
Theses on Tactics:

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1. Definition of the Problem.

“The new international labor organization [the Profintern] is established for the purpose of organizing united action of the world proletariat, aspiring towards the same goal: the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of an International Soviet Republic; for the complete elimination of classes and the realization of Socialism, the first step towards the Communist Commonwealth.”

This definition of the aims of the Communist International, as laid down in the statutes, distinctly defines all the questions of tactics to be solved. They are the tactical problems of our struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. They deal with the means of winning over the majority of the working class to the principles of Communism, of organizing the socially important elements of the proletariat in the struggle for its attainment. They indicate the attitude to be assumed towards the proletarianized, petty bourgeois elements, the ways and means of disrupting the organs of bourgeois power, and destroying them, and finally, with the ultimate, international battle for the dictatorship. The problems of the dictatorship per se, as being the only way to victory, constitute no part of this discussion. The development of the world revolution has proved beyond any doubt that there is only a single alternative in the given historical situation: either capitalist or proletarian dictatorship. The Third Congress of the Communist International is proceeding to renewed investigation of the problems of tactics at a time when the objective situation in a num-

ber of countries has grown critically revolutionary, and a number of communist mass parties have come into being, none of which, however, can claim to possess the actual leadership of the majority of the working class in the real revolutionary struggle.

2. On the Eve of New Battles.

The world revolution, i.e. the decay of capitalism, and the concentration of the revolutionary energy of the proletariat, and the organization of the latter into an aggressive, victorious power, will require a prolonged period of revolutionary struggle. The varying sharpness of the antagonism between the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America, the difference in their social structure, offered no reason to presume that the world war would end in the immediate victory of the world revolution. On the contrary, the communists declared, while the war was still raging, that the period of imperialism was making for an epoch of social revolution, i.e. of a long series of civil wars in a number of capitalist countries, and of wars between the capitalist states on one side and proletarian states and exploited colonial peoples on the other side.

The world revolution is not a process following absolutely straight lines; on the contrary, the periods of the chronic decay of capitalism and the daily, revolutionary, undermining activity become at times acute, and develop into severe crises. The course of the world revolution was also retarded by strong labor organizations and labor parties, such as the Social Democratic parties and the trade unions. These bodies, while es-

tablished by the proletariat for the conduct of its struggle against the bourgeoisie, turned into organs for counterrevolutionary agitation and for paralyzing the proletariat during the war. These practices continued after the war had ended. This made it easy for the world bourgeoisie to master the crisis during the period of demobilization, and to raise new hopes among the proletariat during the sham prosperity of 1919-1920 of a possible improvement of conditions under capitalism. To these causes may be attributed the defeat of the revolts during 1919, and the protracted tempo of the revolutionary movements during 1919-1920.

The universal economic crisis, which began in the middle of 1920, and has since seized the entire world in its talons, increasing unemployment on every hand, is proof to the international proletariat that the bourgeoisie is powerless to reconstruct the world. The aggravation of all international political conflicts, the French campaign to despoil Germany, the English-American and American-Japanese opposition of interests, and the consequent rivalry in the augmentation of armaments — all these facts show that the moribund capitalist world is tumbling headlong into new world wars. Even the League of Nations, the international trust of the victor-states for the exploitation of their vanquished competitors and the colonial peoples, has been disrupted by the English-American rivalry. The illusion by which international social democracy and trade union bureaucracy restrained the laboring masses from entering the revolutionary struggle; the illusion that they could gradually and peacefully attain the economic power and consequent independence by the renunciation of all attempts to conquer political power in revolutionary combat, is being rapidly dissipated.

The socialization forces in Germany, by the aid of which the government of Scheidemann-Noske endeavored to keep the working class back from the attack in March 1919, have come to an end. Socialization chatter has made room for *Stinnezation*, namely, the subjugation of German industry to a capitalist dictator and his allied groups. The attack by the Prussian government, led by the Social Democrat Hoersing, on the miners of Middle Germany, is merely the prelude to a general attack by the German bourgeoisie for the reduction of the wages of the German workers. In

England all the nationalization schemes have evaporated into thin air. Instead of executing the nationalization plans of the Sankey Commission, the British Government is employing military force to support the lockout of the miners. In France, the government can only put off its inevitable economic bankruptcy by a predatory expedition against Germany. There is no question in France of any systematic economic reconstruction. In fact, the reparation of the ruined regions of Northern France, as far as it is being accomplished, only serves the enrichment of private capitalists. In Italy, the bourgeoisie, aided by the white bands of the Fascisti, are waging an offensive against the working class. In every country bourgeois democracy has removed its mask, in the old states as well as in the new ones that have arisen out of the imperialistic ruins. White guards and dictatorial powers of the government in England against the miners' strike; Fascisti and Guardia Regia in Italy; Pinkertons, ejection of even reactionary Socialist representatives from Congress and Lynch Law in the United States; white terror in Poland, Yugoslavia, Latvia and Estonia, Romania, Finland, Hungary, and the Balkan states; Communist legislation in Switzerland, France, etc. On every hand the bourgeoisie is attempting to burden the working class with the consequences of the increased economic chaos, to lengthen working hours, and to reduce wages. On every hand it receives assistance from the leaders of social democracy and of the Amsterdam Trade Union International. And yet, they may succeed in retarding the awakening of the laboring masses to new strife and the approach of new revolutionary waves, but they can no longer stem the tide. Even now we see the German proletariat preparing for the counterattack, and the English miners valiantly persisting for weeks in their battle against the mine-owning capitalists, in spite of the treachery of their trade union leaders. We see how the experience gained by the Italian proletariat with respect to the vacillating policy of the Serrati group is developing in its front ranks the will to fight, finding expression in the erection of the Communist Party of Italy. In France we see how the Socialist Party, after the split by which the social patriots and the centrists were eliminated, begins to proceed from Communist agitation and propaganda to mass demonstrations against imperialist piracy. In Czechoslovakia the political December strike is going on,

embracing a million workers in spite of the complete lack of unity in organization, while a Czecho-Slovak Communist mass party is being formed. In Poland we had the railway strike in February led by the Communist Party and followed by a general strike; we also see continuous disintegration of the social patriotic Polish Socialist Party. What may be expected is *not* the waning of the star of the world revolution, *not* the ebb of its waves, but on the contrary: the aggravation of social antagonism and social struggles, and the transition to open civil war.

3. The Important Task of the Present.

In view of these imminent struggles, the question of the attainment of decisive influence on the most important portions of the working class, in short the leadership of the struggle, is the most important question now confronting the Third International. For, despite the present objective revolutionary economic and political situation, wherein the acutest revolutionary crisis may arise suddenly (whether in the shape of a big strike, or a colonial upheaval, or a new war, or even a big parliamentary crisis), the majority of the working class is not yet under the influence of Communism, particularly in such countries where, owing to the mighty organization of financial capital, large strata of workers are being corrupted by capitalism, and the real revolutionary propaganda among the masses has only just begun. From the very first day of its establishment, the Communist International distinctly and unambiguously devoted itself to the purpose of participating in the trade unions and in the struggle of the laboring masses, and of conducting this struggle on a Communist basis, and of erecting, during the struggle, great revolutionary communist mass parties, waiving the idea of the formation of small Communist sects for the attainment of influence upon the working class solely by agitation and propaganda. In the very first year of its existence, the Communist International disavowed all sectarian tendencies by calling upon all the parties affiliated to it, however small they might be, to fight the reactionary trade union bureaucracy from within in order to transform the trade unions into revolutionary mass organizations of the proletariat, and into efficient organs of its struggle. In the very first year of its existence, the Communist

International called upon the Communist Parties not to confine themselves to propaganda, but to utilize every possibility which bourgeois society is compelled to leave open, for agitation and organization of the proletariat. Free press, the right of association, and the bourgeois parliamentary institutions, however worthless they be, were all to be forged into a weapon, into a tribune, into a gathering ground for Communism. At its Second Congress, the Communist International publicly repudiated sectarian tendencies by the resolutions it adopted on the questions of trade unionism and the utilization of parliamentarism. The experience gained in the two years' struggle of the Communist Parties has completely corroborated the justness of this standpoint of the Communist International. By its tactics, the Communist International has succeeded in separating the revolutionary workers in a number of countries not only from the open reformists, but also from the centrists. The erection by the centrist elements of a 2 1/2 International, steering towards a decline of the world revolution on the eve of further great battles and combining openly with the Scheidemanns, Jouhaux, and Hendersons on the basis of the Amsterdam Trade Union International will only make the battleground more easily surveyable for the proletarian masses, and facilitate the struggle. Thanks to the policy of the Communist International, German Communism, which in the struggles of January and March 1919 represented only a political tendency, grew into a great revolutionary mass party. The influence it has gained in the trade unions has obliged the trade union bureaucracy to expel numerous communists from the trade unions, for fear of their increasing influence, and thus taint itself with the odium of having brought about a split in the organizations. In Czecho-Slovakia, the Communists have succeeded in rallying to their colors the majority of the politically organized workers. As a result of its undermining activities in the trade unions, the Polish Communist Party, in spite of the untold persecutions which have driven it to work exclusively "underground," has not for a moment lost its contact with the masses, but has on the contrary appeared as their leader in the struggle. In France, the Communists have secured the majority in the Socialist Party. In England, the process of consolidation of the Communist groups on the basis of the tactics of the Communist International is proceeding rapidly,

and the growing influence of the Communists has forced the social traitors to attempt to close the doors of the Labour Party to them. The sectarian groups, on the contrary, were unable to book even the slightest success on their paths. The theory of the strengthening of Communism solely by propaganda and agitation and the erection of separate communist trade unions, has met with complete failure. Nowhere has a Communist Party arisen in this way.

4. The Situation in the Communist International.

Not everywhere has the Communist International made sufficient progress along the road of creating communist mass parties. Nay, in two of the most important countries of victorious capitalism there is yet everything to be done in this direction.

In the United States of North America, where on account of historical circumstances there was a lack of any broad revolutionary movement even before the war, the communists are still before the first and simplest task of creating a communist nucleus and connecting it with the working masses. The present economic crisis, which has thrown five million people out of unemployment, bids very favorable soil for this kind of work. Conscious of the imminent dangers of a "radicalized" labor movement and its becoming subject to communist influence, American capital tries to crush and destroy the young communist movement by means of a barbarous persecution, forcing it into an unlegalized existence under which it would, according to capitalist expectations, in the absence of any contact with the masses, dwindle into a propagandist sect and lose its vitality. The Communist International draws the attention of the United Communist Party of America to the fact that the unlegalized organization must not only form the ground for the collection and crystallization of active communist forces, but that it is their duty to try all ways and means to get out of their unlegalized condition into the open, among the wide masses; that it is their duty to find the means and forms to unite these masses politically, through public activity, into the struggle against American capitalism.

Also the English Communist movement has not as yet become the Party of the masses despite the concentration of their forces.

The continued disorganization of English industry, the unprecedented activity of the strike movement, the growing discontent among the widest masses of the people with Lloyd George's regime, the possibility of a Labour and liberal victory at the next General Election — all these circumstances open new revolutionary perspectives in England's development, confronting the English communists with questions of the utmost import.

The first and foremost task of the English Communist Party is to become the Party of the masses. The English communists must take the firmest stand upon the actually existing and ever developing mass movement, permeating all its concrete manifestations and converting desultory and partial demands of the workers into the point of issue for their own untiring agitation and propaganda.

The mighty strike movement puts to the test the ability, reliability, steadfastness, and conscientiousness of the trade unionist apparatus and leaders in the eyes of hundreds of thousands and millions of workers. Under these circumstances the work of the communists within the trade unions becomes of decisive importance. No party influence from the outside can exercise the smallest part of that influence which the constant daily work of communist nuclei in the workshops can exercise by persistently unmasking and discrediting the traitors and betrayers of trade unionism, which in England more than in any other country have become the political tool of capitalism.

While in other countries the task of the communist parties which have become mass parties consists in seizing to a great extent the initiative in mass action, the task of the Communist Party in England consists first of all in proving and demonstrating to the masses on the basis of their actual experience of present day mass actions, that the communists can correctly and courageously realize the interests, needs, and sentiments of these masses.

The communist mass parties of Middle and Western Europe are in the process of evolving the necessary methods of agitation and propaganda, in the process of evolving the methods of organization which would correspond to the nature of their struggle, and in the process of transition from communist propaganda and agitation to action. This process is hindered by the fact that in a number of countries the revolu-

tionary attitude of the workers in going over to the communist camp took place under the guidance of leaders who either have failed to overcome their centrist tendencies and are incapable of conducting a real popular communist agitation and propaganda, or are simply afraid because they know that this agitation and propaganda will lead the workers to revolutionary struggles.

These centrist tendencies have caused a split in the party in *Italy*. The Party and trade union leaders of the Serrati group, instead of transforming the spontaneous action of the working class, their growing activity, into the conscious struggle for power for which the situation was ripe in Italy, have allowed these movements to become stranded. And because they were afraid of the struggle, they were compelled to dilute their communist propaganda and agitation and lead it into the straits of centrism. In this manner they have strengthened the influence of the reformists, like Turatti and Treves in the Party, and like d'Aragona in the trade unions. Because they didn't differ from the reformists either in word or in deed, they wouldn't part their company. They preferred to part company with the communists. The Serrati policy, while on the one hand increasing the influence of the reformists, on the other hand created the danger of the influence of anarchists and syndicalists, and introduced anti-parliamentary radicalistic tendencies within the Party. The split at Livorno, and the formation of the Italian Communist Party, the rallying into a united Communist Party of all the really communist elements on the basis of the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International, will make of Communism a live force among the masses in Italy, if the Italian Communist Party will only maintain an unbroken, unbent front against the opportunistic policy of the Serrati school. But at the same time it must succeed in identifying itself with the masses of the proletariat in the unions, in strikes, in fights against the counterrevolutionary Fascisti, in consolidating their movements, in converting their spontaneous actions into carefully planned struggle.

In France, where the chauvinistic poison of "National Defense" and the subsequent noise of victory were stronger than in any other country, the reaction against the war developed slower than in the other countries. Thanks to the moral influence of the Rus-

sian revolution, to the revolutionary struggles in the capitalist countries, and to the experience of the first fights of the French proletariat betrayed by its leaders, the French Socialist Party in its majority developed in the direction of Communism even before the march of events has put the decisive questions of revolutionary action squarely before the Party. The extent and degree to which the French Communist Party can make use of this situation depends upon the determination with which — particularly in the leading circles — the far too strong remnants of national-pacifist, parliamentary-reformist ideology will be removed. The party must in an ever increasing degree, not only in comparison with the past but also with the present, get into close association with the masses and its most oppressed strata in city and country, bringing the sufferings and needs of these masses to their clearest and fullest expression. In its parliamentary struggle the Party must break in a determined manner with the hypocritical formalities of French parliamentarism and its sham civility, which is deliberately encouraged by the bourgeoisie in order to intimidate and hypnotize the representatives of the working class. The parliamentary representatives of the Communist Party must aim to unmask the deception of nationalist democracy and traditional revolutionism by maintaining a firm stand and putting every question upon the grounds of class interests and implacable class struggle.

The agitation in practice must assume a far more concentrated and vigorous character. It must not dissolve itself in the ever changing situations and combinations of current politics. It must draw fundamental revolutionary consequences from all events, big and small, bringing them home to the most backward working masses. Only by such a really revolutionary attitude will the Communist Party demonstrate it is not merely the Left Wing of that radical Longuet bloc, which is rendering its services to bourgeois society with ever increasing energy and success, in order to protect it from those upheavals which are inevitably approaching in France. Independently of the speed with which the decisive revolutionary events may come, the Communist Party can even now, in the stage of preparation, find the possibility, by strongly disciplined revolutionary determination, to mobilize the working masses upon economic and political bases, extending and clarifying the character of their present every day

struggles.

The attempts of the revolutionary impatient but politically inexperienced elements who would adopt the extremest methods of revolutionary proletarian revolt upon individual questions and tasks (e.g., the proposal to resist military mobilization, etc.), only retards the truly revolutionary preparation of the proletariat for the conquest of power for a long time to come.

The French Communist Party, as well as the parties of all the other countries, must reject such utterly dangerous methods. But this duty in no case binds the Party to inactivity. Quite to the contrary. The closest association of the Party with the masses means above all the establishment of the closest ties with the trade unions. The task of the Party does not consist in subjecting the trade unions to the Party in a mechanical and superficial fashion, but in permeating the trade unions with truly revolutionary elements, united and guided by the Communist Party, who will lead the trade unions from within, in the direction of the universal proletarian struggle for the conquest of power. Hence it is the duty of the French Communist Party to come out with friendly but firm and explicit criticism against those anarcho-syndicalist tendencies which run counter to proletarian dictatorship, and prevent the possibility of the union of their advanced forces with the centralized, leading organization, such as the Communist Party. Neither can those syndicalist transitory tendencies entrenched behind the charter of Amiens, written eight years prior to the war, now give a clear and outspoken answer to the basic questions of the new postbellum epoch, and must therefore be subjected to equally severe criticism by the Party.

The hatred of politicians so prevalent among French syndicalists is primarily the expression of justified hatred against the traditional "socialist" parliamentarians. The pure revolutionary character of the Communist Party will furnish the possibility of rallying all the revolutionary elements to the necessity of political grouping for the purpose of conquering the power for the working class. The amalgamation of the revolutionary syndicalists with those of the Communist organizations is a necessary preliminary condition of any serious struggle by the French proletariat.

To overcome and abolish syndicalist tendencies

towards premature actions, to overcome the unprincipled haziness and organizational separatism of the revolutionary syndicalists, as has already been pointed out, the Party must deal in a really revolutionary manner with every question of the day and every incidental struggle, thus becoming the center of gravitation for the working masses of France.

In Czecho-Slovakia, the workers in the course of two and a half years have freed themselves from a great deal of reformist and nationalistic illusions. In September of last year the majority of the social democratic workers broke away from their reformist leaders. In December already a million out of Czecho-Slovakia's 3 1/2 million industrial workers stood in the midst of revolutionary mass action against the Czecho-Slovak capitalist government. In May of this year the Czecho-Slovak Communist Party of 350,000 members was formed, in addition to the German-Bohemian Communist Party, which numbers 60,000 members. The communists thus not only represent a great portion of the Czecho-Slovak proletariat, but also of the entire population of the country. The Czecho-Slovak Party now stands before the task of gaining the adherence of even wider working masses through real communist agitation, to train the masses by clear and uncompromising communist propaganda, to form a solid front by a union of the workers of all the peoples of Czecho-Slovakia against the nationalists which are the main instrument of the bourgeoisie in Czecho-Slovakia, and to make the proletarian force thus created strong and invincible in all its future struggles against the oppressive tendencies of capitalism and the government. The quickness with which the Czecho-Slovak Communist Party will master these tasks depends upon the clearness and determination with which it will do away with all centrist traditions and moods conducting such a policy as will educate and revolutionize the masses, organize and equip them for action and victorious consummation. The Congress decides that the Czecho-Slovak and German-Bohemian Communist Parties shall merge their organizations into a united Party, in a manner to be determined by the Executive.

The United Communist Party of Germany, formed by a union of the Spartacusbund with the left Independent working masses, although already a mass party, stands before the great task of raising and

strengthening its influence among the wide masses, winning the proletarian mass organizations, the trade unions, dispelling the influence of the social democratic party and of the trade unionist bureaucracy, and becoming the leader of the mass movement in the coming struggles of the Proletariat. This main task demands that the Party base its whole agitation — propaganda and organization work — upon acquiring the sympathies of the majority of the workers, without which in the presence of strongly organized capital no communist victory in Germany could be thought of. For this task the Party was not quite ripe as yet, both regarding the scope of its agitation and its contents. Nor did it know how to consistently continue the road it had started upon when publishing the “Open Letter,” the road of opposing the practical interests of the Proletariat to the treacherous policy of the social democratic parties and the trade unionist bureaucracy. Its press and its organization are still rather too strongly marked by the stamp of scattered associations, not of militant organs and solid organization. Those centrist tendencies which found therein their expression, and unsubdued as yet, have driven the Party to the necessity of throwing down the gauntlet without due preparation for the battle. On the other hand they rather obscured the necessity of close spiritual association with the non-communist masses. The problems of action which are soon to confront the United German Communist Party through the process of disintegration of the German economy and through the offensive started by capital against the very existence of the working masses, can be solved only if the Party will not consider the problems of agitation and organization as opposed to those of action and deeds, but will rather make its agitation a real popular force, building its organization in such a manner that the Party by its close association with the masses shall develop the ability to constantly and carefully weigh the military situation and carefully prepare for the struggles.

The parties of the Communist International will become revolutionary mass parties if they overcome the remnants and traditions of opportunism in their ranks by seeking close association with the struggling working masses; drawing their problems from the practical struggles of the Proletariat, which act as an antidote to opportunistic clouding of irreconcilable so-

cial contrasts and rejecting all revolutionary catch-phrases which obstruct the view into the real correlation of the contending forces and which permit [the overlooking of] the difficulties of the struggle. The communist parties have arisen from the breaking up of the old social democratic parties. This break-up resulted from the fact that these parties have betrayed the interests of the proletariat in the war and have continued the betrayal after the war, by alliances with the bourgeoisie or by conducting a tame policy and shirking the fight. The fundamentals of the Communist Party form the basis upon which the working masses can reunite because they express the necessities of the proletarian struggle. It is because of this fact that the social democratic parties and tendencies seek to break up and divide the proletariat — while the communist parties are a uniting force. In Germany it was the centrists who broke away from the majority of the Party, after the latter had embraced the flag of communism. Fearing the uniting influence of Communism, the German social democrats and independent social democrats in league with the social democratic trade unions refused to go with the communists in common actions for the defence of the simple interests of the proletariat. In Czecho-Slovakia again it was the social democrats who fled from the old party on perceiving the triumph of Communism. In France the Longuet group seceded from the majority of the French socialist workers, while the Communist Party acts as a rallying ground for socialist and syndicalist workers. In England it was the reformists and the centrists that drove the communists out of the Labour Party, for fear of their influence, and even now they continue sabotaging the unification of the workers in their struggle against the capitalists. The communist parties thus become the standard bearers of the unifying process of the proletariat, on the basis of the struggle for its interests, and from this consciousness of their role they will draw and gather new forces.

5. Partial Struggles and Partial Demands.

The development of the communist parties can only be achieved through a fighting policy. Even the smallest communist units must not rest content with

mere propaganda and agitation. In all proletarian mass organizations they must constitute the vanguard, which must teach the backward, vacillating masses how to fight by formulating practical plans for direct action and by urging the workers to make a stand for the necessities of life. Only in this manner will communists be able to reveal to the masses the treacherous character of all non-communist parties. Only in case they prove able to lead the practical struggle of the proletariat, only in case they can promote these conflicts, will the communists succeed in winning over great masses of the proletariat to the struggle for the dictatorship.

The entire propaganda and agitation as well as the other work of the communist parties must be based on the conception that no lasting betterment of the position of the proletariat is possible under capitalism, and that the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is a prerequisite for the achievement of such betterment and the rebuilding of the social structure destroyed by capitalism. This conception, however, must not find expression in the abandonment of all participation in the proletarian struggle for actual and immediate necessities of life, until such a time as the proletariat will be able to attain them through its own dictatorship. Social democracy is consciously deceiving the masses when, in the period of capitalist disintegration, when capitalism is unable to assure to the workers even the subsistence of well fed slaves, it has nothing better to offer than the old social democratic program of peaceful reforms to be achieved by peaceful means within the bankrupt capitalist system. Not only is capitalism, in the period of its disintegration, unable to assure to the workers decent conditions of life, but the social democrats and reformists of all lands are also continually demonstrating that they are unwilling to put up any fight, even for the most modest demands contained in their own programs. The demand for socialization or nationalization of the most important industries is nothing but another such deception of the working masses. Not only did the centrists mislead the masses by trying to persuade them that nationalization alone, without the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, would deprive capitalism of the chief industries, but they also endeavored to divert the workers from the real and live struggle for their immediate needs, by raising their hopes of a gradual seizure of

industry, to be followed by “systematic” economic reconstruction. Thus they have reverted to the minimum social democratic program of the reform of capitalism, which has now become open counterrevolutionary deception. The theory prevailing among a portion of the centrists that the program of the nationalization of the coal or any other industry is based on the Lassallean theory of the concentration of all the energies of the proletariat on a single demand, in order to use it as a lever in revolutionary action, which in its development would lead to a struggle for power, is nothing but empty words. The suffering of the working class in every country is so intense that it is impossible to direct the struggle against these blows which are coming thick and fast to narrow doctrinal objects. On the contrary, it is essential to make use of all the economic needs of the masses, as issues in the revolutionary struggles, which, when united, form the flood of the social revolution. For this struggle the Communist Parties have no minimum program for the strengthening of this reeling world structure within the structure of capitalism. The destruction of this system is the chief aim and immediate task of the parties. But in order to achieve this task, the Communist Parties must put forward demands, and they must fight with the masses for their fulfillment, regardless of whether they are in keeping with the profit system of the capitalist class or not.

What the Communist Parties have to consider is not whether capitalist industry is able to continue to exist and compete, but rather, whether the proletariat has reached the limit of its endurance. If these communist demands are in accord with the immediate needs of the wide proletarian masses, if these masses are convinced that they cannot exist without the realization of these demands, the struggle for these demands will become an issue in the struggle for power. The alternative offered by the Communist International in place of the minimum program of the reformists and centrists is: the struggle for the concrete needs of the proletariat and demands which in their application undermine the power of the bourgeoisie, organize the proletariat, and form the stages of the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, even if the latter have not yet grasped the meaning of such proletarian dictatorship.

As the struggle for these demands embraces ever-

growing masses; as the needs of the masses clash with the needs of capitalist society, the workers will realize that capitalism must die if they are to live. The realization of this fact is the basis of the will to fight for the dictatorship. It is the task of the communist parties to widen, to deepen, and to coordinate these struggles which have been brought into being by the formulation of concrete demands. Every partial action undertaken by the working masses for the attainment of partial demands, every serious economic strike, mobilizes at once the entire bourgeoisie, which as a class places itself upon the side of the threatened part of the employing class, to prevent even a partial victory of the proletariat (Mutual employers' aid in Czecho-Slovakia, bourgeois strikebreakers in the English coal strike, the fascisti in Italy, etc.). The bourgeoisie mobilizes also its entire machinery of state in the fight against the workers (militarization of labor in France and in Poland, emergency laws during English coal miners' strike, etc.). The workers fighting for partial demands are automatically drawn into the fight against the entire bourgeoisie and its machinery of state. As the partial struggles of isolated groups of workers are gradually merging into a general struggle of labor versus capital, so the Communist Party must also alter its watchword, which should be: "uncompromising overthrow of the adversary." In formulating their partial demands the Communist parties must take heed that these demands, based on the deeply rooted needs of the masses, are such as will organize the masses and not merely lead them into the struggle. All concrete watchwords, originating in the economic needs of the workers, must be assimilated to the struggle for the control of production, which must not assume the form of a bureaucratic organization of social economy under capitalism, but of an organization fighting against capitalism through workers' committees as well as through the revolutionary trade unions.

It is only through the establishment of such organizations and their coordination according to branches and centers of industry that communists can prevent the splitting up of the masses by the social democrats and the trade union leaders. The workers' committees will be able to fulfill this role only if they are born in an economic struggle in the interests of wide masses of workers, provided they succeed in unit-

ing all the revolutionary workers and those trade unions which are going through a process of revolutionary development.

Every objection to the establishment of such partial demands, every accusation of reformism in connection with these partial struggles, is an outcome of the same incapacity to grasp the live issues of revolutionary action which manifested itself in the opposition of some communist groups to participation in trade union activities and parliamentary action. Communists should not rest content with teaching the proletariat its ultimate aims, but should lend impetus to every practical move leading the proletariat into the struggle for these ultimate aims. How inadequate the objections to partial demands are and how divorced from the needs of revolutionary life is best exemplified by the fact that even the small organizations formed by the so-called "left" communists for the propagation of pure doctrines have seen the necessity of formulating partial demands in order to attract larger sections of workers than they have hitherto been able to muster or else they have been obliged to take part in the struggle of wider masses of workers in order to influence them. The chief revolutionary characteristic of the present period lies in the fact that the most modest demands of the working masses are incompatible with the existence of capitalist society. Therefore the struggle even for these very modest demands is bound to develop into a struggle for Communism.

While the capitalists make use of the ever increasing army of the unemployed as a lever against the organized workers for the forcing down of wages, the Social Democrats, the independents, and official trade union leaders maintain a cowardly aloofness from the unemployed, considering them mere objects of state and trade union charity and despising them politically as *Lumpen-Proletariat*. The communists must clearly understand that under the present circumstances the unemployed represent a revolutionary factor of gigantic significance. The communists must take upon themselves the leadership of this army. By bringing the pressure of the unemployed to bear upon the trade unions, the communists must seek to effect the rejuvenation of the latter, and above all their liberation from the treacherous leaders. By uniting the unemployed with the proletarian vanguards in the struggle for the social revolution, the Communist Party

will restrain the most rebellious and impatient elements among the unemployed from individual desperate acts and enable the entire mass to actively support under favorable circumstances the struggle of the proletariat, thus developing beyond the limits of the present conflict the starting point of the decisive offensive — in a word, this entire mass from a mere reserve army of industry will be transformed into an active army of Revolution.

The Communist Parties, in energetically supporting this section of the workers (and low down in the scale of labor) stand up not for the interests of one section of workers, as opposed to those of other sections, but for the common good of the entire working class betrayed by the counterrevolutionary leaders in the interests of the labor aristocracy. The more workers in the ranks of the unemployed and partly employed, the quicker their interests become transformed into the common interests of the entire working class. The momentary interests of the labor aristocracy must be subordinated to those common interests. Those who plead the interests of the labor aristocracy, in order to arouse their hostility to the unemployed or in order to leave the latter to their own devices, are splitting the working class and are acting in a counterrevolutionary manner. The Communist Party, as the representative of the common interests of the working class, cannot rest content with merely recognizing these common interests and using them for propaganda purposes. To effectively represent the workers, the party must, under certain conditions, undertake to lead the bulk of the most oppressed and downtrodden workers into action, in order to break down the resistance of the labor aristocracy.

6. The Preparation for the Struggle.

The character of the transition period makes it imperative for all Communist Parties to be thoroughly prepared for the struggle. Each separate struggle may lead to the struggle for power. Preparedness can only be achieved by giving to the entire Party agitation the character of a vehement attack against capitalist society. The Party must also come into contact with wide masses of workers and must make it plain to them that they are being led by a vanguard, whose real aim is — the conquest of power. The Communist press

must not consist of organs which publish theoretical proofs that communism is right. They must be clarion calls of the proletarian revolution. The parliamentary activity of the Communists must not consist of debates with the enemy, or in attempts to convert him, but in the *ruthless* unmasking of the agents of the bourgeoisie and the stirring up of the fighting spirit of the working masses. Our organizing work in the trade unions, as well as in the party organizations, must not consist in mechanically increasing the number of our membership. It must be imbued with the consciousness of the coming struggle. It is only in becoming, in all its forms and manifestations, the embodiment of the will to fight that the Party will be able to fulfill its task when the time for drastic action will have arrived. He who on principle opposes the policy of the offensive against capitalist society rejects the fundamentals of communism.

Wherever the Communist Party represents a mass power, wherever its influence is felt among large sections of the workers, it becomes its duty to rouse the masses to action. Mass parties can not rest content with criticizing the shortcomings of other parties and opposing their demands by communist demands. They, as a mass party, are responsible for the development of the revolution. Wherever the position of the workers becomes increasingly unbearable, the communist parties must do their utmost to take the working masses join in the struggle for their own interests (*sic.*). In view of the fact that in Western Europe and in America the workers are organized in trade unions and political parties, and hence spontaneous movements are for the time being out of the question, it is the duty of the Communist Parties to endeavor, by means of their influence in the trade unions, by increased pressure on other parties connected with the working masses, to bring about the struggle for the achievement of the immediate needs of the proletariat. Should non-communist parties be pressed into this struggle, it will become the duty of the communists to warn the masses in good time against the possibility of betrayal by the non-communist elements in later stages of the struggle, and to make the conflict as acute and far-reaching as possible, in order to eventually be able to carry on the fight independently. Refer to the open letter of the VKPD [United Communist Party of Germany], which may provide an example of the

prerequisite of direct action.

Should the pressure of the Communist Party in the trade unions and the press not be strong enough to rouse the proletariat to a united front, it will become the duty of the Communist Party to endeavor to lead the masses into the struggle. The latter policy will be successful and will lead to the awakening of the backward masses, when it will become clear to them that our aims are their aims, although they are not yet able to put up a fight for them.

However, the Communist Party must not rest content with merely warding off the dangers threatening the proletariat and meeting the blows directed against it. In the period of World Revolution, its role consists in attacking and storming the strongholds of capitalist society. Its duty consists in transforming every defensive into an offensive against capitalist society. Wherever circumstances permit, the Communist Party should also do its utmost to assume the leadership of the working masses in such attacks.

Such circumstances are, first and foremost, the growing strife and dissensions in the ranks of the national and international bourgeoisie. Should these dissensions bring disintegration into the enemy's ranks, then it would become the duty of the Communist Party to take the initiative and lead the masses to attack, after careful political and, if possible, organizational preparation. Strong ferment in the ranks of the more responsible and important workers would also justify the Party to assume the leadership of the offensive against a capitalist government on a wide front. Whilst it is the duty of the Communist Party to inspire and lead the masses to attack, it should also bear in mind that in the event of retreat it becomes imperative for the Party to prevent panic and to lead the workers out of the fray in perfect order.

The attitude of the Communist Party on the question of offense and defense depends entirely on concrete circumstances. What really matters is that it should be animated by the fighting spirit which will overcome the centrist spirit of "wait and see" in the foremost ranks of workers, by means of agitation, organization, and readiness to fight. The fighting spirit and the will to attack must be a feature of the communist mass parties, not only because as such it is their duty to lead in the fight, but also because of the present decay of capitalism and the ever growing mis-

ery of the masses. It is essential to shorten the period of decay, in order to prevent the destruction of the material basis of Communism and in order to preserve the energy of the working masses.

7. The Lessons of Actions of March.

The actions of last March was forced upon the VKPD (United Communist Party of Germany) by the government's attack upon the proletariat of Middle Germany.

In this first great struggle, which it had to sustain immediately after its formation, the VKPD committed a number of mistakes, of which the chief one was that they did not clearly understand the defensive nature of the struggle, but by the call for the attack gave the opportunity to the unscrupulous enemies of the proletariat — the SPD and the USPD — to denounce the VKPD in the eyes of the proletariat as the aggressor. This mistake was further amplified by a number of Party comrades who represented the offensive as the principal method of the campaign of the VKPD in the present situation. This mistake has already been repudiated by official party organs, notably by its chairman, Com. Brandler. The congress of the Communist International considers the March action of the VKPD as a step forward. The March action was a heroic fight of hundreds of thousands of proletarians against the bourgeoisie. And the VKPD by placing itself courageously at the head for the defense of workers of Middle Germany has shown itself to be the party of the revolutionary proletariat of Germany. It is of the opinion that in order to ensure greater success for its mass actions, the VKPD must in the future better adapt their battle cry to the actual situation, giving the most careful study to the situation and conducting their actions in the most uniform manner.

For the purpose of carefully weighing the possibilities of the struggle, the VKPD must attentively consider the facts and arguments which point out the difficulties of the actions and carefully examine their reasons for urging caution. But as soon as an action is decided upon by the party authorities, all comrades must submit to the decisions of the party and carry out the action. Criticism of the action must commence only after its completion and be practiced only within

the party organizations and organs, giving due consideration to the situation wherein the party had found itself in the face of the enemy. Since Levi did disregard these self-understood demands of party discipline and the conditions of party criticism, the Congress approves his expulsion from the Party and declares it inadmissible for any members of the Communist International to cooperate politically with him.

8. The Forms and Means of Direct Action.

The forms and means of action, its extent and the question of offensive or defensive, are bound up with certain conditions which cannot be created at will. The experience of the revolution has shown us various forms of partial actions.

1. The partial actions on the part of sections of the proletariat (the action of miners, railway men, etc. in England and of land workers in Germany, etc.)

2. The partial actions of the whole proletariat for limited objects (the action in the days of the Kapp Putsch and the action of the English miners against the military intervention of the British government in the Russo-Polish war).

These partial actions may extend over separate districts, over whole countries, and over a series of countries simultaneously. All these forms of action will in all countries be intermingled in the course of the revolution. The Communist Party cannot discard actions which are limited to a certain area, but it must strive to turn every important local proletarian action into a universal struggle. Just as we are bound to raise the whole working class in defense of the struggling workers of a single branch of industry wherever possible, we are also bound to rouse the workers of all the industrial centers to lend their help to the struggling workers of a whole district or area. The experience of revolution teaches us that the greater the area of the struggle, the greater the prospect of victory. The bourgeoisie relies in its struggle against the rising world revolution, partly on the white guard organizations, and partly on the fact that the working class is scattered and that its front is built up very slowly. The greater the number of workers who join in the battle, the greater the fighting area, the more must the enemy divide and scatter his forces. Even when the other

sections of workers, who are anxious to help the oppressed part of the proletariat, are temporarily not in a position to support it with all their might, their very movement forces the capitalist to divide his forces, for the latter are unable to fathom to what extent the other part of the proletariat will be able to take part in the struggle and render it more acute.

In the course of the past year, during which we saw the ever increasing arrogance of the capitalist offensive against the workers, we observed that the bourgeoisie in all countries, not satisfied with the normal activity of its state organs, created legal and semi-legal though state-protected white guard organizations, which played a decisive part in every big economic or industrial conflict.

In Germany it is the Orgesch, backed by the government, which includes all party colorings from Stinnes to Scheidemann.

In Italy it is the Fascisti, whose depredations effected a change in the mood of the bourgeoisie, giving the appearance of a complete change in the respective strength of the contending political forces.

In England — to combat the strikers — the Lloyd George government appealed for volunteers, whose task it was to defend property and so-called “free labor” by means of blacklegging and wanton destruction of workers’ centers.

In France the leading semi-official newspaper, *Temps*, inspired by the Millerand clique, conducts a vigorous campaign for the reinforcement of the already existing “Civic Leagues” and for the introduction of Fascisti methods to French soil.

The organizations of strikebreakers and cut-throats, which are an old time embellishment of American democracy, have now acquired a leading organ in the so-called “American Legion,” made up of the flotsam and jetsam of the war.

The bourgeoisie, though apparently conscious of its power and actually bragging about its stability, knows through its leading governments quite well that it has merely obtained a breathing spell and that under the present circumstances every big strike has the tendency to develop into civil war and the immediate struggle for the possession of power.

In the struggle of the proletariat against the capitalist offensive, it is the duty of the communists not only to take the advanced posts and lead those en-

gaged in the struggle to complete understanding of the fundamental revolutionary tasks, but it is also their duty, relying upon the best and most active elements among the workers, to create their own workers' leagues and militant organizations which would resist the pacifists and teach the "golden youth" of the bourgeoisie a wholesome lesson that will get them out of the strikebreaking habit.

In view of the extraordinary importance of the counterrevolutionary shock-troops, the Communist Party must, through its nuclei in the unions, devote special attention to this question, organizing a thorough going educational and communicational service which shall keep under constant observation the militant organs and forces of the enemy, their headquarters, his arsenals, the connection between these headquarters and the police, the press, and the political parties, and work out all the necessary details of defence and counterattack.

The Communist Party must in this manner influence the widest circles of the proletariat by word and deed, that every economic or political conflict, given the necessary combination of circumstances, may develop into civil war, in the course of which it will become the task of the proletariat to conquer the power of the state.

With regard to acts of white terror and the fury of bourgeois justice, the Communist Party must warn the workers not to be deceived during crises by an enemy appeal to their leniency, but to demonstrate proletarian morality by acts of proletarian justice, in settling with the oppressors of the workers. But in times when the workers are only preparing themselves, when they have to be mobilized by agitation, political campaigns, and strikes, armed force may be used solely to defend the masses from bourgeois outrages. Individual acts of terrorism, however they may demonstrate the revolutionary rancor of the masses, however justified they may be as acts of retribution against the lynch law of the bourgeoisie and their social democratic flunkies, are in now way apt to raise the workers to a higher level of organization, or make them better prepared to face the struggle. Acts of sabotage are only justified when they can serve the purpose of hindering the despatch of enemy troops against the workers, and of conquering important strategic points from the enemy in direct combat. Personal terroristic

acts, while they can easily be justified in view of the lynch law of the bourgeoisie and their social democratic lackeys, are nevertheless by no means the correct method for increasing proletarian organization and militant preparedness, because they give rise to the illusion in the minds of the working masses that the heroic deeds of individuals could take the place of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

9. The Relation to the Semi-Proletarian Elements.

In Western Europe there is not other important class besides the proletariat, which might become a determining factor in the world revolution. But it is different in Russia, where the peasantry, owing to the war and lack of land were predestined to become a determining revolutionary fighting element next to the working class. But even in Western Europe a part of the peasantry, a considerable section of the petty bourgeoisie in the towns, the numerous so-called "new middle class," the office workers, etc., are sinking into ever worse conditions of life. Under the pressure of the high cost of living, housing difficulties, and the insecurity of their positions, these masses are beginning to pass through a process of fermentation, which draws them out of their political inactivity and drags them into the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary struggle. The bankruptcy of imperialism in the defeated countries, the bankruptcy of pacifism and social reform in the victorious countries, drives a part of these middle class elements into the camp of open counterrevolution, and others into the revolutionary camp. The Communist Party is bound to bestow increasing attention on these elements. The winning over of the small farmers to the ideas of Communism, and the organization of the agricultural workers, are prerequisite conditions for the victory of the proletarian dictatorship. For then we shall be able to bring the revolution from industrial centers down to the country districts, and this will enable us to capture the most important strongholds, and thus solve the food question, that vital question for the revolution. The acquisition of large groups of commercial and technical employees, of middle and lower officials and intellectuals, would make it easier for the proletarian dictatorship to master the problems of technique and or-

ganization of industry and the state in the transition period from capitalism to communism. It will cause disintegration in the enemy ranks and will do away with the traditional notion that the workers are isolated. The Communist Parties have to keep alive the fermentation among the petty bourgeoisie in order to utilize it in the most appropriate way, even though it does not lose its petty bourgeois illusions. Those of the intellectuals and employees who free themselves from these illusions must be taken up in the proletarian ranks and made use of for the purpose of attracting such petty bourgeois masses.

The economic ruin and consequent disorganization of national finance force the bourgeoisie to doom, even the basic support of its governmental apparatus, the middle and lower officials, to gradual impoverishment. The economic movement on the part of these elements affects the very root of bourgeois society, and though this movement may temporarily abate, it will be as impossible for the bourgeois state to preserve this administrative foundation (the officials) as it is impossible for capital to grant fair conditions to its wage slaves while insisting on the preservation of the system of exploitation. The Communist Parties, by espousing the cause of the lower and middle officialdom and by helping it economically, irrespective of the state of public finance, will do most effective preliminary work for the destruction of bourgeois institutions and the preparation of the elements requisite for the superstructure of the proletarian state.

10. International Coordination of Action.

In order to break the front of the international counterrevolution, in order to make use of the combined forces of the Communist International and bring nearer the victory of the revolution, we must strive, with all our energy, for united international leadership in the revolutionary struggle. The conditions essential to this are the political and organized centralization of component elements of the Communist International, the doing away with the autonomy trickery of the opportunist, the creation of an appropriate political organization of the executive of the Communist International and of its entire machin-

ery. The Congress believes that the Communist International's action must not confine itself to mere demonstrations on a world scale, as advocated by the Two-and-a-Half International, and launched by the various sections of the Communist International under the same slogans. As the situation in various countries becomes more acute, the Communist International must strive to coordinate and combine the action of all the affiliated sections, or of any group of sections with the working masses which they control. The Congress takes into account the national peculiarities according to countries, or groups of countries, the differences in the conditions under which the struggles take place, the strength of the enemy, and the fighting ability and strength of the revolutionary forces. But the nearer we get to uniform international fighting leadership, the more necessary it becomes to harmonize the forms of organization and tactics of the affiliated sections.

The Communist International imposes on all Communist Parties the duty to support each other most energetically in the struggle. The growing economic conflicts demand the immediate intervention of the proletariat of other countries. The communists must carry on diligent propaganda in the trade unions to prevent not only the importation of blacklegs, but also the exportation of goods of those countries where a considerable part of the workers are engaged in battle. In cases where the capitalist government of one country perpetrates outrages against another country by trying to blunder or subjugate it, the Communist Parties must not only protest, but do all in their power to prevent such a pillaging campaign. The Third Congress of the Communist International welcomes the demonstration of the French Communists as a beginning of their action against the counterrevolutionary predatory aspiration of French capital. It reminds them of their duty to work assiduously in this direction, to make the French soldiers in the occupied territories realize that they are playing the part of watchdogs of French capital, and to induce them to rebel against the disgraceful duties imposed on them. It is the duty of the French Communist Party to make the French national conscious of the fact that by suffering the formation of a French army of occupation and tolerating its permeation by a nationalistic spirit, it forges its own chains. In occupied territories troops are be-

ing drilled in order to be subsequently let loose against the working class and to murder it in cold blood. The French Communist Party is faced by the special problem of the presence of the black troops in France and the occupied territories. The French are thus able to approach these colonial slaves, to explain to them that they are serving their oppressors and exploiters, to rouse them to a fight against the regime of the colonizers, and to establish connections with the colonial peoples through this medium. The German Communist Party must clearly explain to the German workers that no struggle against spoilation by entente capital is possible without the overthrow of the German capitalist government, which in spite of all its outbursts against the entente is the taskmaster and agent of the Entente capital. The VKP of Germany will be able to induce the workers of France to fight their imperialism only if it takes up the [daunting], ruthless struggle against the German government and thereby proves that it is not anxious to provide a loophole for bankrupt German imperialism, but wishes to clear the ground of the ruins of German imperialism.

The Communist International, which denounced before the world's proletariat the indemnity demands of Entente capitalism as a campaign of spoilation directed against the workers of the vanquished countries and which branded the cowardly capitulation to Bourse interests by the Longuet followers in France and the Independents in Germany who were pleading that this spoilation be done in a gentler fashion and less painfully for the workers, indicates to the French and to the German proletariat the only way to the reconstruction of the devastated provinces, to the indemnification of the widows and orphans, and calls the proletariat of both countries to the common struggle against their exploiters.

The German working class can help the Russian in its hard struggle if by a victorious combat it will precipitate the union of agricultural Russia and industrial Germany.

It is the duty of Communist Parties of all countries taking part in the subjugation and partition of Turkey to do their best toward revolutionizing their armies. The Communist Parties of the Balkan countries must strain all the efforts of their mass parties to hasten their victory by the establishment of the Communist Balkan Federation, which should deal the

mortal blow to petty nationalism. The victory of the Communist Parties of Bulgaria and Serbia, which will cause the downfall of the shameful Horthy regime and facilitate the liquidation of Romanian boyar rule, would extend the economic basis for the Italian Revolution to most of the developed neighboring countries. The unconditional support of Soviet Russia is still the main duty of the Communists of all countries. Not only must they act resolutely against any attacks on Soviet Russia, but they must also struggle to do away with all the obstacles placed by capitalist states in the way of Russia's communications with the world market and all other nations. Only if Soviet Russia succeeds in reconstructing economic life, in mitigating the terrible misery caused by the 3 years of imperialist war and 3 years of civil war, only when Soviet Russia will have contrived to raise the efficiency of the masses of its population, will it be in a position, in the future, to assist the western proletarian states with food and raw material, and protect them against being enslaved by American Capital. The International political task of the Communist International consists not in demonstrations on special occasions, but in the permanent increase of the international relations of the Communists, in their ceaseless struggle in closed formation. It is impossible to foretell at what front the proletariat will succeed in breaking the capitalist lines, whether it will be in capitalist Germany with its workers who are most cruelly oppressed by the German and the Entente bourgeoisie, and are faced by the alternative of either winning or dying, or in the agrarian southwest, or in Italy, where the decay of the bourgeoisie has reached an advanced stage. It is therefore the duty of the Communist International to intensify its efforts on all the sectors of the workers' world front, and it is the duty of the Communist Parties to support with all their means the decisive battles of each section of the Communist International. This must be achieved by immediately widening and deepening all internal conflicts in every other country, as soon as a great struggle breaks out in any one country.

11. The Decline of the Second and Two-and-a-Half International.

The third year of the Communist International witnessed the further decline of Social Democratic

Parties, and the loss of influence and unmasking of the reformist trade union leaders. During the last year, however, they have attempted to organize themselves and proceed to an attack on the Communist International. In England the leaders of the Labour Party and the trade unions proved, during the coal strike, that they consider their only task to be the premeditated destruction of the workers' front, which is in the process of formation, and the conscious defense of capital against labor. The breakdown of the Triple Alliance is proof that the reformist trade union leaders do not even wish to struggle for the improvement of labor conditions within the limits of the present capitalist system.

In Germany, the Social Democratic Party, after withdrawing from the government, proved that it was no longer able to carry on even agitational opposition of the pre-war kind. Its every oppositional action was carefully contemplated not to elicit any struggles of the working class. Although apparently in the opposition in the Reichstag, social democracy organized a campaign in Prussian against the Middle German miners, for the confessed purpose of provoking an armed combat before the Communist battlefield could be organized. In the face of the capitulation of the German bourgeoisie to the Entente, in the face of the undeniable fact that the German bourgeoisie is only able to carry out the dictates of the Entente by making the living conditions of the German proletariat absolutely unbearable, German social democracy reentered the government in order to aid the bourgeoisie in turning the German proletarians into helots. In Czecho-Slovakia, social democracy is mobilizing the military and police to deprive the communist workers of their houses and institutions. By its policy of prevarication, the Polish Socialist Party is abetting Pilsudski in the organization of his predatory campaign against Soviet Russia. It lends its service to the government in throwing thousands of Communists into prison and attempts to drive them out of the trade unions, in which they are gaining more and more hold, in spite of all persecutions. The Belgian Socialists retain their seats in a government that is participating in the enslavement of the German people.

The centrist parties and groups of the 2-1/2 International are no less crass examples of counterrevolutionary organizations. The German Independents

brusquely refused to respond to the appeal of the German Communist Party for unity of action, in spite of all differences, in the battle against the impoverishment of the working class. During the March revolt they took a decided stand on the side of the white-guard movement against the Middle German workers, only to raise a hypocritic howl about white terror, after they had aided in securing victory to this very white terror, and denounced the proletarian vanguard before the eyes of the bourgeoisie as thieving, plundering "gutter" proletarians. Although they pledge themselves at the Congress of Halle to support Soviet Russia, their press is replete with calumny against Soviet Russia. They stepped into the ranks of the entire counterrevolutionary congregation, from Wrangel to Miliukov to Burtsett, by supporting the Kronstadt revolt against the Soviet Republic, a revolt that signified the commencement of a new policy of international counterrevolution against Soviet Russia, viz, by overthrowing the Communist Party in Russia, to destroy the soul, the heart, the marrow, the nervous system of the Soviet Republic, in order then to sweep away its corpse more easily. The French Longuetists joined the German Independents in this campaign, thus affiliating publicly to the French counterrevolutionary forces, who have proved to be the sponsors of this new policy against Russia. In Italy the tactics of the centrists, of Serrati and d'Aragona, the policy of avoiding any struggle, has revived the courage of the bourgeoisie and enabled it to control the life of Italy by means of its white Fascisti guards.

Although centrism and social democracy differ only in phraseology, the union of both in a single International has not yet taken place. In face, the centrist parties united last February in an international association of their own, with a separate political platform and constitution. This 2-1/2 International is attempting to oscillate on paper between the policies of democracy and proletarian dictatorship. It not only lends practical services to the capitalists in every country by nurturing a spirit of irresolution in the working class, but in the face of the destruction caused by the world bourgeoisie; in the face of the subjugation of a large part of the world by the victorious capitalist states of the Entente, it concocts plans for the bourgeoisie as to the best means of executing its exploitation projects without unloosing the revolutionary

forces of the proletarian masses.

The only distinction between the 2-1/2 International and the 2nd International resides in the fact that besides their common fear of the power of capital, the former is, moreover, afraid to lose the last vestiges of its influence upon the still un-class-conscious and yet in spirit revolutionary masses, by a clear formulation of its standpoint. The political sameness of character of reformists and centrists is revealed in their common defense of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, this last bulwark of the world bourgeoisie. By uniting with the reformists and trade union bureaucrats in the battle against Communism wherever they still possess any influence in the trade unions, by responding to the attempts at revolutionizing the trade unions, by expulsion of the Communists and splits in the trade unions, the centrists prove that in common with the social democrats they are resolute opponents of the proletarian struggle and peacemakers of the counterrevolution.

It is the task of the Communist International to wage relentless war against the 2-1/2 International as well as against the 2nd International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International. Only by means of

such an unrelenting struggle, daily proving to the masses that the social democratic and centrists are not only unwilling to fight for the overthrow of capitalism, but not even form the simplest and most urgent needs of the working class, will it be possible for the Communist International to liberate the working class from the grip of these lackeys of the bourgeoisie. It cannot wage this struggle successfully except by nipping in the bud every centrist tendency or inclination in its own ranks, by giving constant daily evidence of its being the International of Communist deeds, and not of Communist phrases or theories. The Communist International is the only organization of the world proletariat capable of conducting its struggle against Capitalism on the basis of its principles. Our task consists in so improving its internal cohesion, its international leadership, and its activity, that it will, in reality, attain the aim it has set itself in its statutes — “Organizing united action by the proletarians of all countries, aspiring toward the same goal: the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of an International Soviet Republic.”

Edited by Tim Davenport.

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