the Third International, and are ready to break with the yellow International. The Communist International intends to organize an international section composed of the red labor unions, which recognize the principles of Communism. The Communist International will not refuse to co-operate with purely non-political workers' organizations desirous of carrying on a serious revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. But at the same time the Communist International will never cease to emphasize to the workers of all the world:

1. The Communist International is the chief and essential instrument for the liberation of the working class. In each country there must now be not only Communist groups, or tendencies,—but a Communist Party.

2. In every country there must be only one Communist Party.

3. The Communist Party must be founded on the principle of the strictest centralization, and during the period of civil war it must introduce military discipline in its ranks.

4. In every place where there are a dozen proletarians or semi-proletarians, the Communist Party must have an organized nucleus.

5. In each non-political organization there must be a Communist nucleus, strictly subordinate to the Party in general.

6. While firmly and faithfully supporting the programme and revolutionary tactics of Communism, the Communist Party must always be closely united with the most widely spread workers' organizations, and avoid sectarianism as much as lack of principle.

## THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND PARLIAMENTARISM.

### I. THE NEW EPOCH AND THE NEW PARLIAMENTARISM.

The attitude of the Socialist Parties, towards parliamentarism was originally, at the time of the First International, one of utilizing the bourgeois parliament for purposes of agitation. Participation in parliamentary activity was looked upon from the point of view of developing class consciousness, i. e., of awakening in the proletariat class hostility toward the ruling class. Changes in this attitude were brought about not through change of doctrine, but under the influence of political development. Owing to the uninterrupted advance of the forces of production and the widening sphere of capitalist exploitation, capitalism, and together with it the parliamentary state, acquired a lasting stability.

This gave rise to the adaptability of the parliamentary tactics of the Socialist parties to "organic" legislative activity in the bourgeois parliament, and the ever growing significance of the struggle for reforms within the capitalist system, as well as the predominating influence of the so-called "immediate demand" and the conversion of the maximum programme into a figure of speech as an altogether remote "final goal." This served as a basis for the development of parliamentary careerism, corruption, and open or hidden betrayal of the fundamental interests of the working class.

The attitude of the Third International towards parliamentarism is determined not by a new doctrine, but by the changed goal of parliamentarism itself. During the previous epoch parliament performed a certain progressive function as the weapon of developing capitalism, but under the present conditions of unbridled Imperialism, parliament has become a tool of falsehood, deceit, violence, and enervating gossip. In the ruin, parliamentary reforms, devoid of system, of constancy, and of definite plan, have lost every practical significance for the working masses.

Parliament has lost its stability like the whole of bourgeois

society. The sudden transition from the organic to the critical epoch has created the foundation for new proletarian tactics in the field of parliamentarism. The Russian Workers' Party (Bolsheviks) had already worked out the essence of revolutionary parliamentarism in the preceding period, owing to the fact that Russia, since 1905, had lost its political and social equilibrium and had entered upon the period of storm and stress.

To the extent that some Socialists with an inclination for Communism point out that the moment of revolution in their respective countries has not yet arrived, and so decline to break away from the parliamentary opportunists, they are reasoning consciously or unconsciously from the assumption that the present epoch is one of relative stability for imperialist society, and they are assuming, therefore, that practical results may be achieved in the struggle for reform by a coalition with such men as Turati and Longuet. As soon as Communism comes to light, it must begin to elucidate the character of the present epoch (the culminations of capitalism, imperialistic self-negation and self-destruction, uninterrupted growth of civil war, etc.). Political relationships and political groupings may be different in different countries, but the essence of the matter is everywhere the same: we must start with the direct preparation for a proletarian uprising, politically and technically, for the destruction of the bourgeoisie and for the creation of the new proletarian state.

Parliament at present can in no way serve as the arena of a struggle for reform, for improving the lot of the working people, as it has at certain periods of the preceding epoch. The centre of gravity of political life at present has been completely and finally transferred beyond the limits of parliament. On the other hand, owing not only to its relationship to the working masses, but also to the complicated mutual relations within the various groups of the bourgeois itself, the bourgeoisie is forced to have some of its policies in one way or another passed through parliament, where the various cliques haggle for power, exhibit their strong sides and betray their weak ones, get themselves unmasked, etc., etc. Therefore it is the immediate historical task of the working class to tear this apparatus out of the hands of the ruling classes, to break and destroy it, and to create in its place a new proletarian apparatus. At the same time, however, the revolutionary general staff of the working class is vitally

concerned in having its scouting parties in the parliamentary institutions of the bourgeoisie, in order to facilitate this task of destruction.

Thus the fundamental difference between the tactics of Communists entering parliament with revolutionary aims in view, and the tactics of the socialist parliamentarians, becomes perfectly clear. The latter act on the assumption of the relative stability and the indefinite durability of the existing order, they consider it their task to achieve reforms by all means and are concerned to make the masses appreciative of every accomplishment as the merit of Social Democratic parliamentarism (Turati, Longuet & Co.).

Instead of the old compromising parliamentarism a new parliamentarism has come to life, as a weapon for the destruction of parliamentarism as a whole. But the aversion towards the traditional practices of the old parliamentarism drives some revolutionary elements into the camp of the opponents of parliamentarism on principle (I. W. W., the revolutionary Syndicalists, German Communist Labor Party).

Taking all this into consideration, the Second Congress adopts the following theses:

## **II. COMMUNISM, THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, AND THE UTILIZATION OF THE BOURGEOIS PARLIAMENT.**

1. Parliamentarism as a State system, has become a "democratic" form of the rule of the bourgeoisie which, at a certain stage of its development, needs the fiction of national representation, which outwardly would be an organization of a "national will" standing outside of classes, but in reality is an instrument of oppression and suppression in the hands of the ruling capitalists.

2. Parliamentarism is a definite form of State order. Therefore it can in no way be a form of Communist society, which recognizes neither classes, nor class struggle, nor any form of State authority.

3. Parliamentarism cannot be a form of proletarian government during the transition period between the dictatorship of the

bourgeoisie and that of the proletariat. At the moment when the accentuated class struggle turns into civil war, the proletariat must inevitably form its State organization as a fighting organization, which cannot contain any of the representatives of the former ruling classes; all fictions of a "national will" are harmful to the proletariat at that time, and a parliamentary division of authority is needless and injurious to it; the only form of proletarian dictatorship is a Republic of Soviets.

4. The bourgeois parliaments, which constitute one of the most important instruments of the State machinery of the bourgeoisie, cannot be won over by the proletariat any more than can the bourgeois order in general. The task of the proletariat consists in blowing up the whole machinery of the bourgeoisie, in destroying it, and all the parliamentary institutions with it, whether they be republican or constitutional-monarchical.

5. The same relates to the local government institutions of the bourgeoisie, which theoretically it is not correct to differentiate from State organizations. In reality they are part of the same apparatus of the State machinery of the bourgeoisie which must be destroyed by the revolutionary proletariat and replaced by local Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

6. Consequently, Communism repudiates parliamentarism as the form of the future; it renounces the same as a form of the class dictatorship of the proletariat; it repudiates the possibility of winning over the parliaments; its aim is to destroy parliamentarism. Therefore it is only possible to speak of utilizing the bourgeois State organizations with the object of destroying them. The question can be discussed only and exclusively on such a plane.

7. All class struggle is a political struggle, because it is finally a struggle for power. Any strike, when it spreads through the whole country, is a menace to the bourgeois State, and thus acquires a political character. To strive to overthrow the bourgeoisie, and to destroy its State, means to carry on political warfare. To create one's own class apparatus—for the bridling and suppression of the resisting bourgeoisie, whatever such an apparatus may be—means to gain political power.

8. Consequently, the question of a political struggle does not end in the question of one's attitude towards the parliamentary system. It is a general condition of the class struggle of

the proletariat, insofar as the struggle grows from a small and personal one to a general struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist order as a whole.

9. The elementary means of the struggle of the proletariat against the rule of the bourgeoisie is, first of all, the method of mass demonstrations. Such mass demonstrations are prepared and carried out by the organized masses of the proletariat, under the direction of a united, disciplined, centralized Communist Party. **Civil war is war.** In this war the proletariat must have its efficient political officers, its good political general staff, to conduct operations during all the stages of that fight.

10. The mass struggle means a whole system of developing demonstrations growing ever more acute in form, and logically leading to an uprising against the capitalist order of government. In this warfare of the masses developing into a civil war, the guiding party of the proletariat must, as a general rule, secure every and all lawful positions, making them its auxiliaries in the revolutionary work, and subordinating such positions to the plans of the general campaign, that of the mass struggle.

11. One such auxiliary support is the rostrum of the bourgeois parliament. Against participation in a political campaign one should not use the argument that parliament is a bourgeois government institution. The Communist Party enters such institutions not for the purpose of organization work, but in order to blow up the whole bourgeois machinery and the parliament itself from within (for instance, the work of Liebknecht in Germany, of the Bolsheviks in the Imperial Duma, in the "Democratic Conference," in the "Parliament" of Kerensky, and lastly, in the "Constituent Assembly," and also in the Municipal Dumas, and the activities of the Bulgarian Communists.)

12. This work within the parliaments, which consists chiefly in making revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary platform, the denouncing of enemies, the ideological unification of the masses, who are still looking up to the parliamentary platform, captivated by democratic illusions, especially in backward territories, etc., must be fully subordinated to the objects and tasks of the mass struggle outside the parliaments.

The participation in the elective campaign and the revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary tribune has a special importance for the winning over of those elements of the workers,

who—as perhaps the agrarian working masses—have stood far away from the revolutionary movement and political life.

13. If the Communists have the majority in the local government institutions, they must: a) carry on a revolutionary opposition against the bourgeois central authority; b) do all for the aid of the poor population (economic measures, establishment or attempt to establish an armed workers' militia; c) point out on every occasion the barriers which the bourgeois State power puts against really great changes; d) develop on this basis the sharpest revolutionary propaganda without fearing a conflict with the State authorities; e) under certain conditions substitute local Workers' Councils for the municipal administration. The whole activity of the Communists in the communal administration therefore must be a part of the general work of destruction of the capitalistic system.

14. The elective campaign must be carried on not in the sense of obtaining a maximum of votes, but in that of a revolutionary mobilization of the masses around the mottoes of the proletarian revolution. The election campaign must be conducted by the entire mass of party members, not by the leaders alone; it is necessary to make use of and be in complete touch with all the manifestations of the masses (strikes, demonstrations, movements among the soldiers and sailors, etc.) going on at the moment; it is necessary to summon all the masses of the proletarian organizations to active work.

15. In complying with all these conditions, as well as with those indicated in a special instruction, the parliamentary work must present a direct contrast to the dirty "politics" which has been practised by the Social Democratic parties of all countries, that enter parliament with the object of supporting that "democratic" institution or, at best, to "win it over." The Communist Party can only recommend a **revolutionary** use of the parliament as exemplified by Karl Liebknecht, Haeglund and the Bolsheviks.

16. "Anti-parliamentarism," in principle, in the sense of an absolute and categorical repudiation of participation in the elections and the parliamentary revolutionary work, cannot, therefore, bear criticism, and is a naive, childish doctrine, which is founded sometimes on a healthy disgust of politicians, but which does not understand the possibilities of revolutionary parliamentarism. Besides, very often this doctrine is connected with a quite

erroneous idea of the role of the party, which in this case is considered not as a fighting, centralized, advance guard of the workers, but as a decentralized system of badly joined revolutionary nuclei.

17. On the other hand, an acknowledgement of the value of parliamentary work in no wise leads to an absolute, in-all-and-any-case acknowledgement of the necessity of concrete elections and a concrete participation in parliamentary sessions. The matter depends upon a series of specific conditions. Under certain circumstances it may become necessary to leave the parliament. The Bolsheviks did so when they left the pre-parliament in order to break it up, to weaken it, and to set up against it the Petrograd Soviet, which was then prepared to head the uprising; they acted in the same way in the Constituent Assembly on the day of its dissolution, converting the Third Congress of Soviets into the centre of political events. In other circumstances a boycotting of the elections may be necessary, and a direct, violent storming of both the great bourgeois State apparatus and the parliamentary bourgeois clique, or a participation in the elections with a boycott of the parliament itself, etc.

18. In this way, while recognizing as a general rule the necessity of participating in the election to the central parliament, and the institutions of local self-government, as well as in the work in such institutions, the Communist Party must decide the question concretely, according to the specific conditions of the given moment. Boycotting the elections or the parliament, or leaving the parliament, is permissible, chiefly when there is a possibility of an immediate transition to an armed fight for power.

19. At the same time one must constantly bear in mind the relative unimportance of this question. If the center of gravity lies in the struggle for the power outside the parliament, then naturally the question of a proletarian dictatorship and a mass fight for it is immeasurably greater than the secondary one of using the parliament.

20. Therefore the Communist International insists categorically that it considers any division or attempt at a division within the Communist Parties along this line a crime against the labor movement. The Congress calls upon all the elements which are in favor of the mass struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, and of being under the direction of a centralized party of the

revolutionary proletariat for gaining influence over all the mass organizations of the working class, to strive for a complete unity between the Communist elements, notwithstanding any possible disagreement on the question of utilizing the bourgeois parliaments.

### III. REVOLUTIONARY PARLIAMENTARISM.

For securing the real execution of revolutionary parliamentary tactics it is necessary that:

1. The Communist Party in general and its Central Committee should, during **the preparatory stage**, before the parliamentary elections, inspect very carefully the quality of the personnel of the parliamentary factions. The Central Committee should be responsible for the parliamentary Communist faction. The Central Committee shall have the undeniable right to reject any candidate of any organizations, if it is not perfectly convinced that such candidate will carry on a real Communist policy while in parliament.

The Communist parties must desist from the old Social Democratic habit of electing as delegates only the so-called "experienced" parliamentarians, chiefly lawyers and so on. As a rule workmen should be put forward as candidates, without troubling about the fact that these may be sometimes simple rank-and-file workmen. The Communist Party must treat with merciless contempt all elements who try to make a career by joining the party just before the elections in order to get into parliament. The Central Committees of Communist parties must sanction the candidacy of only such men as by long years of work have proved their unwavering loyalty to the working class.

2. When the elections are over, the organization of the parliamentary factions must be wholly in the hands of the Central Committee of the Communist Party—whether the party in general is a lawful or unlawful one at the given moment. The chairman and the bureau of the parliamentary faction of Communists must be confirmed in their functions by the Central Committee of the Party. The Central Committee of the Party must have its permanent representative in the parliamentary faction with the right of veto. On all important political questions the parliamentary faction shall get preliminary instructions from the Central Committee of the Party.

At each forthcoming important debate of the Communists in the parliament, the Central Committee shall be entitled and bound to appoint or reject the orator of the faction, to demand that he submit previously the theses of his speech, or the text, for confirmation by the Central Committee, etc. Each candidate entered in the list of the Communists must sign a paper to the effect that at the first request of the Central Committee of the Party he shall be bound to give up his mandate, in order that in a given situation the act of leaving the parliament may be executed in unison.

3. In countries where reformist, semi-reformist or simply career-seeking elements have managed to penetrate into the parliamentary faction of the Communists (as has already happened in several places), the Central Committees of the Communist Parties are bound radically to weed out the personnel of the factions, on the principle that it is better for the cause of the working class to have a small but truly Communist faction than a large one without a regular Communist line of conduct.

4. A Communist delegate, by decision of the Central Committee, is bound to combine lawful work with unlawful work. In countries where the Communist delegate enjoys a certain inviolability, this must be utilized by way of rendering assistance to illegal organizations and for the propaganda of the party.

5. The Communist members shall make all their parliamentary work dependent on the work of the Party outside the parliament. The regular proposing of demonstrative measures, not for the purpose of having them passed by the bourgeois majority, but for the purpose of propaganda, agitation, and organization, must be carried on under the direction of the party and its Central Committee.

6. In the event of labor demonstrations in the streets or other revolutionary movements, the Communist members must occupy the most conspicuous place—at the head of the proletarian masses.

7. The Communist deputies must try to get in touch (under the control of the party) with the revolutionary workingmen, peasants, and other workers either by correspondence or otherwise. They must in no way act like the Social Democratic deputies who carry on mere business relations with the constituents. **They must always be at the disposal of the Communist organizations for propaganda work in the country.**

8. Each Communist member must remember that he is not a "legislator" who is bound to seek agreements with the other legislators, but an agitator of the Party, detailed into the enemy's camp in order to carry out the orders of the Party there. The Communist member is answerable not to the wide mass of his constituents, but to his own Communist Party—whether lawful or unlawful.

9. The Communist members must speak in parliament in such a way as to be understood by every workman, peasant, washerwoman, shepherd; so that the Party may publish his speeches and spread them to the most remote villages of the country.

10. The rank-and-file Communist worker must not shrink from speaking in the bourgeois parliaments, and not give way to the so-called experienced parliamentarians, even if such workmen are novices in parliamentary methods. In case of need the workmen members may read their speeches from notes, in order that the speech may be printed afterwards in the papers or in leaflet form.

11. The Communist members must make use of the parliamentary tribune to denounce not only the bourgeoisie and its hangers-on, but also for the denunciation of the social patriots, reformists, the half-and-half politicians of the centre and other opponents of Communism, and for the wide propagation of the ideas of the Third International.

12. The Communist members, even though there should be only one or two of them in the parliament, should by their whole conduct challenge capitalism, and never forget that only those are worthy of the name of Communists, who not in words only but in deeds are the mortal enemy of the bourgeois order and its social-patriotic flunkeys.

## THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, FACTORY COMMITTEES, AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

The trade unions, created by the working class during the period of the peaceful development of capitalism, were organizations of the workers for the struggle for the increase of the price of labor at the labor market, and the improvement of labor conditions. The revolutionary Marxists endeavored by their influence to unite them with the political party of the proletariat, the Social Democracy, for a joint struggle for Socialism. For the same reasons that the international Social Democracy, with a few exceptions, proved to be not an instrument of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for the overthrow of capitalism, but an organization which held back the proletariat from revolution in the interests of the bourgeoisie, the trade unions proved to be in most cases, during the war, a part of the military apparatus of the bourgeoisie, helping the latter to exploit from the working class as much sweat as possible for a more energetic warfare for capitalist profits. Containing chiefly the skilled workmen, the better paid, limited by their craft narrowmindedness, fettered by a bureaucratic apparatus, which had removed itself from the masses, demoralized by their opportunist leaders, the labor unions betrayed not only the cause of the Social Revolution, but even also the struggle for the improvement of the conditions of life of the workmen organized by them. They started from the point of view of the trade union struggle against the employers, and replaced it by the program of an amiable arrangement with the capitalists, at any cost. This policy was carried on not only by liberal unions of England and America, not only by the would-be "Socialist". Trade unions in Germany and Austria, but by the Syndicalist unions in France as well.

2. The economic consequences of the war, the complete disorganization of world economy, the insane prices, the unlimited application of the labor of women and children, the aggravation of the housing conditions, all these are forcing the large masses of the proletariat into the struggle against capitalism. This

struggle is revolutionary warfare by its proposition, and the character that it is assuming more and more every day; a warfare destroying objectively the bases of the capitalist order. The increase of wages, obtained one day by the economic struggle of one or another category of workers, is the next day nullified by the high prices. The prices must continue to rise, because the capitalist class of the victorious countries, ruining by their policy of exploitation central and eastern Europe, is not only not in a position to organize world economy but is incessantly disorganizing it. For the success of their economic struggle, the larger masses of workers who up to this time have stood apart from the labor unions, are now flowing into their ranks in a powerful stream. In all capitalist countries a tremendous increase of the trade unions is to be noticed, which now become organizations of the chief masses of the proletariat, not only its advanced elements. Flowing into the unions, these masses strive to make them their weapons of battle. The sharpening of class antagonism compels the trade unions to lead strikes, which flow in a broad wave over the entire capitalist world, constantly interrupting the process of capitalist production and exchange. Increasing their demands in proportion to the rising prices and their own exhaustion, the working classes undermine the basis of all capitalist calculations, that elementary premise of every well organized economic management. The unions, which during the war had been organs of compulsion over the working masses, become in this way organs for the annihilation of capitalism.

3. The old trade union bureaucracy and the old forms of organization of the trade unions are in every way opposing such a change in the nature of the trade unions. The old trade union Bureaucracy is endeavoring in many places to maintain the old trade unions as organizations of the workers' aristocracy. It preserves the rules which make it impossible for the badly paid working classes to enter into the trade union organizations. The old trade union aristocracy is even now intensifying its efforts to replace the strike methods, which are ever more and more acquiring the character of revolutionary warfare between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, by the policy of arrangements with the capitalists, the policy of long term contracts, which have lost all sense simply in view of constant insane rise of prices. It tries to force upon the workers the policy of "Joint Industrial Councils," and legally to impede the leading of strikes

with the assistance of the capitalist State. At the most tense moments of the struggle this bureaucracy sows trouble and confusion among the struggling masses of the workers, impending the fusion of the struggle of various categories of workmen into one general class struggle. In these attempts it is helped by the old organization of the trade unions according to crafts, which breaks up the workmen of one branch of production into separate professional groups, notwithstanding their being bound together by the process of capitalist exploitation. It rests on the force of tradition of the ideology of the old labor aristocracy, which is now constantly being weakened by the process of suppression of the privilege of separate groups of the proletariat through the general decay of capitalism, the equalization of the level of the working class and the growth of its need and the precariousness of its livelihood. In this way the trade union bureaucracy breaks up the powerful stream of the labor movement into weak streamlets, substitutes partial reformist demands for the general revolutionary aims of the movement, and on the whole retards the transformation of the struggle of the proletariat into a revolutionary struggle for the annihilation of capitalism.

4. Bearing in mind the rush of the enormous working masses into the trade unions, and also the objective revolutionary character of the economic struggle which those masses are carrying on in spite of the trade union bureaucracy, the Communists must join such unions in all countries, in order to make of them efficient organs of the struggle for the suppression of capitalism and for Communism. They must initiate the forming of trade unions where these do not exist. All voluntary withdrawal from the industrial movement, every artificial attempt to organize special unions, without being compelled thereto by exceptional acts of violence on the part of the trade union bureaucracy, such as expulsion of separate revolutionary local branches of the unions by the opportunist officials, or by their narrow-minded aristocratic policy, which prohibits the unskilled workers from entering into the organization, represents a great danger to the Communist movement. It threatens to hand over the most advanced, the most conscious workers, to the opportunist leaders, playing into the hands of the bourgeoisie. . . . The luke-warmness of the working masses, their ideological indecision, their tendency to yield to the arguments of opportunist leaders, can be overcome

only during the process of the evergrowing struggle, by degrees, as the wider masses of the proletariat learn to understand, by experience, by their victories and defeats, that objectively it is already impossible to obtain human conditions of life on the basis of capitalist methods of management; and by degrees as the advanced Communist workmen learn through their economic struggle to be not only preachers of the ideas of Communism, but also the most determined leaders of the economic struggle of the labor unions—only in this way will it be possible to remove from the unions their opportunist leaders, only in this way will the Communists be able to take the lead of the trade-union movement, and make of it an organ of the revolutionary struggle for Communism. Only in this way can they prevent the break-up of the trade unions, and replace them by industrial unions, remove the old bureaucracy separated from the masses and replace it by the apparatus of factory-representatives, leaving only the most necessary functions to the center.

5. Placing the object and the essence of labor organizations before them, the Communists ought not to hesitate before a split in such organizations, if a refusal to split would mean abandoning revolutionary work in the trade unions, and giving up the attempt to make of them an instrument of revolutionary struggle, the attempt to organize the most exploited part of the proletariat. But even if such a split should be necessary, it must be carried into effect only at a time when the Communists have succeeded by the incessant warfare against the opportunist leaders and their tactics, by their most active participation in the economic struggle, in persuading the wider masses of workmen that the split is occurring not because of the remote and as yet incomprehensible aims of the revolution, but on account of the concrete, immediate interests of the working class in the development of its economic struggle. The Communists in case a necessity for a split arises, must continuously and attentively discuss the question as to whether such a split might not lead to their isolation from the working mass.

6. Where a split between the opportunists and the revolutionary trade union movement has already taken place before, where, as in America, alongside the opportunist trade unions there are unions with revolutionary tendencies—although not Communist ones—there the Communists are bound to support such revolutionary unions, to persuade them to abandon Syndical-

ist prejudices and to place themselves on the platform of Communism, which alone is a trustworthy compass in the complicated question of the economic struggle. Where within the trade unions or outside of them in the factories, organizations are formed, such as shop stewards, factory committees, etc., for the purpose of fighting against the counter-revolutionary tendencies of the trade-union bureaucracy, to support the spontaneous direct action of the proletariat, there, of course, the Communists must with all their energy give assistance to these organizations. But the support of the revolutionary trade unions, which are in a state of ferment and passing over to the class struggle, must not be neglected. On the contrary, by approaching this evolution of the unions on their way to a revolutionary struggle, the Communists will be able to play the part of an element uniting the politically and industrially organized workmen in their joint struggle for the suppression of capitalism.

The economic struggle of the proletariat becomes a political struggle during an epoch of the decline of capitalism much quicker than during an epoch of its peaceful development. Every serious economic clash may immediately place the workers face to face with the question of revolution. Therefore it is the duty of the Communists in all the phases of the economic struggle to point out to the workers, that the success of the struggle is only possible if the working class conquers the capitalists in open fight, and by means of dictatorship proceeds to the organization of a Socialist order. Consequently, the Communists must strive to create as far as possible complete unity between the trade unions and the Communist party, and to subordinate the unions to the practical leadership of the Party, as the advance guard of the workers' revolutions. For this purpose the Communists should have Communist factions in all the trade unions and factory committees, and acquire by their means an influence over the labor movement and direct it.

## II.

1. The economic struggle of the proletariat for the increase of wages and the improvement of the conditions of life of the masses, is getting more and more into a blind alley. The economic crisis, embracing one country after another in ever increasing proportions, is showing to even unenlightened workingmen that it is not enough to demand an increase of wages and a shortening of the working hours, but that the capitalist classes less capable

every day of establishing the normal conditions of public economy and of guaranteeing to the workers at least those conditions of life which it gave them before the world war. Out of this growing conviction of the working masses are born their efforts to create organizations which will be able to commence a struggle for the alleviation of the situation by means of workers' control over production through the medium of the factory committees. This aspiration to create factory committees, which is more and more taking possession of the workingmen of different countries, takes its origin from the most varied causes (struggle against the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy, discouragement after union defeats, striving to create an organization embracing all workers), but in the end it results in the fight for control over industry, the special historic task of the factory committees. Therefore it is a mistake to form the shop committees only out of workingmen who are already struggling for the dictatorship of the proletariat; on the contrary, the duty of the Communist Party is to organize all the workingmen on the ground for the economic crisis, and to lead them toward the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat by developing the struggle for workers' control over production, which they all understand.

2. The Communist Party will be able to accomplish this task if, taking part in the struggle in the factory committees, it will instill in the minds of the masses the consciousness that a systematic reconstruction of the public economy on the basis of a capitalist order, which would mean its new enslavement by the government in favor of the industrial class, is now fatally impossible. The organization of the economic management corresponding with the interests of the working masses, is possible only when the government is in the hands of the working class, when the strong hand of the labor dictatorship will proceed to the suppression of capitalism and to the new Socialist organization.

3. The struggle of the factory committees against capitalism has for its immediate object workers' control over production.

The workers of every enterprise, every branch of industry, no matter what their trade, suffer from the "sabotage" of production on the part of capitalists, who frequently consider it more profitable to stop production in order that it may be easier to compel the workingmen to agree to unsatisfactory labor conditions, or not to invest new capital in industry at a moment of a general

rise in prices. The need to protect themselves against such sabotage of production by the capitalists unites the workingmen independently of their political opinions, and therefore, the factory committees elected by the workingmen of a given enterprise are the broadest mass organizations of the proletariat. But the disorganization of capitalist management is the result not only of the conscious will of the capitalists, but in a still greater degree an inevitable decline of capitalism. Therefore in their struggle against the consequences of such a decline, the factory committees must go beyond the limits of control in separate factories. The factory committees of separate factories will soon be faced with the question of workers' control over whole branches of industry and their combinations. And as any attempt on the part of the workingmen to exercise a control over the supplying of the factories with raw material or to control the financial operations of the Factory owners, will meet with the most energetic measures against the working class on the part of the bourgeoisie and the capitalist government, the struggle for workers' control over production must lead to the struggle for a seizure of power by the working class.

4. The campaign in favor of the factory committees must be conducted in such a way that into the minds of the popular masses, even not directly belonging to the factory proletariat, there should be instilled the conviction that the bourgeoisie is responsible for the economic crisis, while the proletariat, under the motto of workers' control of industry, is struggling for the organization of production, for the suppression of speculation, disorganization and high prices, the duty of the Communist Parties is to struggle for control over production on the ground of the most insistent questions of the day, the lack of fuel, the transport crisis—to unite the different groups of the proletariat and to attract wide circles of the petty bourgeoisie, which is becoming more and more proletarianized day by day, and is suffering extremely from the economic crisis.

5. The factory committees cannot be substituted for the labor unions. During the process of struggle they may form unions outside the limits of single factories and trades, according to the branches of production, and create a general apparatus for the direction of the struggle. The labor unions are already now centralized fighting organs, although they do not embrace such wide masses of workingmen as the factory committees are

capable of, these latter being loose organizations which are accessible to all the workers of a given enterprise. The division of tasks between the shop committees and the industrial unions is the result of the historical development of the social revolution. The industrial unions organize the working masses for the struggle for the increase of wages and shortening of work-hours on a national scale. The factory committees are organized for workers' control over production, for the struggle against the crisis, embracing all the workmen of the enterprises, but their struggle can only gradually assume the character of a national one. The Communists must endeavor to render the factory committees the nuclei of the labor unions and to support them in proportion as the unions overcome the counter-revolutionary tendencies of their bureaucracy, as they consciously become organs of the revolution.

6. The duty of the Communists consists in inspiring the labor unions and the factory committee with a spirit of determined struggle, and the consciousness and knowledge of the best methods of such a struggle—the spirit of Communism. In execution of this duty the Communists must practically subordinate the factory committees and the unions to the Communist Party, and thus create a proletarian mass organ, a basis for a powerful centralized party of the proletariat, embracing all the organizations of the proletarian struggle, leading them all to one aim, to the victory of the working class, through the dictatorship of the proletariat to Communism. The Communists converting the labor unions and factory committees into powerful weapons of the revolution, prepare these mass organizations for the great task which they will have after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the task of being the instrument of the reorganization of economic life on a Socialistic basis. The labor unions, developed as industrial unions and supported by the factory committees as their factory organizations, will then make the working masses acquainted with their tasks of production; they will educate the most experienced workmen to become leaders of the factories to control the technical specialists, and, together with the representatives of the Workers' State, will lay down the plan of the Socialist economic policy, and carry

### III.

1. The labor unions tried to form international unions even in time of peace, because during strikes the capitalists used to

invite workers from other countries, as strike-breakers. But the International of Labor Unions had only a secondary importance before the war. It made one union support another when needful; it organized social statistic, but it did nothing for the organization of a joint struggle, because the labor unions, under the leadership of opportunists, strove to avoid all revolutionary collisions on an international scale. The opportunist leaders of the labor unions, who, each in his own country, during the war were flunkies of the bourgeoisie, are now striving to revive the International of Labor Unions, attempting to make it a weapon for the direct struggle of international world capital against the proletariat. Under the direction of Léгийн, Jouhaux, Gompers, they are creating a Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, the organization of international capitalist robbery. In all countries they are attempting to crush the strike movement by means of laws, compelling the workmen to submit to the arbitration of representatives of the capitalist State.

They are endeavoring to obtain concessions for the skilled workers by means of agreements with the capitalists, in order to break in this way the growing unity of the working class. The Amsterdam International of Labor Unions is thus a substitute for the bankrupt Second International of Brussels.

The Communist workers who are members of the labor unions in all countries must, on the contrary, strive to create an international battle front of labor unions. The question now is not financial relief in case of strikes; but when the danger is threatening the working class of one country, the labor unions of the others, being organizations of the larger masses, should all come to its defense; they should make it impossible for the bourgeoisie of their respective countries to render assistance to the bourgeoisie of the country engaged in the struggle against the working class. The economic struggle against the working class, the economic struggle of the proletariat in all countries, is daily becoming more and more a revolutionary struggle. Therefore the labor unions must consciously use their forces for the support of all revolutionary struggles in their own and in other countries. For this purpose they must not only, in their own countries, strive to attain as great centralization of their struggle as possible, but they must do so on an international scale by joining the Communist International, and by uniting in one army the different parts of which shall carry on the struggle co-jointly, supporting one another.

## WHEN AND UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS SOVIETS OF WORKERS' DEPUTIES SHOULD BE FORMED.

1. The Soviets of Workers' Deputies appeared for the first time in Russia in 1905, at a time when the revolutionary movement of Russian workingmen was at its height. Already in 1905 the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies was taking the first instinctive steps towards a seizure of the power. And at that time the Petrograd Soviet was strong only as far as it had a chance of acquiring political power. As soon as the Imperial counter-revolution rallied its forces and the labor movement slackened, the Soviet, after a short vegetation, ceased to exist.

2. When in 1905, at the beginning of a new strong revolutionary wave, the idea began to awaken in Russia regarding the immediate organization of Soviets of Workers' Deputies, the Bolshevik party warned the workingmen against the immediate formation of the Soviets, and pointed out that such a formation would be well-timed only at the moment when the revolution would have already begun, and when the turn would have come for the direct struggle for the power.

3. At the beginning of the February revolution of 1917, when the Soviets of Workers' Deputies were transformed into Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, they drew into the sphere of their influence the widest circles of the popular masses and at once acquired a tremendous authority, because the real force was on their side, in their hands. But when the liberal bourgeoisie recovered from the suddenness of the first revolutionary blows, and when the social traitors, the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, helped the Russian bourgeoisie to take the power into its hands, the importance of the Soviets began to dwindle. Only after the July days and after the ill-success of Kornilov's counter-revolutionary campaign, when the wider popular masses began to move, and when the threat of the counter-revolutionary bourgeois coalition government came quite near,

then the Soviets began to flourish again; and they soon acquired a prominent position in the country.

4. The history of the German and the Austrian revolutions shows the same situation. When the popular masses revolted, when the revolutionary wave rose so high that it washed away the strongholds of the monarchies of the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs, in Germany and in Austria, the Soviets or Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies were formed with gigantic rapidity. At first the real force was on their side, and the Soviets were well on the way to become practically the power. But, owing to a whole series of historical conditions, as soon as the power began to pass to the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary Social Democrats, then the Soviets began to decline and lose all importance. During the days of the unsuccessful counter-revolutionary revolt of Kapp-Lüttwitz in Germany, the Soviets again resumed their activity, but when the struggle ended again in the victory of the bourgeoisie and the social-traitors, the Soviets, which had just begun to revive, once more died away.

5. The above facts prove that for the formation of Soviets certain definite premises are necessary. To organize Soviets of Workers' Deputies, and transform them into Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the following conditions are necessary:

a) A great revolutionary impulse among the widest circle of working men and working women, the soldiers and the workers in general;

b) The acuteness of a political economic crisis attaining such a degree that the power begins to slip out of the hands of the government;

c) A serious decision to begin a systematic and regular struggle developing in the ranks of considerable masses of the workingmen, and first of all in the ranks of the Communist Party.

6. In the absence of these conditions the Communists may and should systematically and insistently propagate the idea of Soviets, popularize it among the masses, and demonstrate to the widest circles of the population that the Soviets are the only efficient form of government during the transition to complete Communism. But to proceed to a direct organization of Soviets in the absence of the above three conditions is impossible.

7. The attempt of the social traitors in Germany to introduce the Soviets into the general bourgeois-democratic constitu-

tional system, is treason to the workers' cause and deception of the workingmen. Real Soviets are possible only as a form of state organization, relieving bourgeois democracy, breaking it up and replacing it by a dictatorship of the proletariat.

8. The propaganda of the right leaders of the Independents (Hilferding, Kautsky, and others), proving the compatibility of the Soviet "system" with the bourgeois Constituent Assembly, is either a complete misunderstanding of the laws of development of a proletarian revolution, or a conscious deceiving of the working class. The Soviets are the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Constituent Assembly is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. To unite and reconcile the dictatorship of the working class with that of the bourgeoisie is impossible.

9. The propaganda of some representatives of the Left Independents in Germany presenting the workers with a ready-made, formal plan of a "Soviet system," which has no relation whatever to the concrete process of the civil war, is a doctrinaire pastime which draws the workers away from their essential tasks of the real struggle for power.

10. The attempts of separate Communist groups in France, Italy, America, England to form Soviets not embracing the larger working masses and unable, therefore, to enter into a direct struggle for power, are only prejudicial to the actual preparation of a Soviet revolution. Such artificial hot-house "Soviets" soon become transformed in the best of cases into small associations for propaganda of the idea of a Soviet power, and in the worst case such miserable "Soviets" are capable only of compromising the idea of the power of "Soviets" in the eyes of the popular masses.

11. At the present time there exists a special condition in Austria, where the working class has succeeded in preserving its Soviets, which unite large masses of workers. Here the situation resembles the period between February and October, 1917, in Russia. The Soviets in Austria represent a considerable political force, and appear to be the embryo of a new power.

It must be understood that in such a situation the Communists ought to participate in these Soviets, help the Soviets to penetrate into all phases of the social economic and political life

of the country; they should create Communist factions within these Soviets, and by all means aid their development.

12. Soviets without a revolution are impossible. Soviets without a proletarian revolution inevitably become a parody of Soviets. The authentic Soviets of the masses are the historically revealed form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All sincere and serious partisans of the power of Soviets should deal cautiously with the idea of Soviets, and while indefatigably propagating it among the masses, proceed to the direct realization of such Soviets only under the conditions mentioned above.

## THESES ON THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS.

### A.) THESES.

1. It is typical of bourgeois democracy, by its very nature, to take an abstract or formal attitude towards the question of the colonies in general, and to that of national equality in particular. Under the appearance of the equality of human beings in general, bourgeois democracy proclaims the formal or judicial equality of the proprietor and the proletarian, of the exploiter and the exploited, thereby greatly deceiving the oppressed classes. On the pretext of absolute equality which is in itself but a reflection of the relations caused by commodity production, he converts them into an instrument in the struggle against the abolition of classes. But the real essence of the demand for equality is based on the demand for the abolition of classes.

2. In conformity with its chief task—the struggle against bourgeois democracy and the denunciation of its lies and deceptions—the Communist Party, being the class conscious expression of the struggle of the proletariat to cast off the yoke of the bourgeoisie, must not advance any abstract and formal principles on the national question, but must first analyze the historical, and, before all, the economic conditions; second, it must clearly distinguish the interests of the oppressed classes, of the toilers, of the exploited, from the general conception of national interests which in reality means the interests of the ruling class; third, it must equally separate the oppressed and subject nations from the dominating nations, in contradistinction to the bourgeois democratic lies concealing the enslavement of a vast majority of the population of the earth by an insignificant minority of the advanced capitalist nations, which is peculiar to the epoch of financial capital and imperialism.

3. The imperialist war of 1914 has demonstrated very clearly to all nations and to all oppressed classes of the world the deceitfulness of bourgeois democratic phraseology. That

war has been carried on on both sides under the false motto of the freedom of nations and national self-determination. But the Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest peace on the one hand, and the Versailles and Saint-Germain peace on the other, have shown how the bourgeoisie establishes even 'national' boundaries in conformity with its own economic interests. "National" boundaries are for the bourgeoisie nothing but market commodities. The so-called "League of Nations" is nothing but an insurance policy in which the victors mutually guarantee each other their prey. The striving for the reconstruction of national unity and of the "re-union of alienated territories" on the part of the bourgeoisie, is nothing but an attempt of the vanquished to gather forces for new wars. The re-uniting of the nationalities artificially torn asunder corresponds also to the interests of the proletariat only through revolutionary struggle and by the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. The League of Nations and the policy of the imperialist powers after the war demonstrate this even more clearly and definitely, making the revolutionary struggle in the advanced countries more acute, increasing the ferment of the working masses of the colonies and the subject countries, and dispelling the middle class nationalistic illusion of the possibility of peaceful collaboration and equality of nations under capitalism.

4. It follows from the fundamental principles laid down above, that the policy of the Communist International on the National and Colonial questions must be chiefly to bring about a union of the proletarian and working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle leading to the overthrow of capitalism, without which national equality and oppression cannot be abolished.

5. The political situation of the world at the present time has placed the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the foreground, and all the events of world politics are inevitably concentrating around one point, namely, the struggle of the bourgeois world against the Russian Soviet Republic, which is grouping around itself the Soviet movements of the vanguard of the workers of all countries, and all national liberation movements of the colonial and subject countries, which have been taught by bitter experience that there can be no salvation for them outside of a union with the revolutionary proletariat, and the triumph of the Soviet power over Imperialism.

6. Consequently, we must not content ourselves with a mere recognition or declaration concerning the unity of the workers of different nations, but we must carry out a policy of realizing the closest union between all national and colonial liberation movements and Soviet Russia, determining the forms of this union in accordance with the stage of development of the Communist movement among the proletariat of each country, or the revolutionary liberation movement in the subject nations and backward countries.

7. Federation is a transitional form towards the complete union of the workers of all countries. It has already proved its efficiency in practice in the relations of the Socialist Federated Soviet Republic of Russia to the other Soviet Republics (Hungarian, Finnish, Lettish, in the past; and the Azerbeidjan and Ukrainian in the present), as also within the borders of the Socialist Federal Soviet Republic of Russia with regard to the nationalities which had neither their own government nor any self-governing institutions (for example, the autonomous Republic of Bashkiria and the Tartar Republic, which were formed in 1919—1920 by the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic).

8. It is the task of the Communist International in this regard not only to develop further, but also to study and test by experience, these federations which have arisen out of the Soviet order and the Soviet movement. Recognizing federation as a transition form towards complete union, we must strive for ever closer federative connections, bearing in mind first, the impossibility of maintaining the Soviet Republic surrounded by powerful imperialist nations, without a close union with other Soviet Republics; second, the necessity of a close economic union of the Soviet Republics, without which the restoration of the forces of production destroyed by Imperialism, and the assuring of the welfare of the workers is impossible; third, the striving towards the creation of a unified world economy based on one general plan and regulated by the proletariat of all the nations of the world. This tendency has already manifested itself under capitalism, and is undoubtedly going to be further developed and perfected by Socialism.

9. With regard to inter-state relations, the international policy of the Communist International cannot limit itself to a mere formal verbal declaration of the recognition of the equality of nations, which does not involve any practical obligations, such

as has been made by the bourgeois democrats who styled themselves socialist. The constant violations of the equality of nations and the infringement upon the rights of national minorities practised in all the capitalist states in spite of the democratic constitutions, must be denounced in all the propaganda and agitational activity of the Communist International, within, as well as outside the parliament. It is likewise necessary, first, to explain constantly that only the Soviet regime is able to give the nations real equality, by uniting the proletariat and all the masses of the workers in the struggle against the bourgeoisie; second, to support the revolutionary movement among the subject nations (for example, Ireland, American negroes, etc.) and in the colonies.

Without this last, especially important condition the struggle against the oppression of dependent nations and colonies, as well as the recognition of their right to an independent existence, is only a misleading signboard, such as has been exhibited by the parties of the Second International.

10. It is the habitual practice not only of the centre parties of the Second International, but also of those which have left it, to recognize internationalism in words and then to adulterate it in their propaganda, agitation, and practical activity by mixing it up with petty bourgeois nationalism and pacifism. This is to be found even among those parties that at present call themselves Communist. The struggle against this evil, and against the deep-rooted petty bourgeois national prejudices (manifesting themselves in various forms, such as race hatred, national antagonism and antisemitism), must be brought to the foreground the more vigorously because of the urgent necessity of transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat and changing it from a national basis (i. e., existing in one country and incapable of exercising an influence over world politics), into an international dictatorship (i. e., a dictatorship of the proletariat of at least several advanced countries capable of exercising a determined influence upon world politics). Petty bourgeois internationalism means the mere recognition of the rights of national equality, and preserves intact national egotism. Proletarian internationalism, on the other hand, demands: (1) the subordination of the interests of the proletarian struggle in one nation to the interests of that struggle on an international scale; 2) the capability and the readiness on the part of one nation which has

gained a victory over the bourgeoisie, of making the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capitalism.

In the countries in which fully developed capitalist states exist, the labor parties, comprising the vanguard of the proletariat, must consider it as their primary and most important task to combat the opportunist and petty bourgeois pacifist confusion of the ideas and the policy of internationalism.

11. With regard to those states and nationalities where a backward, mainly feudal, patriarchal, or patriarchal-agrarian régime prevails, the following must be borne in mind: 1) All Communist parties must give active support to the revolutionary movements of liberation, the form of support to be determined by a study of existing conditions, carried on by the party wherever there is one. This duty of rendering active support is to be imposed in the first place on the workers of those countries on whom the subject nation is dependent in a colonial or financial way; 2) Naturally, a struggle must be carried on against the reactionary mediaeval influences of the clergy, the christian missions, and similar elements; 3) It is also necessary to combat the pan-Islam and pan-Asiatic and similar movements, which are endeavoring to utilize the liberation struggle against European and American imperialism for the purpose of strengthening the power of Turkish and Japanese imperialists, of the nobility, of the large land owners, of the clergy, etc.; 4) It is of special importance to support the peasant movements in backward countries against the land owners and all feudal survivals; above all, we must strive as far as possible to give the peasant movement a revolutionary character, to organize the peasants and all the exploited into the Soviets, and thus bring about the closest possible union between the Communist proletariat of Western Europe and the revolutionary peasant movement of the East and of the colonial and subject countries; 5) It is likewise necessary to wage determined war against the attempt of quasi-Communist revolutionists to cloak the liberation movement in the backward countries with a Communist garb. It is the duty of the Communist International to support the revolutionary movement in the colonies and in the backward countries, for the exclusive purpose of uniting the various units of the future proletarian parties—such as are Communist not only in name—in all backward countries and educate them to the consciousness of their specific tasks, i. e., to the tasks of the struggle against the bour-

geois democratic tendencies within their respective nationalities. The Communist International must establish temporary relations and even unions with the revolutionary movements in the colonies and backward countries, without, however, amalgamating with them, but preserving the independent character of the proletarian movement, even though it be still in its embryonic state. 6) It is essential continually to expose the deception fostered among the masses of the toilers in all, and especially in the backward countries, by the imperialist powers aided by privileged classes of the subject countries, in creating under the mask of political independence various governments and state institutions which are in reality completely dependent upon them economically, financially and in a military sense. As a striking example of the deception practised upon the working class of a subject country through the combined efforts of Allied Imperialism and the bourgeoisie of the given nation, we may cite the Palestine affair of the Zionists, where, under the pretext of creating a Jewish state in Palestine, in which the Jews form only an insignificant part of the population, Zionism has delivered the native Arabian working population to the exploitation of England. Only a union of Soviet Republics can bring salvation to the dependent and weak nationalities under present International conditions.

12. The age-long enslavement of the colonial and weak nationalities by the imperialist powers, has given rise to a feeling of rancour among the masses of the enslaved countries, as well as to a feeling of distrust towards the oppressive nations in general and towards the proletariat of those nations. These sentiments have become strengthened by the base treachery of the majority of the official leaders of the proletariat in the years of 1914-1919, when the social patriots came out in defence of their fatherlands and of the "rights" of their bourgeoisie to the enslavement of the colonies and to the plunder of the financially dependent countries. These sentiments can be completely rooted out only by the abolition of imperialism in the advanced countries and the radical transformation of all the foundations of economic life in the backward countries. Thus it will take a long time for these national prejudices to disappear. This imposes upon the class conscious proletariat of all countries the duty of exercising special caution and care with regard to these national sentiments still surviving in the countries and nationalities which have been

subjected to lasting enslavement, and also of making necessary concessions in order more speedily to remove this distrust and prejudice. The victory over capitalism cannot be fully achieved and carried to its ultimate goal unless the proletariat and the toiling masses of all nations of the world rally of their own accord in a harmonious and close union.

## B.) SUPPLEMENTARY THESES.

1. To determine more especially the relation of the Communist International to the revolutionary movements in the countries dominated by capitalistic imperialism, for instance, China and India, is one of the most important questions before the Second Congress of the Third International. The history of the world revolution has come to a period when a proper understanding of this relation is indispensable. The great European war and its results have shown clearly that the masses of non-European subject countries are inseparably connected with the proletarian movement in Europe, as a consequence of the centralization of world capitalism—for instance, the sending of colonial troops and huge armies of workers to the battle front during the war, etc.

2. One of the main sources from which European capitalism draws its chief strength is to be found in the colonial possessions and dependencies. Without the control of the extensive ?????? and vast fields of exploitation in the colonies, the capitalist powers of Europe cannot maintain their existence even for a short time. England, the stronghold of imperialism, has been suffering from overproduction for more than a century. But for the extensive colonial possessions acquired for the sale of her surplus products and as a source of raw materials for her ever-growing industries, the capitalistic structure of England would have been crushed under its own weight long ago. By enslaving the hundreds of millions of inhabitants of Asia and Africa, English imperialism succeeds so far in keeping the British proletariat under the domination of the bourgeoisie.

3. Super-profit gained in the colonies is the mainstay of modern capitalism, and so long as the latter is not deprived of this source of super-profit, it will not be easy for the European working class to overthrow the capitalist order. Thanks to the possibility of the extensive and intensive exploitation of human

labor and natural resources in the colonies, the capitalist nations of Europe are trying, not without success, to recuperate their present bankruptcy. By exploiting the masses in the colonies, European imperialism will be in a position to give concession after concession to the labor aristocracy at home. While, on the one hand, European imperialism seeks to lower the standard of living of the home proletariat by bringing into competition the productions of the lower paid workers in subject countries, on the other hand, it will not hesitate to go to the extent of sacrificing the entire surplus value in the home country so long as it continues to gain its huge super-profits in the colonies.

4. The breaking up of the colonial empire, together with the proletarian revolution in the home country, will overthrow the capitalist system in Europe. Consequently, the Communist International must widen the sphere of its activities. It must establish relations with those revolutionary forces that are working for the overthrow of imperialism in the countries subjected politically and economically. These two forces must be co-ordinated if the final success of the world revolution is to be guaranteed.

5. The Communist International is the concentrated will of the world revolutionary proletariat. Its mission is to organize the working class of the whole world for the overthrow of the capitalistic order and the establishment of Communism. The Third International is a fighting body which must assume the task of combining the revolutionary forces of all the countries of the world. Dominated as it was by a group of politicians, permeated with bourgeois culture, the Second International failed to appreciate the importance of the colonial question. For them the world did not exist outside of Europe. They could not see the necessity of co-ordinating the revolutionary movement of Europe with those in the non-European countries. Instead of giving moral and material help to the revolutionary movement in the colonies, the members of the Second International themselves became imperialists.

6. Foreign imperialism imposed on the Eastern peoples prevented them from developing, socially and economically, side by side with their fellows in Europe and America. Owing to the imperialist policy of preventing industrial development in the colonies, a proletarian class, in the strict sense of the word, could not come into existence there until recently. The ingenious craft

industries were destroyed to make room for the products of the centralized industries in the imperialistic countries, consequently a majority of the population was driven to the land to produce food, grains, and raw materials for export to foreign lands. On the other hand, there followed a rapid concentration of land in the hands of the big landowners, of financial capitalists, and the state, thus creating a huge landless peasantry. The great bulk of the population was kept in a state of illiteracy. As a result of this policy, the spirit of revolt latent in every subject people, found its expression only through the small, educated middle class.

Foreign domination has obstructed the free development of the social forces, therefore, its overthrow is the first step towards a revolution in the colonies. So to help overthrow the foreign rule in the colonies is not to endorse the nationalist aspirations of the native bourgeoisie, but to open the way to the smothered proletariat there.

7. There are to be found in the dependent countries two distinct movements which every day grow farther apart from each other. One is the bourgeois democratic nationalist movement, with a programme of political independence under the bourgeois order, and the other is the mass action of the poor and ignorant peasants and workers for their liberation from all sorts of exploitation. The former endeavor to control the latter, and often succeed to a certain extent, but the Communist International and the parties affected must struggle against such control, and help to develop class consciousness in the working masses of the colonies. For the overthrow of foreign capitalism, which is the first step toward revolution in the colonies, the co-operation of the bourgeois nationalist revolutionary elements is useful.

But the foremost and necessary task is the formation of Communist Parties which will organize the peasants and workers and lead them to the revolution and to the establishment of soviet republics. Thus the masses in the backward countries may reach Communism, not through capitalistic development, but led by the class conscious proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries.

8. The real strength of the liberation movements in the colonies is no longer confined to the narrow circle of bourgeois democratic nationalists. In most of the colonies there already exist organized revolutionary parties which strive to be in close

connection with the working masses. (The relation of the Communist International with the revolutionary movement in the colonies should be realized through the mediums of these parties or groups, because they were the vanguard of the working class in their respective countries.) They are not very large to-day, but they reflect the aspirations of the masses and the latter will follow them to the revolution. The Communist parties of the different imperialistic countries must work in conjunction with these proletarian parties of the colonies, and, through them, give all moral and material support to the revolutionary movement in general.

9. The revolution in the colonies is not going to be a Communist revolution in its first stages. But if from the outset the leadership is in the hands of a Communist vanguard, the revolutionary masses will not be led astray, but will go ahead through the successive periods of development of revolutionary experience. Indeed, it would be extremely erroneous in many of the Oriental countries to try to solve the agrarian problem according to pure Communist principles. In its first stages the revolution in the colonies must be carried on with a programme which will include many petty bourgeois reform clauses, such as division of land, etc. But from this it does not follow at all that the leadership of the revolution will have to be surrendered to the bourgeois democrats. On the contrary, the proletarian parties must carry on vigorous and systematic propaganda of the Soviet idea, and organize the peasants' and workers' Soviets as soon as possible. These Soviets will work in co-operation with the Soviet Republics in the advanced capitalistic countries for the ultimate overthrow of the capitalist order throughout the world.

## THESIS ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION.

1. No one but the city industrial proletariat, led by the Communist Party, can save the laboring masses in the country from the pressure of capital and landlordism, from dissolution and from imperialistic wars, ever inevitable as long as the capitalist regime endures. There is no salvation for the peasants except to join the Communist proletariat, to support with heart and soul its revolutionary struggle to throw off the yoke of the landlords and the bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, the industrial workers will be unable to carry out their universal historic mission, and to liberate humanity from the bondage of capital and war, if they shut themselves within their separate guilds, their narrow trade interests, and restrict themselves self-sufficiently to a desire for the improvement of their sometimes tolerable bourgeois conditions of life. That is what happens in most advanced countries possessing a "labor aristocracy," which forms the basis of the would-be parties of the Second International, who are, in fact, the worst enemies of Socialism, traitors to it, bourgeois jingoes, agents of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement. The proletariat becomes a truly revolutionary class, truly Socialist in its actions, only by acting as the vanguard of all those who work and are being exploited, as their leader in the struggle for the overthrow of the oppressors; and this cannot be achieved without carrying the class struggle into the agricultural districts, without making the laboring masses of the country all gather around the Communist Party of the town proletariat, without the peasants being educated by the town proletariat.

2. The laboring and exploited masses in the country, which the town proletariat must lead on to the fight, or at least win over to its side, are represented in all capitalist countries by the following groups:

In the first place, the agricultural proletariat, the hired laborers (by the year, by the day, by the job), making their living by wage labor in capitalist, agricultural, or industrial establish-

ments; the independent organization of this class, separated from the other groups of the country population (in a political, military, trade, co-operative, educational sense), and an energetic propaganda among it, in order to win it over to the side of the Soviet power and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, must be the fundamental task of the Communist parties in all countries.

In the second place, the semi-proletariat or small peasants, those who make their living partly by working for wages in agricultural and industrial capitalist establishments, partly by toiling on their own or a rented parcel of land yielding but a part of the necessary food produce for their families; this class of the rural population is rather numerous in all capitalist countries, but its existence and its peculiar position are hushed up by the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the yellow "Socialists" affiliated to the Second International. Some of these people intentionally cheat the workers, but others follow blindly the average views of the public and mix up this special class with the whole mass of the "peasantry." Such a method of bourgeois deception of the workers is used more particularly in Germany and France, and then in America and other countries. Provided that the work of the Communist Party is well organized, this group is sure to side with the Communists, the conditions of life of these half-proletarians being very hard, the advantage the Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat would bring them being enormous and immediate. In some countries there is no clear-cut distinction between these two groups; it is, therefore, permissible under certain conditions to form them into separate organizations.

In the third place, the little proprietors, the small farmers who possess by right of ownership or on rent small portions of land which satisfy the needs of their family and of their farming without requiring any additional wage labor; this part of the population as a class gains everything by the victory of the proletariat, which brings with it: a) liberation from the payment of rent or of a part of the crops (for instance, the *metayers* in France, the same arrangements in Italy, etc.) to the owners of large estates; b) abolition of all mortgages; c) abolition of many forms of pressure and of dependence on the owners of large estates (forests and their use, etc.); d) immediate help from the proletarian state for farm work (permitting use by peasants of the agricultural implements and in part of the build-

ings on the big capitalist estates expropriated by the proletariat, the immediate transformation by the proletarian state power of all rural co-operatives and agricultural companies, which under the capitalist rule were chiefly supporting the wealthy and the middle peasantry, into institutions primarily for the support of the poor peasantry, that is to say, the proletarians, semi-proletarians, small farmers, etc.).

At the same time the Communist Party should be thoroughly aware that during the dictatorship of the proletariat, at least some partial hesitations are inevitable in this class, in favor of unrestricted free trade and free use of the rights of private property. For this class, being a seller of commodities (although on a small scale), is necessarily demoralized by profit-hunting and habits of proprietorship. And yet, provided there is a consistent proletarian policy—and the victorious proletariat deals relentlessly with the owners of the large estates and the landed peasants—the hesitations of the class in question will not be considerable, and cannot change the fact that on the whole this class will side with the proletarian revolution.

3. All these three groups taken together constitute the majority of the agrarian population in all capitalist countries. This guarantees in full the success of the proletarian revolution, not only in the towns but in the country as well. The opposite view is very widely spread, but it persists only because of a systematic deception on the part of bourgeois science and statistics. They hush up by every means any mention of the deep chasm which divides the rural classes we have indicated, from the exploiters, the landowners and capitalists on the one hand, from the landed peasants on the other. It holds further because of the incapacity and the failure of the "heroes" affiliated to the yellow Second International and the "labor aristocracy," demoralized by imperialistic privileges, to do genuine propaganda work among the poor in the country. All the attention of the opportunists was given and is being given now to the arrangement of theoretical and practical agreements with the bourgeoisie, including the landed and the middle peasantry (see Paragraph concerning these classes) and not to the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois government and the bourgeois class by the proletariat. In the third place, this view persists because of the force of inveterate prejudice possessing already a great stability (and connected with all bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary prejudices),

the incapacity to grasp a simple truth fully proved by the Marxian theory and confirmed by the practice of the proletarian revolution in Russia. This truth consists in the fact that the peasant population of the three classes we have mentioned above, being extremely oppressed, scattered, and doomed to live in half-civilized conditions in all countries, even in the most advanced, is economically, socially, and morally interested in the victory of Socialism; but that it will finally support the revolutionary proletariat only after the proletariat has taken the political power, after it has done away with the owners of the large estates and the capitalists, after the oppressed masses are able to see in practice that they have an organized leader and helper sufficiently powerful and firm to support and to guide, to show the right way.

The "middle peasantry," in the economic sense, consists of small landowners who possess, according to the right of ownership or rent, portions of land, which, although small, nevertheless may: 1) usually yield under capitalist rule not only scanty provision for the family and the needs of the farming, but also the possibility of accumulating a certain surplus, which, at least in the best years, could be transformed into capital; and 2) necessitate the employment of (for instance, in a family of two or three members) wage labor. As a concrete example of the middle peasantry in an advanced capitalist country, we may take the situation in Germany, where, according to the registration of 1917, there was a group tilling farms from five to ten acres, and in these farms the number of hired agricultural laborers made up about a third of the whole number of farms in this group.\* In France, the country of a greater development of special cultures, for instance, the vineyards, requiring special treatment and care, the corresponding group employs wage labor probably in a somewhat larger proportion.

The revolutionary proletariat can not make it its aim, at least for the nearest future and for the beginning of the period of the proletarian dictatorship, to win this class over to its side. The proletariat will have to content itself with neutralizing this

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\*These are the exact figures: number of farms 5—10 acres 552,798 (out of 5,736,082); they possess in all sorts of hired workers, 487,704—the number of workers with their families (Familienangehoerige) being 2,013,633. In Austria, according to the census of 1910, there were 383,351 farms in this group. 126,136 of them employing hired labor; 146,044 hired workers, 1,215,969 workers with their families. The total number of farms in Austria amounts to 2,856,349.

class, i. e., with making it take a neutral position in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The vacillation of this class is unavoidable, and in the beginning of the new epoch its predominating tendency in the advanced capitalist countries will be in favor of the bourgeoisie, for the ideas and sentiments of private property are characteristic of the possessors. The victorious proletariat will immediately improve the lot of this class by abolishing the system of rent and mortgage, by the introduction of machinery and electrical appliances into agriculture. The proletarian state power cannot at once abolish private property in most of the capitalist countries, but must do away with all duties and levies imposed upon this class of people by the landlords; it will also secure to the small and middle peasantry the ownership of their land holdings and enlarge them, putting the peasants in possession of the land they used to rent (abolition of rents).

The combination of such measures with a relentless struggle against the bourgeoisie guarantees the full success of the neutralization policy. The transition to collective agriculture must be managed with much circumspection and step by step, and the proletarian state power must proceed by the force of example without any violence toward the middle peasantry.

5. The landed peasants or farmers (Grossbauern) are capitalists in agriculture, managing their lands usually with several hired laborers. They are connected with the "peasantry" only by their rather low standard of culture, their way of living, the personal manual work of their land. This is the most numerous element of the bourgeois class, and the decided enemy of the revolutionary proletariat. The chief attention of the Communist Party in the rural districts must be given to the struggle against this element, to the liberation of the laboring and exploited majority of the rural population from the moral and political influence of these exploiters.

After the victory of the proletariat in the towns, this class will inevitably oppose it by all means, from sabotage to open armed counter-revolutionary resistance. The revolutionary proletariat must, therefore, immediately begin to prepare the necessary force for the disarmament of every single man of this class, and together with the overthrow of the capitalists in industry, the proletariat must deal a relentless, crushing blow to this class. To that end it must arm the rural proletariat and organize Soviets

in the country, with no room for exploiters, and a preponderant place must be reserved to the proletarians and the semi-proletarians.

But the expropriation even of the landed peasants can by no means be an immediate object of the victorious proletariat, considering the lack of material, particularly of technical material, and further of the social conditions necessary for the socialization of such lands. In some probably exceptional cases parts of their estates will be confiscated if they are leased in small parcels, or if they are specially needed by the small-peasant population. A free use must be also secured to this population, on definite terms, of a part of the agricultural machinery of the landed peasants, etc. As a general rule, however, the state power must leave the peasants in possession of their land, confiscating it only in case of resistance to the government of the laboring and exploited peasants. The experience of the Russian proletarian revolution, whose struggle against the landed peasants became very complicated and prolonged owing to a number of particular circumstances, nevertheless shows that this class has been at last taught what it costs to make the slightest attempt at resistance, and is now quite willing to serve loyally the aims of the proletarian state. It begins even to be penetrated, although very slowly, by a respect for the government which protects every worker and deals relentlessly with the idle rich.

The specific conditions which complicated and prolonged the struggle of the Russian proletariat against the landed peasantry after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, consist mainly in the fact that after the coup d'état of October 25 and November 7, 1917, the Russian revolution traversed a stage of "general democratic," actually bourgeois democratic, struggle of the peasantry as a whole against the landowners, and there were further the low standard of living and scarcity of the urban proletariat, and, finally, the enormous distances and exceedingly bad transport conditions. Insofar as these adverse conditions do not exist in the advanced countries, the revolutionary proletariat in Europe and America must prepare with much more energy and carry out a much more rapid and complete victory over the resistance of the landed peasantry, depriving it of all possibility of resistance. This is of the utmost importance, considering that until a complete, absolute victory is won, the proletarian state power cannot be regarded as secure and capable of resisting its enemies.

6. The revolutionary proletariat must proceed to an immediate and unconditional confiscation of the estates of the landowners and big landlords, that is, of all those who systematically employ wage labor, directly or through their tenants, who exploit all the small (and not infrequently also the middle) peasantry in their neighborhood, and who do not do any actual manual work. To this element belong the majority of the descendants of the feudal lords ( the nobility of Russia, Germany, and Hungary, the restored seigneurs of France, the Lords in England, the former slave owners in America), or financial magnates who have become particularly rich, or a mixture of those two classes of exploiters and idlers.

No propaganda can be admitted in the ranks of the Communist parties in favor of an indemnity to be paid to the owners of large estates for their expropriation. In the present conditions prevailing in Europe and America this would mean treason to Socialism and the imposition of a new tax on the laboring and exploited masses, who have already suffered from the war, which has increased the number of millionaires and has multiplied their wealth.

In the advanced capitalist countries the Communist International considers that it should be a prevailing practice to preserve the large agricultural establishments and manage them on the lines of the "Soviet farms" in Russia.\* In regard to the management of the estates confiscated by the victorious proletariat from the owners of large landed property—the prevailing practice in Russia—the cause of economic backwardness was the partition of this landed property for the benefit of the peasantry, and in comparatively rare exceptions was there a preservation of the so-called "Soviet farm," managed by the proletarian state at its expense, and transforming the former wage laborers into workers employed by the state, and into members of the Soviets managing these farms.

The preservation of large landholdings serves best the interests of the revolutionary elements of the population, namely, the landless agricultural workers and semi-proletarian small landholders, who get their livelihood mainly by working on the large estates. Besides, the nationalization of large landholdings makes the urban population, at least in part, less dependent on the peasantry for their food.

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\* It is also advisable to encourage collective establishments (Communes),

In those places, however, where relics of the feudal system still prevail, where "serfdom" and the system of giving half of the products to the peasants prevails and where a part of the soil belongs to the large estates the landlord privileges give rise to special forms of exploitation.

In countries where large landholdings are insignificant in number, while a great number of small tenants are in search of land, the distribution of the large holdings can prove a sure means of winning the peasantry for the revolution, while the preservation of the large estates can be of no value for the provisioning of the towns. The first and most important task of the proletarian state is to secure a lasting victory. The proletariat must put up with a temporary decline of production so long as it makes for the success of the revolution. Only by persuading the middle peasantry to maintain a neutral attitude, and by gaining the support of a large part, if not the whole, of the small peasantry, can the lasting maintenance of the proletarian power be secured.

At any rate, where the land of the large owners is being distributed, the interests of the agricultural proletariat must be of primary consideration.

The implements of large estates must be converted into state property absolutely intact, but on the unfailing condition that these implements be put at the disposal of the small peasants gratis, subject to conditions worked out by the proletarian state.

If just at first, after the proletarian coup d'état, the immediate confiscation of the big estates becomes absolutely necessary, and, moreover, also the banishment or internment of all landowners as leaders of the counter-revolution, and relentless oppressors of the whole rural population, the proletarian state, in proportion to its consolidation not only in the towns but in the country as well, must systematically strive to take advantage of all the forces of this class, of all those who possess valuable experience, learning, organizing talent, and must use them (under special control of the most reliable Communist workers) to organize large agriculture on Socialist principles.

7. The victory of Socialism over capitalism, the consolidation of Socialism, will be definitely established at the time that the proletarian state power, after having finally subdued all resistance of the exploiters and secured for itself complete and absolute submission, will reorganize the whole industry on the

base of wholesale collective production and a new technical basis (founded on the electrification of agriculture). This alone will afford a possibility of such radical help in the technical and the social sense, accorded by the town to the backward and dispersed country, that this help will create the material base for an enormous increase in the productivity of agricultural and general farming work, and will induce the small farmers by force of example and for their own benefit to change to large, collective machine agriculture.

Most particularly in the rural districts real possibility of successful struggle for Socialism requires, in the first place, that all Communist parties inculcate in the industrial proletariat the necessity of sacrifice on its part, and readiness to sacrifice itself for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and that the consolidation of the proletariat be based on the proletariat's knowing how to organize and to lead the working and exploited masses, and on the vanguard's being ready for the greatest sacrifices and heroism. In the second place, possibility of success requires that the laboring and most exploited masses in the country experience immediate and great improvement in their position caused by the victory of the proletariat and by the defeat of the exploiters. Unless this is done, the industrial proletariat cannot depend on the support of the rural districts, and cannot secure the provisioning of the town with foodstuffs.

8. The enormous difficulty of organization and education for the revolutionary struggle of the agrarian laboring masses placed by capitalism in a condition of particular oppression, dispersion, and often a mediaeval dependence require from the Communist parties special care for the strike movement in the rural districts.. It requires enforced support and wide development of mass strikes of the agrarian proletarians and semi-proletarians. The experience of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, confirmed and enlarged now by the experience of Germany and other advanced countries, shows that only the development of mass-strike struggle (under certain conditions the small peasants are also to be drawn into these strikes) will shake the inactivity of the country population, arouse in them a class consciousness and the consciousness of the necessity of class organization in the exploited masses in the country, and show them the obvious practical use of their joining the town workers. From this standpoint the promotion of Unions of Agricultural Workers,

the co-operation of Communists in the country, and woodworkers' organizations are of great importance. The Communists must likewise support the co-operative organizations formed by the exploited agricultural population closely connected with the revolutionary labor movement. A vigorous agitation is likewise to be carried on among the small peasants.

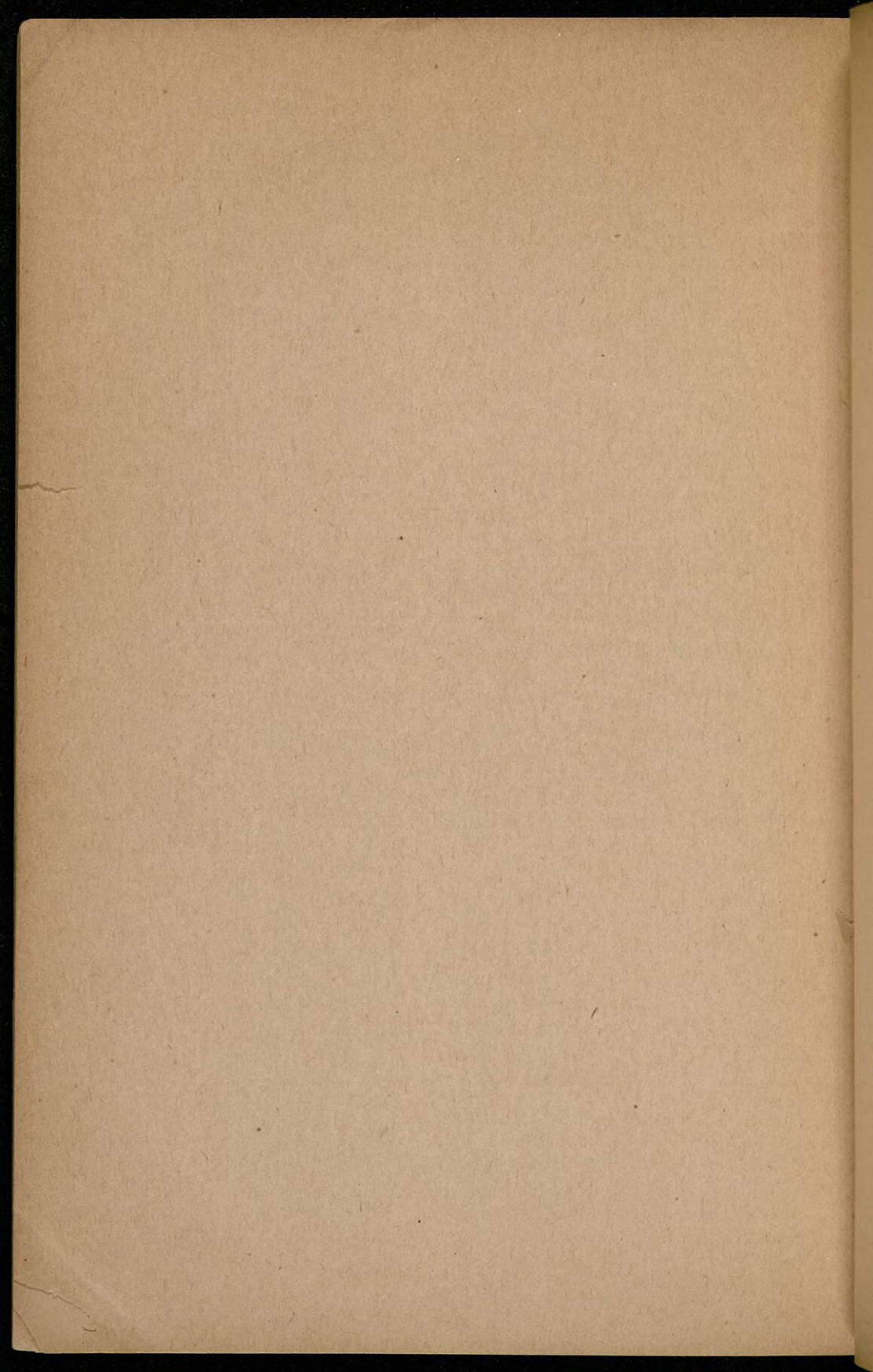
The Congress of the Communist International denounces as traitors those Socialists—unfortunately there are such not only in the yellow Second International, but also among the three most important European parties, which have left the Second International—who are not only indifferent toward the strike struggle in the rural districts, but oppose it (as does Kautsky) on the ground that it might cause a falling-off of the production of foodstuffs. No programmes and no solemn declarations have any value if the fact is not in evidence, testified to by actual deeds, that the Communists and labor leaders know how to put the development of the proletarian revolution and its victory above everything else and are ready to make the utmost sacrifices for the sake of this victory. Unless this is a fact, there is no escape, no barrier against starvation, dissolution, and new imperialistic wars.

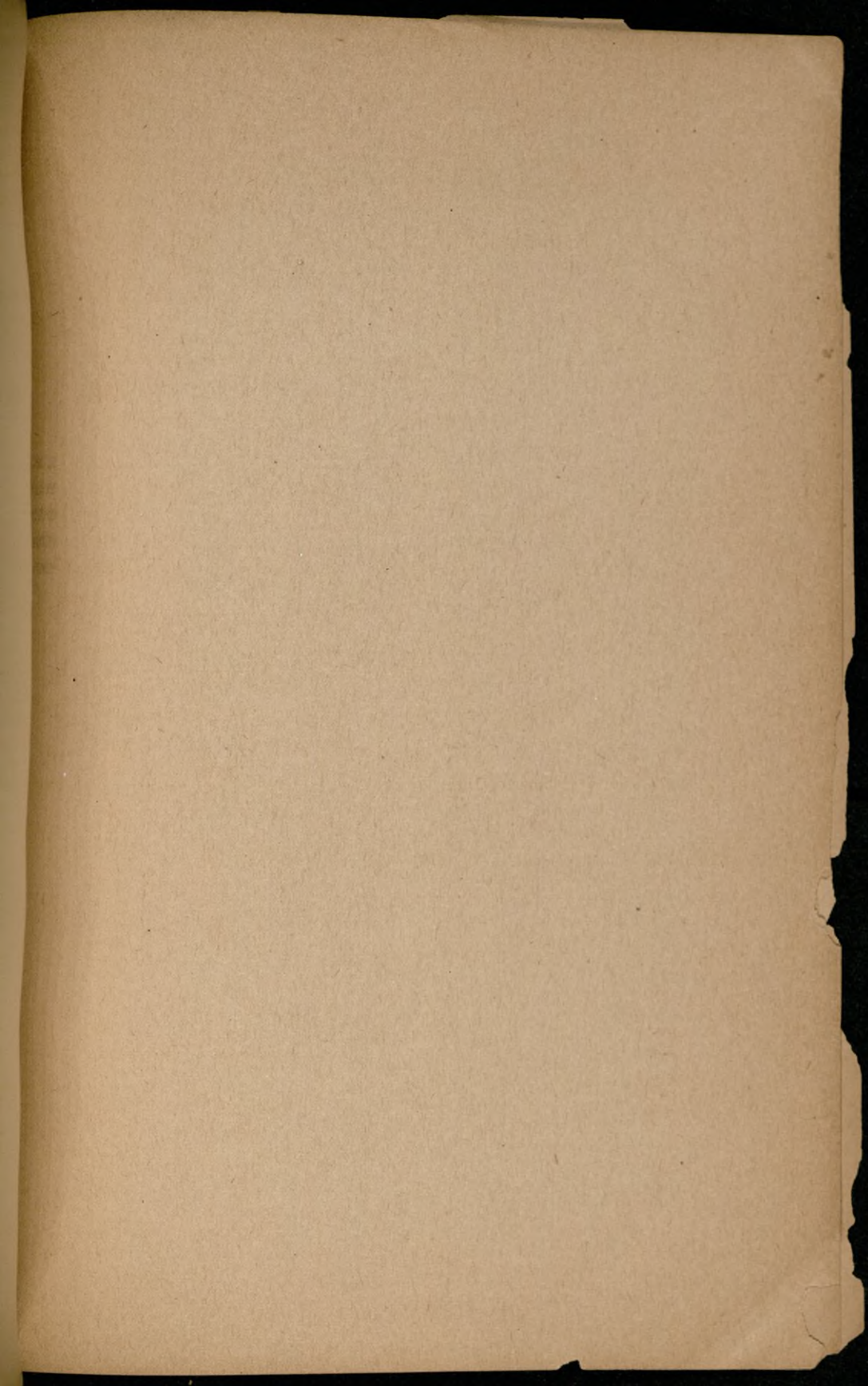
The Communist parties must make all efforts possible to start as soon as possible setting up Soviets in the country, and these Soviets must be chiefly composed of hired laborers and semi-proletarians. Only in connection with the mass-strike struggle of the most oppressed class will the Soviets be able to serve fully their ends, and become sufficiently firm to dominate (and further on to include in their ranks) the small peasants. But if the strike struggle is not yet developed, and the ability to organize the agrarian proletariat is weak because of the strong oppression by the landowners and the landed peasants, and also because of the want of support from the industrial workers and their unions, the organization of the Soviets in the rural districts will require long preparation by means of creating small Communist centers, of intensive propaganda, expounding in a most popular form the demands of the Communists, and illustrating the reasons of these demands by specially convincing cases of exploitation, and pressure by systematic excursions of industrial workers into the country, etc.

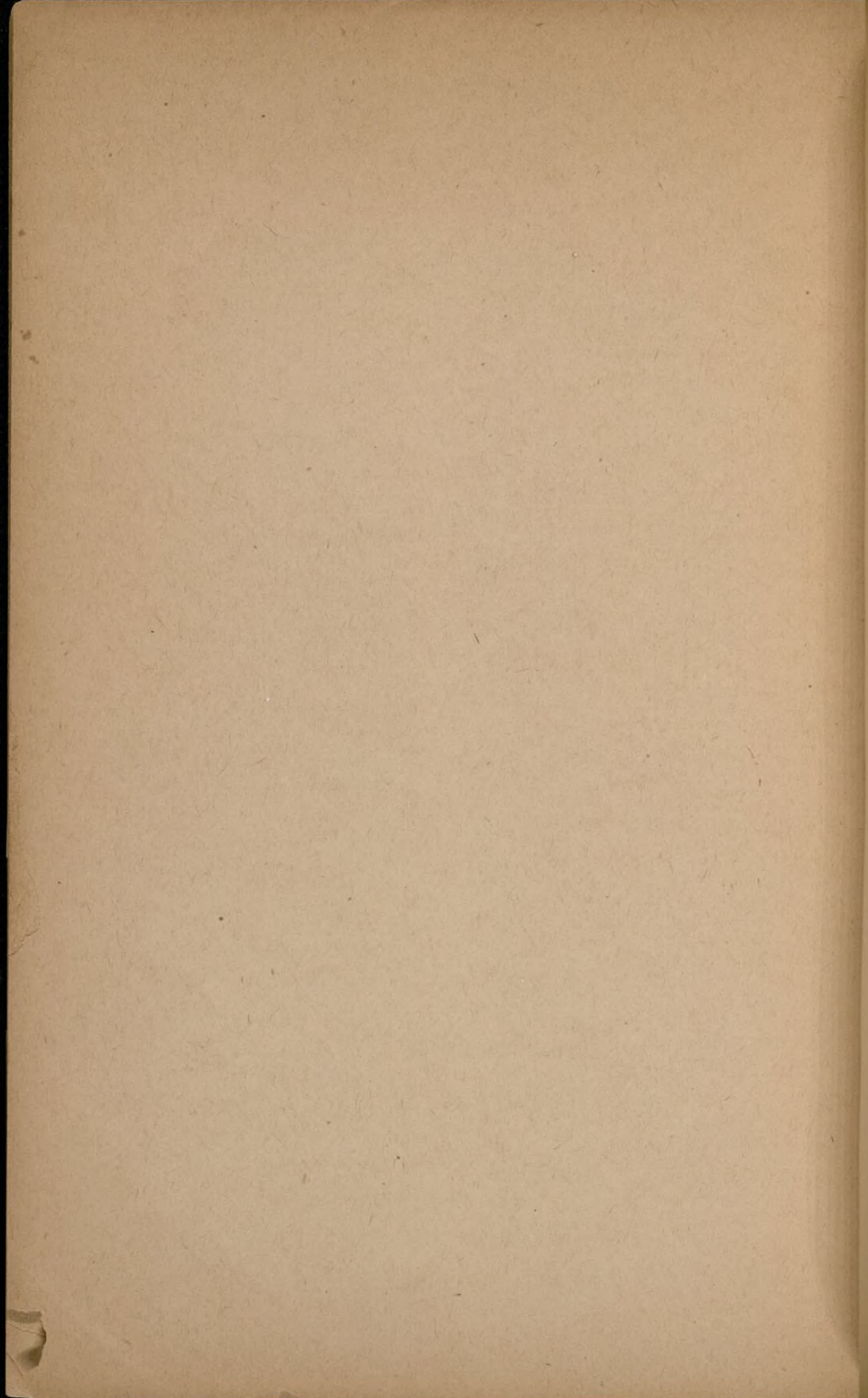


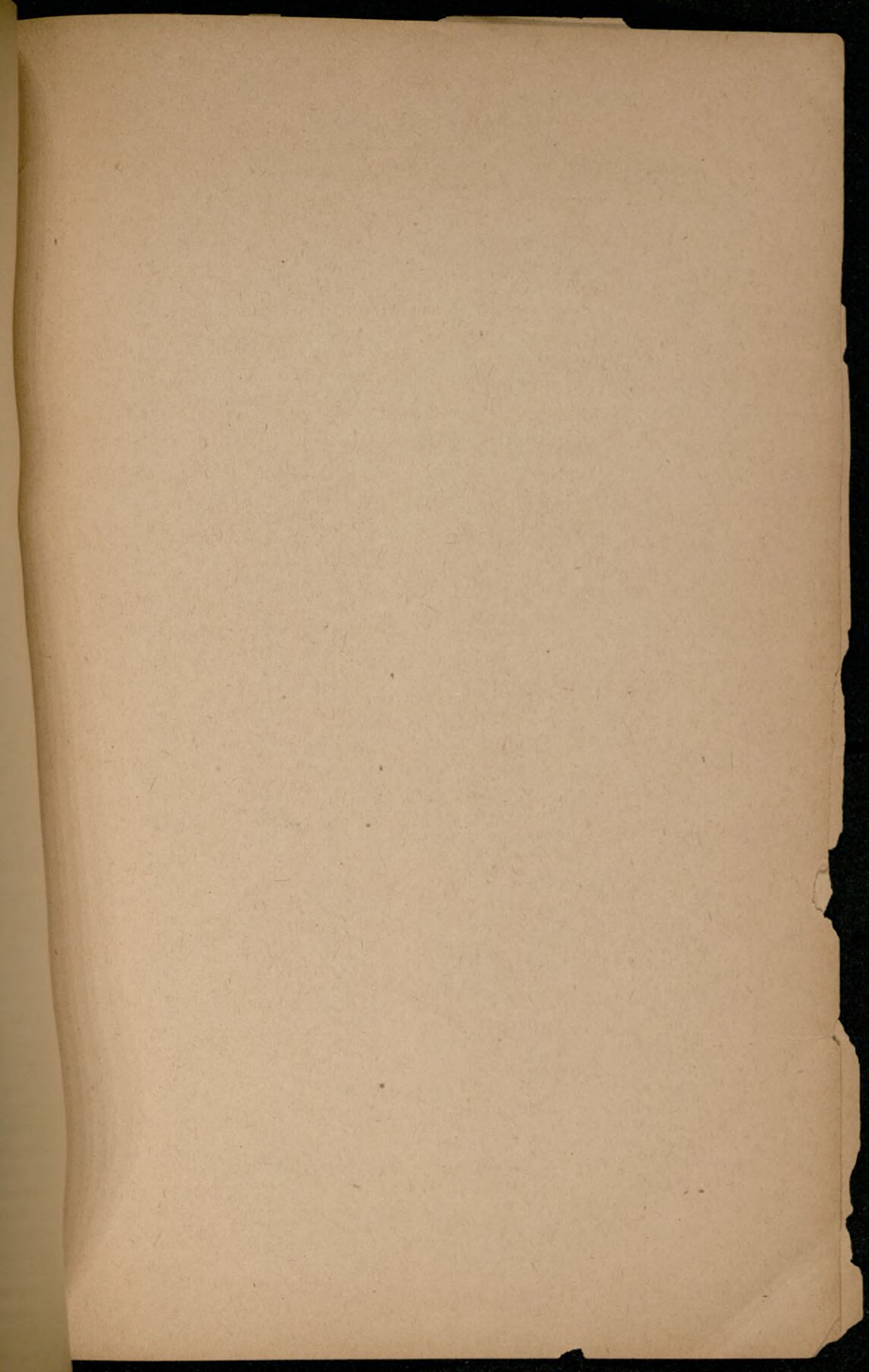
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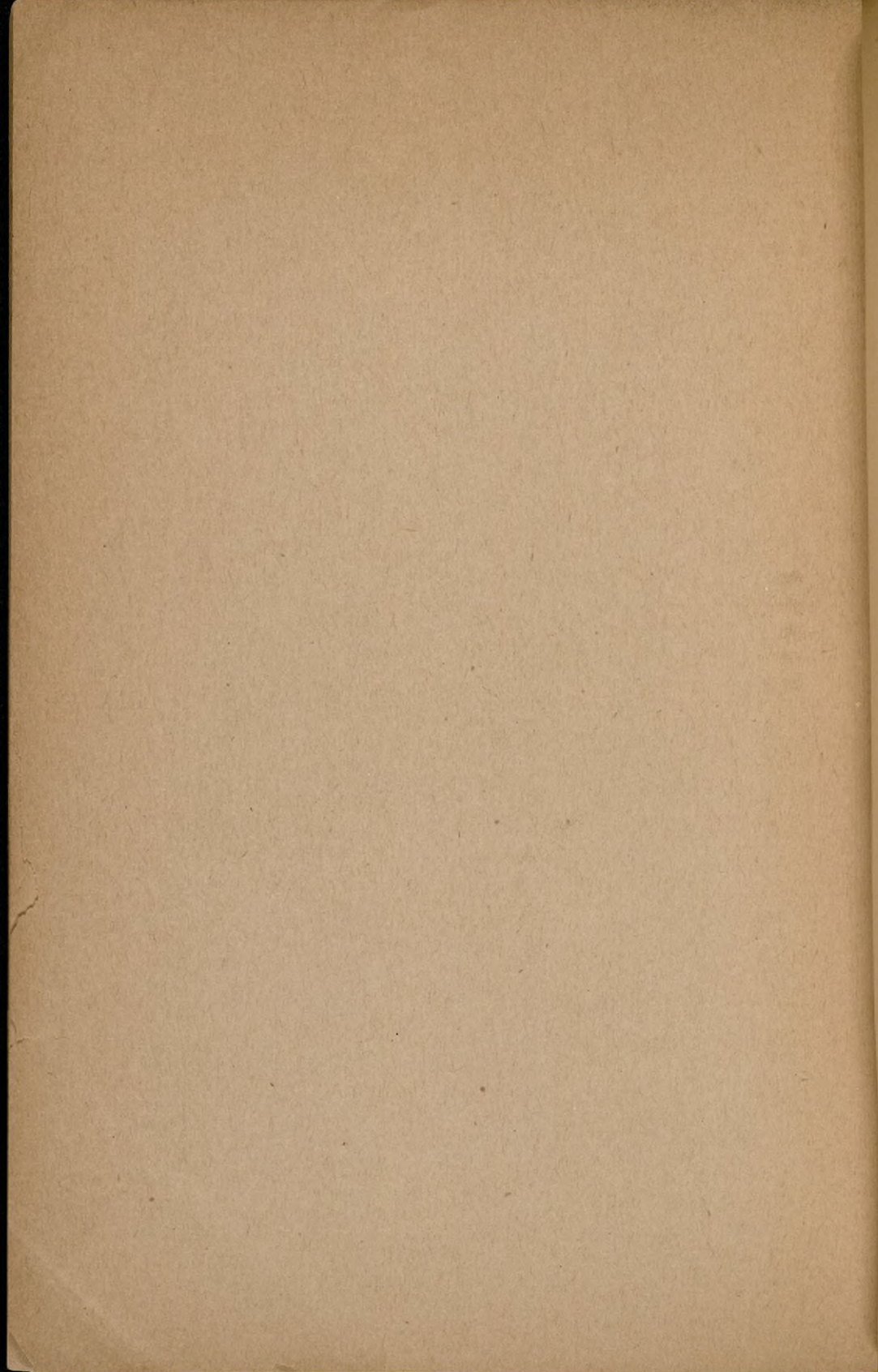
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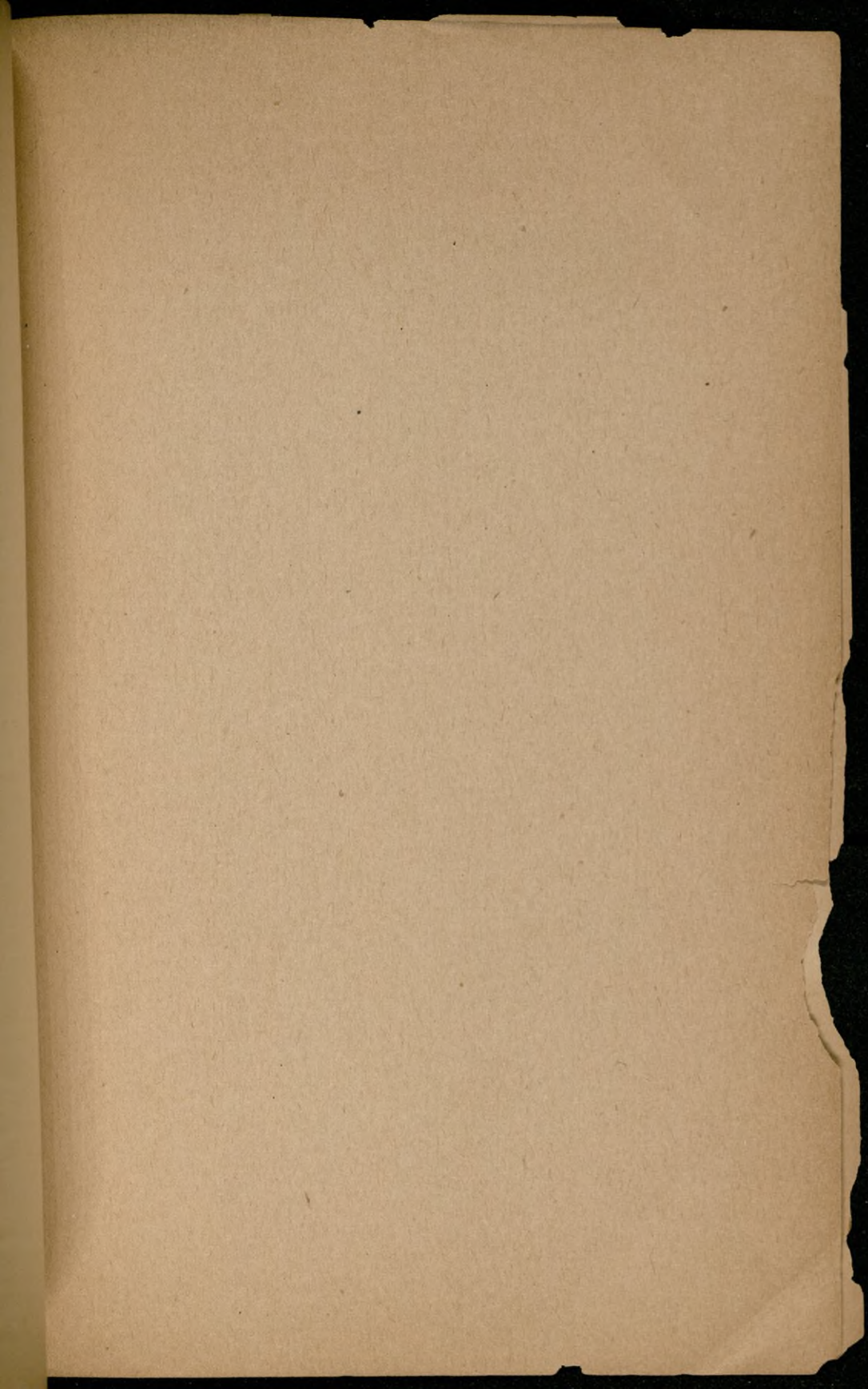


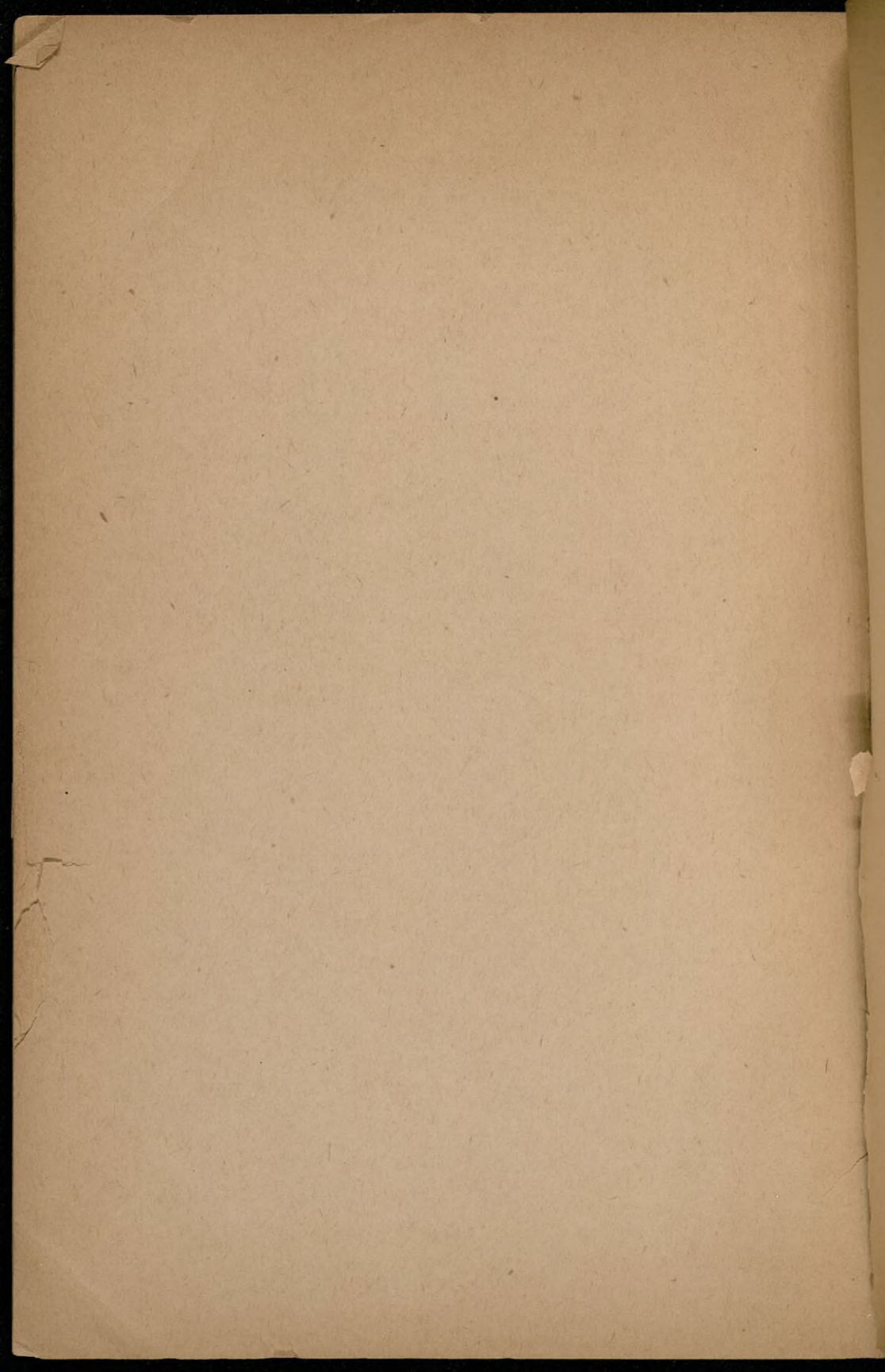


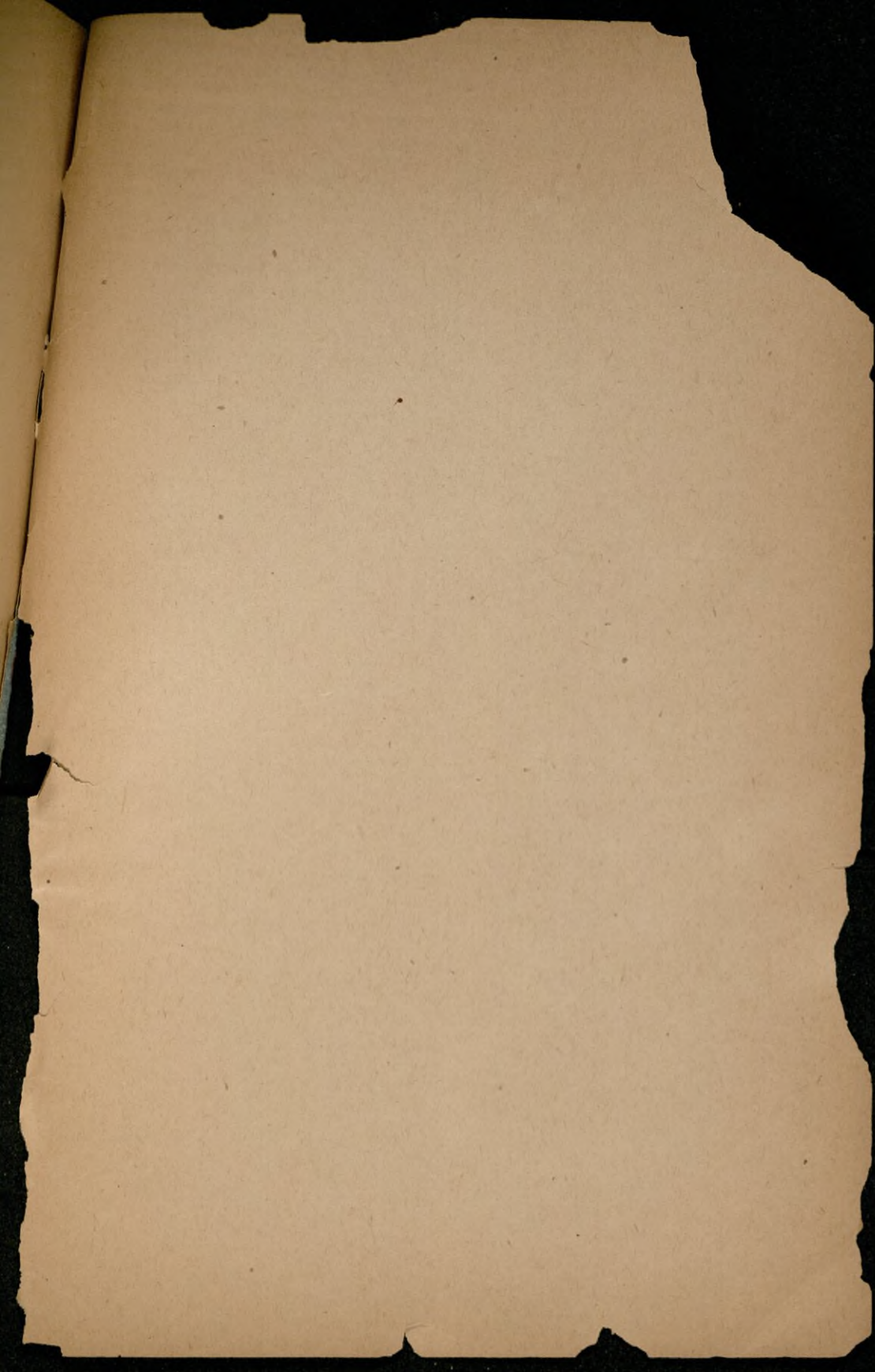




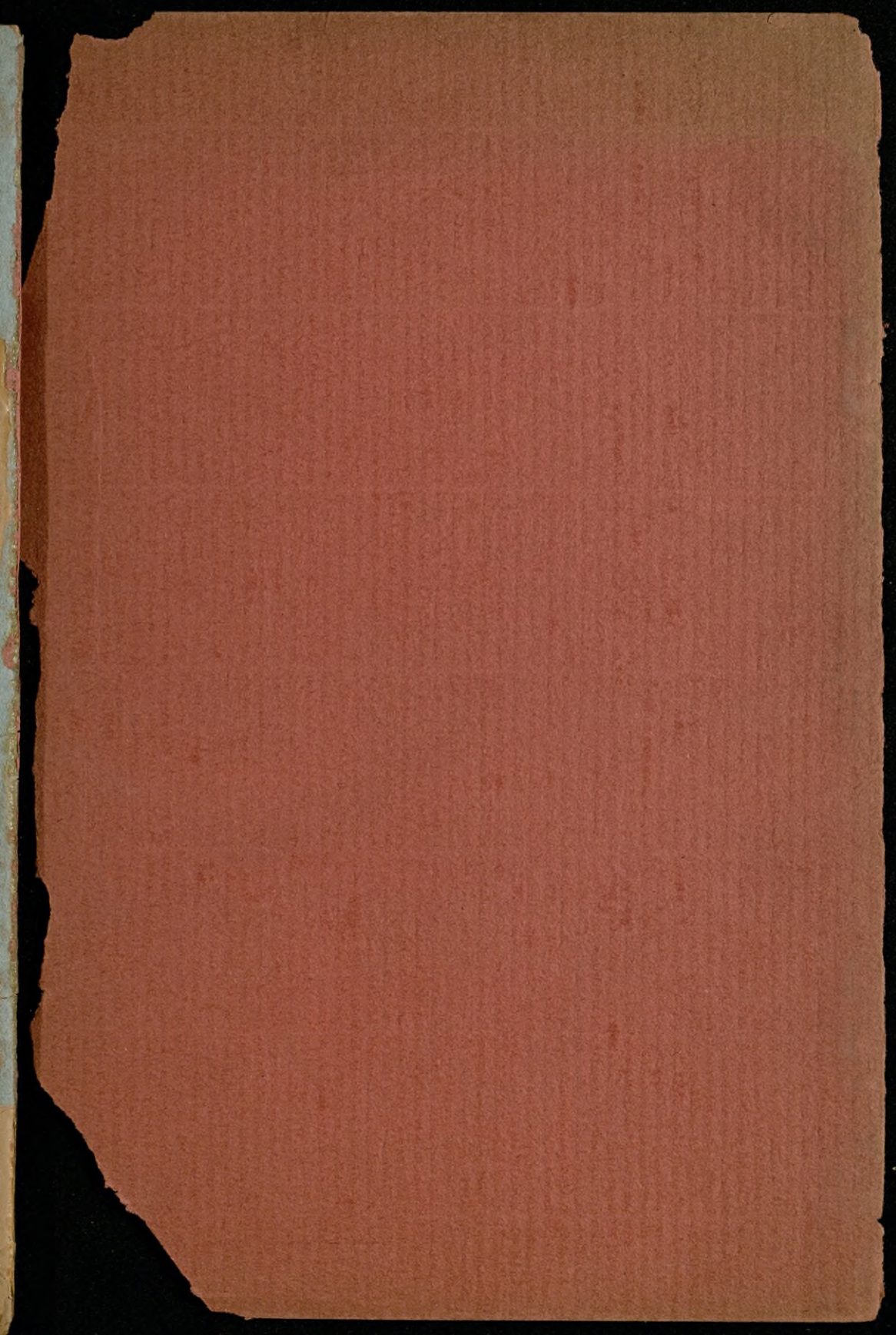








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