Special-Number

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The Enlarged Executive

Eleventh Day of Session

June 23, 1923.

The session was opened at 2 P. M. Comrade Böttcher was in the chair. The agenda was as follows:

1. Report of the Mandates Commission. (Reporter, Com. Hörnle).
2. Report on Bulgaria. (Reporter, Com. Radek).
3. Reports of the Commissions.
4. Resolution on the Fifth World Congress.
5. Election of the Presidium.

Comrade Hörnle (Germany)

reported on the work on the Mandates Commission. All the mandates had been examined and found to be correct. The Workers' Parties of America and Canada, which had been invited as sympathising parties of the Communist International, were present only in a consultative capacity.

After submitting the report of the Mandates Commission to the vote, Comrade Radek, on behalf of the Executive, and submitted the following Manifesto to the meeting, which adopted it unanimously:

Manifesto on Bulgaria

to the vote, *Comrade Radek*, on behalf of the Executive, sub-

Forward to the battle against the Government of the white coup d'état in Bulgaria!

Up with the government of Workers and Peasants!
To the Bulgarian workers and peasants!
To the international working class!

Comrades! Brothers and sisters! In Bulgaria a small clique of bankrupt bureaucrats, unemployed officers and profiteers have seized the Government by means of a military coup d'état. The very same people who drove the Bulgarian people into the world-war, who have 200,000 lives upon their consciences, who have been thrice kicked out of office by the Bulgarian people in democratic elections, this very clique has dared to seize power. It introduces a reign of the most atrocious terrorism against the great majority of the population, against the workers and peasants. The prisons of Bulgaria are being filled with workers and peasants, the villages are abandoned to the mercy of reactionary adventurers under the guise of so-called punitive expeditions. They shoot the leaders of the peasantry, but they have not the courage to confess their responsibility for their deeds. Tomorrow they will begin the assassination of the leaders of the working class.

The white coup d'état of the Bulgarian bureaucrats, generals and profiteers was perpetrated with the aid of the Social Democratic Party, which is part of the Second International. This Party, which shares the guilt for the crime of the Bulgarian war-government, is a Party upon which all workers have turned their backs, so that it has shrunk to nothing, and serves only as a fig-leaf to the counter-revolutionary coup d'état. By this it has proved itself worthy of Noske, Turati, and their like, who paved the way for the white coup d'état in Germany and Italy respectively.

The coup d'état was consummated with the aid of the scum of the European counter-revolution, with the aid of Wrangel officers and with the support of Horthy's hangmen and the Roumanian bayars. Capitalist Europe, which has so hyprocritically attempted to arouse the so-called civilised world against the Red terror, makes haste to recognise these murderers and incendiary adventurers. The British Government, the Government of the English junkers and manufacturers, supports them, in the hope that Bulgaria will become a bulwark against Soviet Russia. The Italian Government supports them because it considers the military adventurers of Sofia, as a possible aid in a campaign against Jugo-Slavia. The capitalist world has approved of the white coup d'état in Bulgaria. The Fascist bands of all countries see in it the proof that the desire alone is sufficient to enable one to put his foot upon the neck of the people of the working class. We, the Communist International, the union of all the militant workers of East and West, call the Bulgarian workers and peasants, and the international working class to the battle against the Bulgarian usurpers of power.

Peasants of Bulgaria! To you the victory of the white clique is a lesson which you ought to assimilate, if you wish to throw off the yoke that is being imposed on you. The peasant Government of Stambuliski was overthrown because it failed to form an alliance with the workers of the cities. The interests of the great majority of the Bulgarian peasants, who are poor, go hand in hand with the interests of the workers and artisans of the cities. Stambuliski persecuted the working class. He lost the only support which he might have gained in the cities, against the clique of bureaucrats and officers who had been exploiting and enslaving the Bulgarian people during four decades, and will now continue to do so, since Stambuliski has paid for his policy with his life. But the Bulgarian peasants continue to live. They will be compelled to fight, if they do not wish to be further treated like cattle. We call upon them to unite with the workers of the cities and to start the fight under the slogan of the establishment of a government of the workers of the cities and villages.

Workers of Bulgaria! The Stambuliski Government, in the interests of the bourgeoisie and usurers of the villages, persecuted the labour movement and sacrificed the interests of the workers of the towns as well as these of the poorer peasants. But whereas the Stambuliski Government persecuted the workers, the Zankov Government will go further than that, for it seeks to destroy them. Those who held the mistaken belief that the struggle of the now victorious white clique against Stambuliski was a struggle between two bourgeois cliques to which the working class could afford to be neutral, can now see the best proof of their error by the bloody persecution of the labour organisations. The usurpers of the State are now the enemy, who must be defeated. Join hands, for the fight against the white coup d'état, not only with the wide masses of the peasantry, but also with the leaders of the Peasant party who have survived. Point out to them the consequences of the cleavage between the workers and the peasants, and call them to the united fight for a Workers' and Peasants' Government.

Peasants of Macedonia! Revolutionaries of Macedonia! You have allowed the Bulgarian counter-revolution to use you for the coup d'état, although your interests as shown by your past, are most closely interwoven, with the interests of the working people, with the interests of the revolution in the Balkans and throughout the world. The Stambuliski Government delivered Macedonia to the Serbian bourgeoisie in order to gain their support. It persecuted you in a bloody fashion. But do not believe for a moment that the counter-revolutionary movement will be able to liberate the Macedonian people. It will fight against the Bulgarian peasants and workers, against your own brothers, but not for the liberation of the Macedonian peasants. In order to entrench itself in power it will a thousand times betray Macedonia and oppress you, because it cannot tolerate any revolutionary peasant movement in Macedonia. Only a Workers' and Peasants' Government in Bulgaria will arouse the sympathies of peasants and workers in Roumania, Jugo-Slavia and Greece. Only such a Government will blaze the path for the establishment of a Balkan Federation of Workers' and Peasants' Governments, which alone can bring about your deliverance, so that Macedonia should not become again the arena of sanguinary battles, in which your huts are burned to the ground, your fields devastated and trampled under foot. Peasants and revolutionists of Macedonia. None of you, however great your anger against the Bulgarian Peasant Party and its leaders, must lend the slightest support to the Government of White Terror in Bulgaria. Moreover, for the sake of your own national freedom, you must join hands with the Bulgarian Workers and Peasants in the common struggle:

Workers and Peasants of Jugo-Slavia, Roumania and Greece! Show your utmost resentment to those in the Balkans who are supporting the Zankov Government, show your hatred to the envoys of that Government, surround the Bulgarian white guards with the wall of your resistance, hasten to the aid of the Bulgarian workers and peasants at every opportunity, to the aid of the valiant industrious people of Bulgaria now starting the fight against the white government. Workers of Czecho-Slovakia! Workers of Austria and Germany! The victory of the fascist bands in Bulgaria will give encouragement and hope to the fascist adventurers in your own countries. Be on your guard, be watchful, do not allow yourselves to be misled or lulled to sleep. Fight with your utmost determination against any aid being rendered to the Bulgarian white guards, and draw the necessary conclusion from the conduct of the Bulgarian reaction and from the errors committed by the Bulgarian peasants and workers. Exert all your efforts to bring about an alliance of the poor peasants and the workers against the hirelings of capital and of the military cliques. Dare to venture upon even a difficult fight when danger is nigh, if you do not wish to pay with your lives for your hesitation.

Workers of all countries! We call on you to watch with utmost attention the development of events in Bulgaria. We call on you to bring to the notice of the wide masses all the misdeeds perpetrated by the victorious fascist clique in Bulgaria against the working people of Bulgaria, with the aid of the capitalist Governments of all countries, and to mobilise the masses against the murderous Government of Sofia. The message from Sofia speaks to you just as eloquently as did the message from Rome. The working class of all countries is in danger! Know this, and prepare for the defence!

Down with the fascist bands, the hirelings of capital!

Down with the militarist usurpers and usurers of Sofia!

Long live the Bulgarian Workers' and Peasants' Government!

Long live the Balkan Federation of Workers' and Peasants' Governments.

Long live the solidarity of the international working class in the struggle against the fascist menace!

The Enlarged Executive of the Communist International.

Report of the Commissions

On point three of the agenda, reports of the Commissions, the following

Resolutions

were adopted unanimously without discussion: Resolution on the

Executive Report

The Enlarged Executive Committee having heard the report of the Executive Committee and the Presidium on the period since the last Congress, approves the activities of the Executive and ratifies all the decisions adopted. In particular, the Enlarged Executive expresses its agreement with the measures pursued by the Executive in settling the disputed questions arising in the various Sections.

The Enlarged Executive Committee.

Workers' and Peasants Government

The relationship between the working class and the peasantry comprises one of the most fundamental problems of the international proletarian revolution. A correct estimate of the relations of these two basic classes of the working population will determine the success of our struggle both prior and subsequent to the conquest of power.

A general estimate of the relation of the proletariat and the peasantry was given in exhaustive detail in the resolution of the Second World Congress of the Communist International on the agrarian problem. It ran as follows:

"I. The urban and industrial proletariat alone, led by the Communist Party, can liberate the toiling masses of the rural localities from the oppression of capitalism and landlords and from the destruction of imperialist wars, which must inevitably recur as long as the capitalist order prevails. There is no salvation for the labouring rural masses except in alliance with the communist proletariat and the ungrudging support of the latter in its revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the yoke of the landowner and the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the industrial workers will not be capable of fulfilling their historic world mission of liberating mankind from the oppression of capitalism and from wars, if they confine themselves to narrow, craft and trade union interests and selfishly struggle for the improvement of their own often quite tolerable petty bourgeois position. This is the case with the "labor aristocracy" which comprises the basis of the would-be socialist parties of the Second International but which its in fact the worst enemy of socialism and its betrayer; petty bourgeois chauvinists and agents of the bourgeoisie within the working class movement. The proletariat will be the real socialist class if it comes forward as the vanguard of all the toilers and exploited, as their leader in the struggle for the overthrow of the exploiters. This is impossible unless the class struggle is carried into the country-side, unless the toiling masses of the villages are rallied around the Communist Party of the urban proletariat, and unless the former are educated by the latter.

"II. The toiling and exploited rural masses who must be brought into the struggle or at any rate brought over to the side of the town proletariat, consist in all capitalist countries of the following sections:

1) The agricultural proletariat, wage workers (yearly, seasonal, or daily) acquiring their livelihod by working for wages in capitalist agricultural enterprises, and the industrial enterprises connected with them. The independent organisation (political military, trade union, cooperative, educational, etc.) of this class (including foresters, artisans on estates etc.) apart from all other classes; active propaganda and education amongst this class, and the securing of its participation in the Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat is one of the fundamental tasks of the Communist Parties of all countries.

2. The semi-proletariat or semi-peasants, i. e. those who earn their livelihood partly as wage workers in agricultural or industrial capitalist enterprises, partly by working their own or rented plots of land, which afford them only a part of the foodstuffs necessary for the support of their families. This section of the agricultural population is extremely numerous in all capitalist countries. Its existence and peculiar situation is concealed by the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the "socialists" of the Second International, who lump them with the general mass of the "peasantry", acting partly with the conscious intention of deceiving the workers and partly under the influence of the blind routine, petty bourgeois point of view. This bourgeois method of gulling the workers is most observable in Germany and in France, but also in America and other countries. If the work of the Communist Party is properly conducted this section will become its ally, for the position of these semi-proletarians is extremely hard and the gain to be got by them from the Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat is great and immediate.

In certain countries there is no hard and fast line of demarcation between the first and the second groups. Therefore, in certain circumstances, it is possible to organise them together.

3. The petty peasantry, i. e., small agriculturalists, cultivating their own or rented small pieces of land, sufficient to cover the needs of their households, and not necessitating the employment of wage labour. This section would certainly gain by the victory of the proletariat.

Taken together, the above-mentioned sections comprise in all countries the majority of the rural population. Therefore the final success of the proletarian revolution is guaranteed not only in the town, but also in the country-side."

The Fourth World Congress of the Communist International developed and supplemented the resolution of the Second Congress, giving the outline of the agrarian "program of action" (minimum programme) of the Communist International on the agrarian question.

The Second Congress of the Comintern drew up the fundamental postulates for a program on the relations between the working class and the peasantry. The Fourth Congress gave concrete form to these postulates. The present Enlarged Executive meeting of the Communist International must now produce a concentrated *political* formula, which will enable us with the greatest chances of success to carry into practice the decisions of the Second and Third Congresses.

This political formula is—"The Workers' and Peasants' Government".

Since the first world imperialist war, the peasantry has not been what it was before the war. In most countries which took part in the war, large sections of the peasantry have accumulated a certain amount of political experience. As a result there are to observed in recent years serious attempts to create peasant parties which are endeavouring to play an independent political role.

The repeated attempts during recent years to form a Green Peasant International are worthy of note.

On the whole the attempts of the peasantry to conduct a middle policy between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat necessarily failed. In the most advanced bourgeois countries, the bourgeoisie and large landowners continue as formerly to lead the peasantry by the nose. Even where apparently independent peasant parties exist they are led by elements foreign to the peasantry (priests, lawyers, landowners). The labouring peasants are then only the instruments and political cannon fodder of the worst enemies of their class. This is one of the supports of the bourgeois regime. Modern history gives numerous examples illustrating the truth that the wide masses of the labouring peasantry can only defend their political interests in close alliance with the revolutionary proletariat and only on condition that they give their support to the revolutionary part of the proletariat

Meanwhile the attitude of the parties of the Second International to the peasantry is changing. The former traditional neglect of the peasantry is giving place to attempts to draw it into the path of counter-revolutonary Social-democratic policy. In proportion as the most important Social-democratic Parties lose important positions in the working class movement and spasmodically seek a new social basis, they inevitably turn towards the countryside and direct their attention to the wealthiest sections of the peasantry.

The task of the Communists is immediately to seize the positions vacated by the Social-democrats within the working class, and while continuing their attacks above all in this sphere, to endeavour foil the Social-Democrats who are seeking for a new social basis in the countryside, and thus to rally around our banner the agricultural proletariat, and the rural semi-proletariat, and to induce the peasantry to enter into alliances with the revolutionary proletariat.

There mere fact that the Communist Parties adopt and agitate for the slogan of a Workers' and Peasants' Government on an international scale, will be sufficient to begin the neutralisation of sections of the medium peasantry and the winning of the petty peasantry over to our side.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International asserts that the great majority of the sections of the International have hitherto displayed an attitude which is extraordinarily inert and extremely harmful to our cause on the question of work in rural districts. This attitude is due, firstly, to the unhappy traditions of the Second International, out of which the most important parties of the Communist International sprang; secondly, to an incorrect theoretical attitude towards the peasantry which professes that from an "orthodox Marxian" standpoint the party of the workers has no connection with the peasantry; and thirdly, to a narrow craft conception of the class struggle of the proletariat. It is the duty of the Communist Parties at the present time to break once and for all with this craft point of view. The Communist Parties must not regard themselves as the parties of the extreme proletarian opposition *within* bourgeois society, as was the case during the period of the development of the Second International. The Communist Parties must develop in themselves the psychology of parties which sooner or later will lead the toiling masses into the fight against bourgeois society, to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to replace it as the rulers of the State. The narrow craft psychology must be replaced by the psychology of parties which possess the will to power, which embody the interest of class hegemony in the revolution. A Communist Party must prepare itself to defeat the bourgeoisie tomorrow and *therefore* today adopt aims common to all the people. It must therefore attempt to attract to the support of the proletariat all those sections which because of their social position, will be able at the critical moment to support the proletarian revolution in one way or another.

The motto of the "Workers' and Peasants' Government", like that of the Workers' Government in its time, does not in any way replace or put in the background the agitation for the dictatorship of the proletariat:—the foundation of foundations of Communist tactics. On the contrary, the motto of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, by extending the basis of the tactic of the united front—the only correct tactic for the present epoch—is the path to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The correct interpretation of the motto of the Workers' and Peasants' Government will permit the Communists not only to mobilise the proletarian masses of the towns, but also to create valuable points of support in the countryside and thus prepare the ground for the seizure of power.

The slogan of a "Workers' and Peasants' Government" will render good service to the communist parties even after the seizure of power by the proletariat; for it will remind the proletariat of the necessity to harmonise its movements with the sentiments of the peasantry in their respective countries, to establish a correct coordination between the victorious proletariat and the peasantry, and to observe a rational policy in the gradual introduction of the economic measures of the proletariat, such as was arrived at by the victorious proletariat of Russia in that period of the Russion revolution which is called the new economic policy.

It will, of course, be understood that the agitation, carried on under the slogan Workers' and Peasants' Government must be adapted to the conditions prevailing in each country, for instance in the United States it will apply to working farmers.

The defence of the economic interests of the peasantry in the spirit of the programme laid down in the decisions of the Second and Fourth World Congresses of the Communist International, must be the starting point for all our agitation for a Workers' and Peasants' Government. The Enlarged Executive therefore demands of the national parties to prepare immediately a concrete program on their relations to peasantry and introduce corresponding bills in Parliament through their parliamentary fractions. Such bills will be of the greatest possible importance if they really meet the actual needs of the working peasantry, and if signatures in support are collected in the countryside.

As a propaganda slogan, which makes it possible for us to express in arithmetical form that which, hitherto, has only been expressed in algebraical form, the slogan of a Workers' and Peasants' Government" will be of the greatest significance in as a slogan of the actual political struggle, the slogan "Workers' and Peasants' Government" will be of the geatest significance in such countries as France, Germany, Italy, the Balkans, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Finland, etc. At any rate the victory of the proletarian revolution and its consolidation will nowhere be possible without some assistance from the peasantry. In this sense the slogan of a "Workers' and Peasants' Government" must be the general slogan of the Communist Parties!

While advancing the slogan of a Workers' and Peasants' Government with every insistence, the Executive of the Communist International recommends the Communist Parties not to forget the dangers which will arise from its incorrect applica-

tion. Both the tactic of the United Front in general and the slogans of a Workers' Government and a Workers' and Peasants' Government in particular, are undoubtedly pregnant with serious political dangers if our parties are not capable of applying them in a revolutionary Marxian spirit. The two greatest dangers connected with the slogan of a Workers' and Peasants' Government are the following:

1. In parties which have not passed through a true Marxian school, the danger arises of interpreting this slogan in the spirit of the Russian S. R.'s, i. e. in the spirit of petty bourgeois "socialism", which regards the whole of the peasantry as one homogeneous class, and which closes its eyes to the fact that different sections exist within the peasantry. The Executive Committee of the Communist International draws attention to the appropriate point in the programm resolution of the Second World Congress, which says, "the large peasantry is composed of the capitalists in agriculture, who as a rule work their estates with the aid of hired workers, and who are connected with the peasantry only by their low cultural level, their method of life, and their personal manual labour on their farms. This very numerous section of the bourgeoisie is a decided enemy of the revolutionary proletariat. In the work of the Communist Parties in the countryside, the chief attention should be directed to the fight with these sections for the emancipation of the labouring and exploited majority of the agricultural population from the intellectual and political influence of these exploiters".

2. The second danger is that insufficiently experienced communists, from the political point of view, may attempt to replace mass revolutionary work amongst the lower sections of the working peasantry by parliamentary combinations, based on no principles, with the so-called "representatives" of the peasantry which often are the most reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie.

While taking these and similar dangers connected with the application of the slogan of a Workers' and Peasants' Government into account, the communist parties cannot, however, abandon the advantages of manoeuvering tactics and must learn to combine the tactics of penetrating right into the very heart of the wide masses with the principles of revolutionary Marxism.

It is self-understood that penetration into the heart of the masses of the peasantry and the motto of "Workers' and Peasants' Government" by no means imply the conversion of our Party from the workers' party into a "Party of Labour" or a "Workers' and Peasants' Party". Our Party, as far as its composition and aims are concerned, must remain a party of the working class, but of a working class which draws in its wake all sections of the working population and leads them into the fight against capitalism.

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One of the most important prerequisites for the carrying out of the slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' Government among the rural population is that Communists with particular energy conduct work in the agricultural labourers'unions. In the immediate future, the Communists must exert all their efforts to obtain a majority in the existing agricultural labourers' unions and to organise such unions where they do not exist. The function that agricultural labourers' unions must perform in addition to their other tasks, is to carry out the task of first class political importance, of carrying the slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' Government among the masses of the peasantry. In this sense, the agricultural labourers' unions must, as it were, serve as a bridge between the Communist Parties and the countryside.

Under no circumstances, however, must the Communist Parties leave these tasks to the agricultural labourers' unions alone. It is one of the most urgent duties of all the parties energetically to conduct the work of gaining the peasant masses for an alliance with the revolutionary proletariat.

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The Anglo-Russian Dispute

The Enlarged Executive regards the course and settlement of the recent Anglo-Russian conflict as evidence of the fact that British imperialism is prepared to take advantage of every opportunity to threaten the first Workers' and Peasants' State with a new war and a new armed attack, and thus to destroy the conquest of the first wave of world revolution, as was the case in England, where the essential gains made by the working class in 1919 have since been lost.

The growing power of Soviet Russia, the commencement of its economic recovery, the reappearance of Russia on the world market as an exporter of food stuffs and raw materials, the strengthening of the bond between the Soviet Government and all sections of the working population, the increasing power and steadily growing influence of the Communist Party—all these facts destroy the hopes of British imperialism of exploiting the economic need of Russia in order to undermine the Soviet Power, and of bringing about its economic downfall at the dictates of world capital. Since the consolidation of Soviet Russia is serving to enthuse the uprising people of the East, British imperialism sought either to force Soviet Russia to her knees and to make her a vassal of Britain, or else to provoke her to war. British imperialism cherished the hope that the general hatred of capitalist governments towards the Russian Revolution would also attract other powers into the fight against Soviet Russia and so lead to a general intervention. The Enlarged Executive congratulates the Soviet Government for not having allowed itself to be provoked by British imperialism, but that, by a clear and definite policy, in spite of certain sacrifices, it was able to avoid the break which the ruling classes of England desired. The Enlarged Executive desires to express its sincere pleasure at the firm and conscious determination with which the working masses of Russia, when the first news of the British ultimatum was received, arose to defend the Soviet Government. The Enlarged Executive sees in this a guarantee that if the imperialist governments should again desire to start a war against Soviet Russia, they will break their heads not only against the resistance which the international working class will oppose to such a criminal attack upon the conquests of the Russian revolution, but also against the granite will of the heroic revolutionary population of Russia.

The Enlarged Executive Committee takes note that the Second International, at the very moment that it, at Hamburg, protested in words against the attack of Lord Curzon upon the Russian Revolution and thereby upon the peace of the world, at the same time, found it possible to associate itself with the pace-makers of Entente counter-revolution, the Mensheviks and the S. Rs. While the Enlarged Executive publicly pillories this support given to world imperialism, it calls upon the workers of all countries to fight as energetically as heretofore for the defence of Soviet Russia. The British Government rejected all the proposals of the Soviet Government for a real settlement of the points in dispute. Consequently the danger of a break of Anglo-Russian relations and even of the outbreak of a new war may recur at any moment. It is necessary to keep this danger continually before the eyes of the proletarian masses of the whole world, so that they may be ready at any moment to oppose with every means in their power any further attack upon the Russian Revolution. The Enlarged Executive calls upon the toiling masses of the East to rally round the banner of Soviet Russia, which is the shield of the peoples of the East fighting for their emancipation.

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Communist Attitude Towards Religion

In view of the appearance in the Swedish Communist Press of incorrect views that may give rise to confusion in the Communist ranks, the Executive Committee of the Communist International makes it clear that:

From a bourgeois *State,* Communists demand that religion be a private matter, but under no circumstances can Communists accept the point of view that religion is a private matter in regard to the Communist *Party*. Communists demand that the bourgeois state as such have no connection at all with religion, that religious societies be connected in no degree whatever with bourgeois state authority. Communists demand that every citizen be free to preach any religion he pleases; or to recognize no religion, i. e. to be an atheist, which every conscious Communist usually is. Communists demand that in the state no distinctions whatever be made in the rights of citizens because of their acceptance of one faith or another. Communists demand that every reference to the religion of any particular citizen be entirely omitted from official documents. Communists strive to deprive States of the possibility of affording any monetary assistance or other kind of support to church and religious societies. All this taken together implies the demand that religion be a private matter in regard to the State.

The Communist Party however can under no circumstances remain indifferent to any of its members even as "private individuals" engaging in religious propaganda. The Communist Party is a voluntary alliance of conscious and advanced fighters for the emancipation of the working class. The Communist vanguard of the working class cannot and must not remain indifferent to ignorance and religious obscurantism. The Communist Party must train in its members not only loyality to a definite political program, the economic demands and the rules of a party, but also imbue them with a definite complete Marxian philosophy of which atheism is a component.

It is self-understood that anti-religious propaganda must be conducted with particular caution, in well-thought out forms

adapted to the particular sections of the population among whom propaganda is being conducted. Communist anti-religious propaganda, particularly among young people, must be conducted according to a strictly drawn-up program taking all circumstances into consideration.

In a mass Communist Party, rank and file members are sometimes observed who have not entirely freed themselves from religious moods and prejudices. The party as a whole, however, and particularly the leading section of the party, must combat religious prejudices, and in an appropriate form advocate atheism. The active propaganda of religion even in its most modern form, on the part of leading comrades, and particularly intellectuals, is absolutely impermissible.

The Communists stand for recruiting into the ranks of the class unions all workers irrespective of their religious beliefs. Bearing in mind that in various countries there are still millions of workers in various degrees religious-minded, the Communists must attract them into the general economic and political struggle without in any way repelling them because of their religious prejudices. Particularly in agitating for a Workers' or a Workers' and Peasants' Government the Communists must unceasingly lay emphasis on the fact that they propose fraternal union to all workers irrespective of whether they are religious-minded or atheists.

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The Murder of Comrade Vorovsky

The Enlarged Executive remembers, with deep grief, the fallen representative of the Soviet Government, Comrade Vorovsky, killed by the bullet of a Fascist bandit. It recalls the great work which he performed in illegal working class organisations, in Russia; in prison and in exile, on the Executive of the Communist International; as a representative of the Soviet Government and during thirty years in the fight for the emancipation of the Russian and the international working class, and for the emancipation of oppressed and enslaved peoples.

The Enlarged Executive calls upon the working class of all countries to increase their vigilance over the Fascist bandits. It calls upon the working class of all countries to do everything in its power to protect the leaders of the revolutionary proletariat and so to foil the plan of International Capital to deprive the working class of its leaders.

The Enlarged Executive calls upon the possessing classes to note that every deed of violence exercised by them against the fighting proletariat will be recorded by the revolutionary working class, and that the international bourgeoisie will have to pay heavily for every drop of proletarian blood shed when the hour of the decisive battle is struck. The Communist International reminds the international bourgeoisie that the working class, together with the other working masses, form the great majority of the people and that the bourgeoisie will have only itself to thank if it comes to suffer the sword of the Red Terror.

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There was also accepted the

Resolution on the Program Question

See report of speech of Comrade Bucharin on the Program Question.

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The Japanese Question

The Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International expresses its deep sympathy for and pledges itself to support the Communists, imprisoned by the autocratic government of Japan merely for the reason that they courageously led a movement to defeat the conspiracy of the bourgeois bureaucratic and military clique to militarise the schools and colleges throughout the country.

The Enlarged Executive recognises that the Japanese Government in employing this barbarous inquisitional policy of suppressing the Communists, is striving to suppress the whole proletarian movement and to crush the radicals in Japan and to find a pretext to pass the Communist-Suppression Bill, which failed to pass through the Diet last year, as an Imperial Edict.

The Enlarged Executive warns the Workers of Japan not to be misled by the false pretexts urged by the Japanese Government for its suppression of the Communist movement, and against all efforts to separate them and turn them away from the Communists. It calls upon the Japanese Workers to carry on the task commenced by the imprisoned Communists who fell victims in the fight for working class interests, and to arouse a strong movement against the insidious conspiracy of the militarist and bureaucratic government.

The Enlarged Executive especially calls upon the working class, peasant student and youth to rally to the antimilitarist movement, for the bloody consequences of the conspiracy to militarise the schools will fall with greatest force upon them. The youth must see in the arrested comrades who have fallen victims to the oppression of the militarist clique, the champions of their cause.

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Katayama (Japan):

rising to speak to the resolution on the terror in Japan, was greeted with applause. He appealed to the delegates when they got back to their own country to attempt to do something for their persecuted Japanese comrades. Over a hundred had recently been arrested among them some of the best comrades, who had been in the movement over twenty years. He described the barbarous treatment they would be subjected to in prison. No comment on their arrest or imprisonment could be made in the Japanese press; not even an appeal for funds for their support could be made. The Japanese comrades were themselves powerless, only outside pressure could help to secure the imprisoned communists a fairer trial. He referred particularly to Sakai, who had recently passed through a long illness, and not long before his arrest had received five wounds in an attempt to assassinate him; and to Yamakawa, who was a permanent invalid and had already been in prison several times.

The resolution was submitted and carried unanimously.

The resolution on Fascism was then submitted together with two amendments. The resolution as amended was carried unanimously.

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Fascism

Fascism is a characteristic symptom of the decadence of our epoch, an expression of the steady process of dissolution of capitalism and the disruption of the bourgeois State.

Its deepst roots lie in the fact that the imperialist war has hastened the break-up of capitalism and thus frustrated the cherished hopes, and put an end to the former security of livelihood and conditions of existence, of large sections of the petty-bourgeoisie and middle class, the small peasant holders and the *intelligentsia*. Considerable numbers in these sections of society were vaguely expectant of a thorough going reformation of society, by means of reformist socialism, and these have been disappointied. The betrayal of the revolution by the leaders of the reformist parties and trade unions, who surrendered to capitalism and coalesced with the bourgeoisie, with the object of restoring the old class-dominion and exploitation, all of which was done in the name of "democracy", caused these "sympathisers" with the proletariat to despair of socialisin itself and its potency to liberate and rejuvenate society. The pusillanimity and timidity exhibited by the overwhelming majority of the workers outside of Soviet Russia, in tolerating this betrayal, and their submission to their own exploitation and enslavement, have caused the petty-bourgeoisie, the the middle class and the intelligentsia to lose faith in the working class as the instrument for the radical reconstruction of society. These too have been joined by numerous proletarians, who, desiring and inclimed to action, have alienated themselves from all existing political parties. Further, the forces of fascism have been recruited from among the disappointed and declassed elements of society, especially ex-officers, whom the conclusion of the war has deprived of occupation and means of livelihood. All these considerations apply with especial force to the conquered Central States, as a consequence of which, fascism in these States contains a strong admixture of anti-republicanism.

The Fascists thus present a motley agglomeration devoid of historical knowledge or political experience. They look for salvation to a "State" which is to be their very own creation and tool. This State, standing above class or party, is to carry out their vague and inherently contradictory programme, under cover of bourgeoisie legality or not, by means of "democracy" or a dictatorship.

At the time of the revolutionary ferment, and the insurrection of the proletariat, fascism partially sympathised with the demands of proletarian revolution, or at least coquetted with them. It has wavered between both great camps of the class struggle and class antagonisms. When capitalism re-asserted its power, and the bourgeoisie started its general offensive, the Fascisti ranged themselves definitely on the side of the bourgeoisie, where their leaders always stood, and the bourgeoise forthwith welcomed them into its service, as efficient mercenaries in its fight to subdue the proletariat and enslave it permanently. Capitalism, as a system, is steadily breaking up; the burdens and sufferings

cast on the proletariat thereby become increasingly unbearble. As this process goes on, capitalist order finds the protection of reformist sermonising and democratic class peace increasingly insufficient against the pressure of the working masses. The bourgeoisie needs something more than this for its defence against the working class, namely, an aggressive force. The State apparatus of violence, ostensibly "non-political" no longer provides the requisite security. Thus special class war troops are recruited to combat the proletariat; these are the fascist troops. True, fascism, by its origin, contains tendencies towards revolution, which might turn against capitalism and the capitalistic State. Nevertheless it is a dangerous instrument of the counter-revolution. Italy, where fascism has triumphed, proves this.

Obviously, fascism in various countries varies in detail according to historical antecedents. However, it presents some unvarying features. Such are a revival of violence in its most brutal and terroristic shape, accompanied with a sham revolutionary phraseology, the demagogy of which adapts it to the needs and moods of proud and active classes. Its fullest development has been attained in Italy. In Italy, the passivitiy of the Socialist Party and the reformist Trade Union leaders afforded Fascism free scope; its revolutionary phraseology induced some proletarian elements to follow it and so assured its victory. The development of Fascism in Italy was facilitated by the incapacity of the Socialist Party and the trade unions to take advantage of the occupation of the factories by the workmen in 1920 in the interests of the proletarian class-war. As an outcome of the fascist victory, any labour movement, even the purest non-political demand for wages, is now forcibly prohibited. The triumph of Fascism in Italy has encouraged the bourgeoisie in other countries to attempt to subjugate the proletariat in their respective countries in a similar way. The fate of their Italian brothers now threatens the working class of the world.

However, the development of Fascism in Italy shows something else, namely, that Fascism is of a twofold nature and has in it strong elements of ideological and political disintegrations. Its aim—to hammer the old bourgeois "democratic State" into a Fascist despotic State, has let loose antagonisms between tho old established bureaucracy and the new Fascist bureaucracy, between the regular army and its professional officers and the new national militia and its leaders; between the violent Fascist economic and State policy and the ideology of the relics of the liberal and democratic bourgeoisie; between monarchists and republicans; between the bona-fide Fascists of the black shirts and the nationalists who have entered the ranks of the party and the militia;between the original program of the fascists which deceived and won the masses and the present fascist policy which serves the interests of industrial capital, and mainly of the artificially created heavy industry. Behind these and other antagonisms there are the irreconcilable economic and social antagonisms between the various capitalist sections of society, between the big bourgeoisie and the small and middle bourgoisie, as well as the small peasantry and the intellectuals. Towering above them all is the greatest of all economic and social antagonisms: the class antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Consequently, we see already the ideological bankruptcy of Facism, and the discrepancy between the Fascist programme and the manner in which it is carried out. It is possible that organised armed bands and relentless terror will for a little while prevent the clash of these antagonisms and will conceal the ideological bankruptcy. But finally, the antagonisms within the armed forces will make themselves felt and will destroy Fascism. The revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat must not be a passive spectator of the disintegration of Fascism, for it is its historic duty to further and hasten it actively and consciously. The confused and unconscious revolutionary elements within the fascist ranks, must be brought into the proletarian class struggle against the class domination and the power of exploitation of the bourgeoisie. We must pave the way for the military defeat of Fascism by overcoming it it ideologically and politically.

The class conscious vanguard of the revolutionary working-class is now bound to take up the struggle against Fascism dominating in Italy and menacing throughout the world. Fascism must be politically disarmed; the workers must organise for a vigorous and successful defence against its violence. To this end the following steps must be taken:

I.

A special organisation must be created in every country by the working class parties and organisations of all tendencies to direct the struggle against fascism.

The duties of such an organisation will be:

1. To collect facts concerning the fascist movement in that country.

2. To enlighten the working-class systematically on the hostile nature of the fascist movement by means of articles, pamphlets, placards, meetings, etc.

3. Systematically to enlighten classes recently proletarianised and those threatened with this fate, on their situation and on the functions of fascism as a tool of the great capitalists.

4. To organize the defence of the workers by establishing workers defence corps and arming them. As the Fascisti carry on their propaganda particularly among the youth, and as it is necessary to enlist the working class youth into the united front, it is necessary to include the youth in common factory "hundreds". To organise workers control committees to stop the transport of Fascist bands and arms. Ruthless suppression of every fascist attempt to terrorize the workers and prevent free expression of their interest. —

5. To attract workers of all shades of opinion to this struggle. To call on all working class parties, trade unions and all proletarian mass organisations generally to combine for common defence against fascism.

6. To combat fascism in parliament and on all public bodies. In this connection emphasis must be laid on the imperialist and arch-chauvinist character of Fascism in the various countries, whereby the danger of new international wars is increased.

II.

The organization of the fascist forces being international the resistance of the workers against it must also be on an international scale. To this end, an international Workers' Committee must be created. The work of such a committee would be to exchange experiences, and also to organise international action. The first effort is to be directed against Italian fascism, for which purpose it is necessary:

1. To commence an international campaign through newspapers, pamphlets, cinematograph, meetings etc., to acquaint people with the absolutely hostile nature of the Italian fascist rule to the workers, and to expose the systematic destruction of all workers organisations by the Italian fascists.

2. To organise international meetings to protest against fascism and against its representatives abroad, and so forth.

3. To maintain a struggle in the parliaments; to call upon the parliaments and the international Labour organisations to send deputations to investigate the position of the working-class in Italy.

4. To fight for the immediate liberation of the communist, socialist and non-party workers under arrest or convicted.

5. To prepare for an international boycott of all workers against Italy; to stop coal supplies to Italy, to urge all transport workers to refuse to carry goods from and into Italy and so forth. To this end, to set up international committees of miners, seamen, railway workers, transport workers, etc.

6. Afford material and moral support to the persecuted workers of Italy by collections of money, assisting refugees, aid to get work abroad, etc. For this purpose, the work of the International Red Relief must be extended accordingly. The workers' cooperatives must be drawn into this effort.

It must be hammered into the workers' minds that they will share the fate of the Italian workers unless they, by an energetic and revolutionary fight against the ruling class, forestall the attraction of the less class-conscious elements towards fascism. Therefore, the labour organisations must devote all their energy to the protection of the broadest masses of the workers against exploitation, oppression and usury, and must oppose capitalism and the specious revolutionary language of fascist demagogy with the most strenuous mass struggle. All further attempts to organize fascism at home must be nipped in the bud with all possible energy; and consciousness must be roused to the fact that the defence against fascism in Italy and throughout the world will be a strenuous fight against it at home.

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Walcher (Germany):

presenting the report of the Trade Union Commission, said that the resolution on the Trade Unions had been subjected to only a few unessential alterations. Sections four and five were united and a new section, number eight, was added. He then read the resolution.

The resolution on Trade Unionism was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The Trade Union Question

I.

A great change has been going on in recent months within the reformist wing of the Labour Movement.

This change came to light when a left wing was formed within the Amsterdam International, which aims at cooperating with the Russian Trade Unions, and through them, with the R.I.L.U., and to form a United Front with its affiliated organizations. This current was most clearly manifested at the International Conference of Transport Workers, where a bloc was formed between the organizations affiliated with Amsterdam and those affiliated with the R.I.L.U., for the purpose of combatting the war menace and the Fascist reaction.

This change was further manifested in the agreement concluded between the International Metal Workers' Union and the Russian Metal Workers' Union, as well as in a number of similar agreements among other International Labour Bodies.

II.

This change is the effect of two causes:

a) The bankruptcy of the policy of collaboration of the Amsterdam International, and b) the steady revolutionizing of the masses of the workers in consequence of our tactics of winning the Trade Unions, and of the Uinted Front.

The bankruptcy of the reformist tactics was laid bare in the fact that the Trade Unions were not in a position to offer an effective resistance to the capitalist offensive and to retard the ever-increasing deterioration of the economic conditions of the proletariat. Furthermore, at the outbreak of the conflict in the Ruhr, the Reformist Trade Unions proved no more capable than in 1914, of meeting the predatory policy of capitalism and the imperialist war by starting a class struggle.

Under these these circumstances, the fight of the Communists for the united action of the Trade Unions, in common with the workers of all tendencies, was bound to demonstrate to the wide masses, that among all the labour parties, the Communist Party was the only one that was waging a real fight against the enslavement of the toilers.

III.

This new situation confronts the various Communist Parties with the question, of how to proceed with the further realization of the tactics laid down by the Congresses of the Communist International. Mere propaganda for the United Front does not go far enough now. The reasons for the United Front, the various forms of its formation, and the fighting methods of the working class upon a United Front must be made clear to every worker. Every worker must be given a clear understanding of what we mean by the United Front, how we propose to organize it, and what all the workers, collectively and individually, are to do when the United Front will have been established. An organization basis must be given to the United Front by the creation of Joint Committees of Action, which must in every case adapt themselves to time and place and circumstances in the various countries.

The elaboration of a concrete program of action according to industries and districts must be our most important task in the near future.

IV.

Our struggle for the restoration of the unity of the Trade Union movement must be built up chiefly from the individual factories, because it is here that the worker can best see the necessity of the United Front. It has been shown that the Factory Councils are the most suitable organs of the United Front. It should therefore be the business of communists in countries, where there are as yet no factory councils, to fight by the side of the wide masses for the formation of factory councils; and in countries where they already exist, they should exert all efforts to revolutionize them and to have their powers extended.

The transfer of the centre of activity to the factories, and the fight for the creation of factory councils, does not mean in any way that the factory councils should supersede the Trade Unions as *organizations*. Such an idea would lead to a weakening of the labor movement, and it must be more determinedly rejected. It would be a source of difficulty to our fight for the capture of the Trade Unions and their transformation into industrial unions and would surrender the unions into the hands of their present leaders.

V.

In countries where there are workers of different nationalities and races, the communists should fight to make the workers of all nationalities and races belong to one and the same union of their respective trade. But in this fight for the elimination of national prejudices among the workers, it shall be the duty of the Communist Party of the dominant nationality to fight its hardest against those elements of the labor movement who want to urge the pretext of internalism in one way or another to hamper the freer development of the workers of the oppressed nations.

In countries where the masses of the workers are still suffering the consequences of ancient national hatred, the Communists must give particular attention to any conflict, however trivial, which may arise among the workers of the different nationalities, for, otherwise, the least dissension in the organization might become the starting point for a revival of the national conflicts between the workers, thus leading to a mutual estrangement among the revolutionary elements.

VI.

The persistent disruptionist policy of the reformist Trade Unions must be met with the stoutest resistance (by propaganda, agitation, organizational methods, etc.). In the case of the expulsion of single groups of workers, or of entire unions, the expelled must *be united, and every attempt made to have them reinstated*. Under no circumstances should the oppositional elements, who sympathize with the expelled, be withdrawn from the old unions.

In countries where there are two rival Trade Union Federations, one reformist and the other revolutionary (France, Czecho-Slovakia, Spain, etc.), the Unions expelled from the reformist Federation must join the revolutionary Federation; on the other hand, even in these countries, in the event of individual members or groups being expelled, the latter should fight for their re-instatement in the reformist unions as long as this will serve the interest of the revolutionary labor movement.

VII.

The Enlarged Executive of the Communist International calls upon the entire Party press to give greater attention to the life and struggles of the trade unions, to give the utmost publicity to the activity of the revolutionary unions and of oppositional minorities and factions, and to give systematic reviews of all organizational and political experiences. Particular attention should be given to the creation of special literature devoted to Trade Union agitation and propaganda. All the Communist Parties must send to the Executive Committee, regular reports of the activities of their respective factions in the Trade Unions, so that the experiences of one country be made the common possession of the entire International Movement.

VIII.

It is the duty of every member of the Communist International to join his union and work actively with the Communist fraction, i.e., in the revolutionary opposition movement. The activity of the Communists in the trade unions must conform to the theses and resolutions of the R.I.L.U. The sections of the Communist International must exert all efforts to unite all the organized workers of the world under the banner of the Red International.

IX.

The Enlarged Executive of the Communist International, hailing with satisfaction the union effected among the Transport Workers and the Metal Workers, calls upon all the Communist Parties to give their utmost support to all attempts to create a United Front in the Trade Union movement and to re-unite those Trade Union movements which; in some countries, have been divided, and to wage the most determined and relentless fight against any attempt to disrupt or sabotage any agreements already concluded between Trade Union bodies of different affiliations. The Communist Parties must back the initiative of the Transport Workers and do everything possible to extend similar agreements to other branches of industry, and thereby pave the way for the restoration of the organizational unity of the International Trade Union Movement.

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Hörnle (Germany):

in introducing the resolution on Cooperation said.

In the opinion of the Commission three questions are involved in the subject of the cooperatives: 1. Participation of the cooperatives in the fight against Fascism; 2. cooperation between the Cooperatives and the Trade Unions; 3. the question of the organisation of Communist nuclei in the Cooperatives by rallying a wide revolutionary opposition within the reformist leagues. Fascism was a menace not only to the other working class organisations, but also to the Cooperatives. The Cooperatives could only insure their existence by uniting with the other fighting organisations of the proletariat in the struggle against Fascism.

In order to secure the cooperation of the Trade Unions, it was necessary that a world conference of Trade Unions and Cooperative Societies take place to deal with the most important questions, as e. g. the fight against the danger of war and against Fascism, against the menace to the eight-hour day, against the

profiteer and the rise in the cost of living, for the control of production and markets, for the arming of the proletariat, and for a Government of Workers and Peasants. We must demand that the R.I.L.U. be included in any alliance between the Amsterdam Trade Union International and the cooperatives.

On being put to the vote the resolution was adopted unanimously.

Co-operative Question

I. The Cooperatives and Fascism.

1) The direct aim of Fascism is systematically to annihilate the Workers' organizations, to deprive the working class movement of its points of support, and to destroy its sources of aid. Where Fascism is developing and particularly where it has come to power, its severest blows are directed against the cooperatives.

2) Therefore, Fascism must be regarded as a direct danger to the cooperatives, not merely to their development, but to the very conditions of their existence. Communist cooperators must therefore undertake an energetic campaign in order to induce the cooperatives to take up a definite attitude in the fight against Fascism.

3) The development of the capitalist offensive into the form of Fascism, makes it quite clear that it is an illusion to expect that the emancipation of the working class can be achieved by the peaceful development of the cooperative organizations within the bourgeois system of society, such as is believed by the "Pure and simple cooperators". As soon as the cooperatives become embarrassing to the bourgeois class, the latter ruthlessly destroys the apparatus upon which the pacifist cooperators build all their hopes. Civil war is knocking at the door of the cooperatives and is compelling them to stand on one side of the barricade or the other. It is a dangerous illusion to believe that the cooperatives can be spared the consequences of the class war; every defeat of the proletariat must react directly upon the coperatives. The Fascist regime, i.e. the regime of the armed dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, depresses the working class into a position of poverty and slavery, and therefore renders unfertile the soil from which cooperation derives its strength and upon which its development is based.

4) Soviet Russia is the only country in which the cooperatives are in a position to develop an organized plan of work, and so be assured of existence and of the functions which they are called to perform in the building up of a socialist society. This fact must be emphasized as a striking illustration of the contrast in the position of the cooperatives in countries where the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie prevails, and in the only country in which the dictatorship is exercized by the proletariat.

5) The experiences of the struggle against Fascism have demonstrated that only those cooperative organizations which base themselves upon the broad masses of the proletariat can put up any resistance. The small, isolated organizations were not only impotent from an economic point of view, but were also unable to defend themselves politically against the attack of the bourgeoisie.

6) The slogans of the United Front and of the Workers' and Peasants' Government exactly correspond with the needs of the cooperative movement: the United Front, because the cooperatives have the same interests and are subject to the same dangers as the working class as a whole; the Workers' and Peasants' Government, because only the seizure of power by the working population can save the cooperatives from destruction and afford them the possibility of full development.

7) The working masses must be prepared to take up the fight against Fascism upon the first signs of the appearance of such a movement, and to prevent it from becoming to any degree powerful, or seizing the power of the State. To this end, the cooperatives must undertake an energetic propaganda againsts Fascism, and place their means and membership at the disposal of the proletarian contingents formed to protect proletarian institutions and to suppress counter-revolutionary attempts.

Propaganda must be conducted, and funds must be collected from cooperatives for the assistance of the victims of Fascism, and for this purpose close union must be established with the institutions formed for assisting the victims of the fight against counter-revolution.

8) The experiences we have had hitherto with Fascism show that the refusal to fight, as preached by the reformist leaders, in no way saved the cooperatives. After the seizure of power by the Fascisti, the persecution directed against the cooperatives increased in intensity. Consequently the cooperatives must carry on the struggle energetically for exploiting every available possibility for maintaining their existence. Communists must also conduct propaganda within the cooperatives which the Fascisti have seized. An energetic agitation must be carried on to prevent the workers deserting the organizations which the Fascisti have seized, or whose activities have been diminished as a result of the deeds of violence of the Fascisti.

II. Cooperation between the Cooperatives and the Trade Unions.

The international capitalist offensive on the one hand, and the revolutionizing of the working class masses on the other, are compelling even the reformist leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International and the International Cooperative Alliance to take up the idea of a united front of the proletariat. They are attempting to debase these tactics by transforming a united fighting front of the workers into a union of fight-shy leaders. The bloc formed in February last between the Amsterdam International and the International Cooperative Alliance is such a union. But it is worthy of note that the Co-operative International thereby itself admitted that the principle of neutrality it hitherto professed was untenable. In spite of itself it was obliged to acknowledge that the union of all the organized forces of the proletariat had become a question of life and death for the cooperatives also. If the cooperatives do not wish to be drawn into the general disorganization of capitalist economy, if they do not wish to become the defenseless victims of Fascism and new capitalist wars, if they do not wish to sink into a position of obedience to commercial and financial capital, then they must unite with the economic and political fighting organizations of the proletariat.

The bloc created in Brussels between the Amsterdam International and the International Cooperative Alliance, is not of course an instrument of the proletarian struggle against the capitalist offensive. This is clearly shown by the fact that the reformist leaders refuzed to accept into the bloc, the Red International of Labor Unions, which embraces millions of revolutionary workers.

Consequently, the bloc of the Amsterdam International and the International Cooperative Alliance forms, in reality, only a bulwark of the bourgeoisie to prevent a serious and determined defensive struggle on the part of the working class. It creates no alliance for mutual aid between the Cooperative and trade union organizations of the various countries.

Therefore, it behoves communist cooperators to expose the true nature of this bloc to the wide proletarian and peasant masses belonging to the cooperative movement, and in order to counteract it, to demand the establishment of a fighting front of all cooperators and trade unionists. The revolutionary Trade Unions organizations adhering to the Red International of Labor Unions must be drawn into this bloc. A concrete program of action must be elaborated at a World Conference of proletarian trade unionists and cooperators, which must form the basis of the struggle against the ideology and organization of Fascism, *against* capitalist exploitation of the masses of the workers, reduction of the real wage and the extension of the working day, the preparation for war and the provocation to war by the capitalist States, taxation of the working class and their cooperatives, against all exceptional laws and regulations concerning revolutionary workers' parties, and *for* annulment of the Versailles Peace Treaty, liberation of imprisoned revolutionaries, arming of the proletariat and Peasants' Government. Above all, the co-operatives must establish connection between the industrial proletariat and the masses of the workers of the countryside.

The co-operatives must take an active part in all the actions of the revolutionary proletariat.

The leaders of the co-operatives and trade unions must be publicly invited to collaborate with the Committee of Action, set up at the International Frankfort Conference, to combat the menace of war and Fascism. In the event of the leaders rejecting this invitation, the members must be called upon to organize a proletarian defensive front to protect their interests, regardless of the attitude of the reactionary leaders.

In connection with the International Trade Union Congress, to be held in 1924, it is essential to organize a campaign of agitation on a large scale, in order to expose the "neutralist" attitude of our opponents, who ally themselves openly with the reactionaries, and also in order to propagate the above-mentioned demands, and to secure the appointment of the largest possible number of communist co-operators as delegates.

III. On the Organisation Question.

1) The necessity to coordinate the international forces of communist co-operators, makes it imperative for all national co-operative sections of the Communist Party to proceed at once with the work of rallying the revolutionary inclined co-operative masses to the Communist nuclei, and to bring them under a uniform fighting system capable of defending the revolutionary interests of the workers in complete solidarity with the Communist Party and the Red Trade Unions.

Close mutual contact and common actions of the co-operative bodies with the corresponding organs of the Party and the Trade Unions must be organized throughout the co-operative movement in every country.

2) In accordance with the decision of the First International Conference of Communist Co-operators, it is the duty of the national co-operative sections to establish local organs for communist co-operative work under the supervision of the Central Committee of the Party. These organs must be sanctioned by the Co-operative Section of the E.C.C.I.

The National organizations scheme is as follows.

A. In the National Central Comittee.

A co-operative section is to be attached to the Central Committee of the Party, consisting of:

a) A Co-operative Advisory Committee, consisting of practical, responsible communist co-operators (managers, members of Control Committees, etc.), representatives of the Trade Union Section, the Women's Sections, the Youth League and the Red Relief. The Advisory Committee meets periodically under the chairmanship of a member of the Party Central Committee instructed to report on co-operative affairs. The Advisory Committee must deal with all co-operative affairs, and make decisions upon them.

b) The Co-operative Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party.

The co-operative section is responsible for the registration of the communist nuclei in the co-operatives, the publication of a communist co-operative organ wherever this is possible. It must also provide the Party press with articles and information concerning communist activity in the co-operatives, must organize joint economic and political campaigns with the trade union organizations, establish contact with the Co-operative Section of the E.C.C.I., the parliamentary fractions of the Communist Parties, the factory committees, etc., etc.

The decisions of the Advisory Committee, after endorsement by the Central Committee of the Party, must be carried out by the Secretariat. The Secretariat is responsible for all current business, correspondence, editorial work, etc.

B. The same principles must underlie the organization of Communist cooperative work in the towns and districts. The local Party committees appoint an official from among Communist members of each cooperative society, who has to superintend the activity of the Communist nuclei of his cooperative society. The meeting of the nuclei officials of all local cooperatives, under the chairmanship of a member of the local Party committee, constitutes the organ responsible for the local activity of the Communist Cooperators.

C. In countries where (on the Trade Union model) the Communists form a bloc with the revolutionary cooperative elements, it is essential, parallel with the existing revolutionary circles, to establish purely Communist nuclei. The business of these nuclei is—to rally to themselves the widest possible sections of revolutionary inclined cooperators.

Prior to the next, i. e. the second International Conference of Communist cooperators, the cooperative section of the E.C.C.I. must carefully study and prepare the methods of collaboration between Communist cooperators and other revolutionary elements of the cooperative movement.

Comrade Lunarcharski reporting on the Italian Question read the following:

Letter from the Italian Socialist Party.

Rome, June 10, 1923.

Dear Comrades: In order that the Enlarged Executive Committee at its forthcoming session may take the appropriate decisions on the Italian situation, we are sending you a resolution adopted at the recent Congress of Milan and the motion upon which Lazzari and the Unionist Committee agreed, and which was rejected by the Congress.

Both these documents will enable you to understand the point of view from which the Congress adopted one and rejected the other.

You will be able, above all, to see: 1. that the Unionists, when rejecting the motion of Lazzari, were obliged to admit implicitly that our delegates to the Fourth Congress had exceeded their mandate and had not given an exact interpretation of the decisions of the Congress of Rome.

2. That the Party is unanimous in its fidelity to the principles of the program on which the Third International was founded, but that, while not making any additional reservations at the Congress of Rome to the 21 conditions, it did not withdraw its former reservations, which were not dissolved by the exclusion of the right; and this was in accordance with the interpretations of Lazzari, who was the author of a resolution at the Congress, subsequently withdrawn, for unconditional affiliation.

3. That, in accordance with its precedents, the Party, bound to its tradition, whereby it exercises its influence upon the masses, feels no necessity to renounce its name, its symbols, or its autonomy, which, by reason of its organization and its internal policy, responds to the needs of its historical function, which has not yet been superseded by events—an autonomy which a revolutionary and intransigent method guarantee that the necessary limits will not be exceeded.

The decisions of the Fourth Congress, which have transformed the character of democratic centralism, given to the Third International by the conditions 12 and 21, into authoritarianism, have considerably increased the difficulties of the Socialist Party in reference to you.

But, while fully recognising this, we think that the Third International, instead of insisting upon imposing absolute and equal conditions on all Parties, however diverse and however different the countries, might, instead, have regard to the special character of our Party and accept it into the International without further discussion and with all reasonable reservations. Time and circumstance will perhaps in the end create the possibilities you so much desire, which are today absent, and which can only become more remote if the Socialist Party, rejected by you and placed in the painful but inevitable necessity of defending itself against those within its own ranks, who, not understanding its spirit, only strive to annex it to the Communist Party, and those without its ranks, who, attentive only to interpret your ideas, systematically calumniate its program and its personnel. This, as everybody knows, will in the end fatally affect the earnest attempts for the constitution of a United Front of all revolutionary Parties.

The danger is only too great and serious. In our opinion, in face of this danger, and in the interests of the proletarian revolution, which we desire as earnestly as you, you should not hesitate to accept our point of view.

In the contrary case, it would appear to us more useful to put an end to discussions, which, by absorbing the attention of the proletariat, distracts it from the imperious duties of the moment.

In the confident hope that you will carefully and dispassionately examine our conditions and our requests, we send you the warmest socialist salutations.

(Signed) *Nobill*, Secretary.

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Comrade Lunarcharski continued:

The Italian Socialist Party demands that we should admit it on the basis we already know—preservation of its autonomy, of its old name, and other minor reservations.

The Commission considered that the situation in Italy was exceptional. The interests of the proletarian defense are so pressing that they demand that the greatest efforts should be made in favour of revolutionary unity. This situation inspired our resolution.

The speaker, after having read the resolution of the Italian Commission, stated that it found it necessary, in order to insure the application of the resolution, to add two representatives of the minority of the Party chosen from the best militants to the Executive Committee of the Italian Communist Party (the Bureau now consists of five members).

The majority of the Italian Communist Party had decided to make another declaration here expressing their point of view. I do not think it will serve any purpose. Our Italian comrades will, however, vote for the resolution of the Commission, which does honor to their discipline.

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Declaration of the Majority of the Italian Communist Party.

The delegation, representing the majority of the Italian Communist Party, declares that it will vote for the resolution presented by the Commission. However, having made reservations on certain points of this resolution within the Commission, we think it necessary to bring them before the Enlarged Executive.

1. While admitting that the conduct of the Italian Communist Party previous to the Fourth Congress affected harmfully the development of the process of fusion, we desire to re-affirm that, since the Fourth Congress, the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party has done all in its power, and all that

the concrete situation permitted, to put into practice the decisions of the Congress and of the Fusion Commission.

We must also state that the minority in the Party were of the same opinion. We must also emphasize that one of the representatives of the Comintern in Italy was of this opinion, and that this representative did not participate in the work of the Commission, although he was appointed a member by the Enlarged Executive.

We therefore regard as erroneous and as impolitic that point in the resolution which holds the Central Committee responsible for its attitude since the Fourth World Congress—a conclusion which is based upon an entirely one-side judgment.

2. While approving the proposals contained in the resolution for the relations which are to be established between the Italian Socialist Party and the Communist International, we believe that, while serving to secure the most rapid fusion between the two Parties, it should not and cannot serve to modify in any way the sense of the decisions taken at the Fourth World Congress, viz.:

a) that the Italian Communist Party should hold the dominating position in the process of the fusion of the revolutionary forces of Italy; and b) that the 21 conditions should not lose their efficacy or their authority in the process of fusion between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party.

3. Since the development of the discussions within the Enlarged Executive and within the Commission reveals a profound divergence between the action taken by the substitute Executive Comittee, lected at the wish of the majority of the Party, and the Communist International, that point in the resolution which states that the composition of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party should be such as to guarantee that the decisions of Comintern will be carried out, should be interpreted in the following sense, viz. that the tendency which has hitherto dominated absolutely in the leadership of the Party, should be excluded from the new Executive Committee and should not have more than a minority representation in the Central Committee.

Having affirmed this point, which represents the point of view of the majority of the Italian Communist Party at the commencement of a new period in its existence, we shall vote for the resolution

The delegation of the Italian Communist Party.

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Lunarcharski then read the following resolution:

The Italian Question

The resolution on the Italian question of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International provided for the union of the Italian Communist Party with the majority of the Italian Socialist Party, which at its Rome Congress declared in favour of the Third International,and for a rapid re-grouping of forces with the object of obtaining the maximum unity of the revolutionary workers against the attack of Fascism. Experience has shown that this decision was, and is, absolutely correct.

While confirming this decision, the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International notes with deep regret that the wishes of the Fourth Congress have so far not been put into practice.

Three reasons are responsible for the failure to carry out the resolution of the Fourth Congress on the Italian question.

Firstly—the Fascist Terror, the unprecedented oppression which was launched against the Italian working class, the unpunished murder of revolutionary workers, the innumerable arrests and the unbridled arbitrariness forced the Italian working class movement temporarily underground and broke the spirit of the rank and file workers. As the most severe attacks were borne by the Communists, it is only natural that the least courageous section of the socialist workers should refrain from direct union with the Communists in order to avoid the full brunt of oppression.

Secondly—the conduct of the right wing of the Italian Socialist Party, which, taking advantage of the broken spirit of a section of the workers and of the fact that the revolutionary elements of the Italian Socialist Party most loyal to the Communist International had been arrested, rapidly organised itself into a fraction and conducted a systematic campaign against fusion with the Italian Communists.

Thirdly—the mistaken tactics of the majority of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party. Hypnotised by the former conflict with the group of Comrade Serrati, and suffering from extreme dogmatism, the majority of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party failed to observe that the situation within the Italian working class movement had radically changed, and that the union of all the revolutionary forces of the Italian workers within a United Communist Party was a question of life and death for the proletariat. The majority of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party, in spite of the obligations assumed by them at the Fourth World Congress, not only failed to conduct a systematic agitation for union with the Italian Socialist Party, but even undermined and sabotaged the decision of the Congress.

The Enlarged Executive of the Comintern resolves as follows:

A. In relation to the Italian Communist Party.

1. The Communist International demands of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party that it should not only formally but in fact carry out the decisions of the Communist International. The whole of the Italian Communist Party and all its organs must undertake an energetic agitation for union of the proletarian forces.

2. It shall be the duty of the Italian Communists to support in every possible way the members of the Italian Socialist Party who are in favour of fusion with the Communists.

3. The Italian Communist Party shall apply the tactics of the united Front to Italian conditions, i. e. it shall make proposals to the Central Committee of the Italian Socialist Party upon this question in the form required by the resolution of the Communist International.

4. The composition of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party must be such as to guarantee the application of the above decisions.

B. In relation to the Italian Socialist Party.

1. The Enlarged Executive notes that the present Central Committee of the Italian Socialist Party is far from representing the majority of the members of the Italian Socialist Party. At the Milan Congress, which met in the midst of a White Terror, 9,000 of the 32,000 members were represented, and of these more than 40% declared in favour of uniting with the Communists.

2. The Executive Committee notes that, basing itself upon this insignificant majority, the victorious group refuses to allow to enter the Central Committee a single member of the other tendency, which is almost as numerous as itself.

3. The Executive Committee of the Communist-International notes that immediately after the Congress the victorious group, in open defiance of the elementary principle of internal party democracy, expelled the Young Communist League solely because the latter remained true to the banner of revolutionary socialism.

4. The Executive notes that at the time of the crisis in the Amsterdam International, when a workers' left wing, more class-conscious than the rest, was drawn to the Red Profintern, the Central Committee of the Socialist Party found it expedient to renew its adhesion to the Amsterdam International.

5. Thus, the Executive cannot but note that the attitude of the leaders of the Socialist Party hitherto has been hostile to the Communist International.

6. The Executive Committee of the Communist International regards the Milan Congress and the present position within the Italian Socialist Party as only a transitory episode. The Executive Committee is convinced that the time is not distant when the workers who are members of the Italian Socialist Party will make their voice heard.

7. Under the pressure of the majority of the workers, the leaders of the Socialist Party in a letter dated June 10th. expressed their desire for a rapprochement with the Communist International. The Executive, in its desire to take advantage of every opportunity to hasten the union of all the revolutionary forces of Italy, believes that it is meeting the wishes of the majority of the workers who are members of the Italian Socialist Party when it consents to this rapprochement in spite of the hostility referred to above.

8. In view of the difficulties created by the political relations prevailing hitherto, the Communist International expresses its readiness to facilitate the establishment of harmonious relations between the two parties.

9. In order to express its solidarity with the workers of the Socialist Party, who are passing through a very difficult period, the Executive invites the Socialist Party as soon as possible to send a Delegation to Moscow to complete its union with the Communist International.

The Enlarged Executive of the Communist International calls upon all the revolutionary Workers of Italy to work steadily and persistently for the preparation of the complete unity of all the revolutionary forces of the Italian working class under the banner of the Communist International.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

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Neurath presented a report of the Balkan, Swiss and Austrian Comimssions.

He proposed that the settlement of the Balkan Question, particularly as regards Jugo-slavia, should be handed over to the Presidium. The resolutions on the Swiss Question were adopted unanimously by the Commission. The Austrian Commission, also, came to differences in principle between the two fractions, the majority and the minority. The Commission adopted a decision to the effect that the Executive of the Austrian Communist Party should be obliged to invite representaives of the minority to all Party work, including political work. We expect that the Austrian Party Executive will carry out this decision loyally. The Austrian Party is not so strong as to permit itself the luxury of excluding a section from collaboration in political work. We hope that on this basis the differences of a personal nature that still remain will be completely liquidated.

The Resolutions on the Swiss and Austrian Questions were adopted unanimously.

Swiss Question

Propagandist Activity.

The Swiss Communist Party has a relatively small membership, for it numbers from 4,500 to 4,800 paid-up members, as against 30,000 members of the Social-democratic Party. Moreover, taking into consideration that the Swiss Trade Unions have an approximate membership of a quarter of a million workers, it is no exaggeration to say that the numerical strength of the Party is not in proportion to the strength of the Labor movement as a whole, which naturally includes the trade unions. It appears that the Swiss Party Executive was concerned about the maintenance of a so called "Pure Communist Party". In this connection we draw their attention to the following: the Russian Communist Party, which has been victorious in the social revolution and which now possesses the means of Power in the Russian State, is the target for the world reaction as a whole. It finds itself in the position of a defensive army in a beleagered fortress. This Party must be careful to restrict its ranks to proven Communists. Those sections of the Communist International which have yet to organise and to wage the fight against the governing classes of their respective countries, who have yet to gain the sympathies of the large masses of the population, if not a direct majority, cannot afford the luxury of creating a socalled "Pure Party", which should embrace only an infinitesimal minority of the class conscious proletariat. The Swiss Party has to develop an intense campaign for membership, so as to gain many new members. The Communist Party must seek not only immediate influence over the masses of the workers, but also indirect influence over the greatest possible portion of the working class, if it wants to fulfill its revolutionary tasks.

The Party's Enterprises.

We repeat once again that the Swiss Party Executive is not only entitled, but it is also its duty to see to it that all the enterprises of the Party should be under the control of the Executive. The Party Executive is responsible to the Party and to the Communist International not only for its general policies, but also for all the economic and other matters appertaining to the Party. This responsibility can be borne by the Party provided it has also the right of decisive influence, i. e., control, over all the enterprises of the Party.

The Enlarged Executive of the Communist International confirms the decisions of the Presidium of the 15th March, 1923, with regard to the tactical methods within the Swiss Communist Party. The Enlarged Executive refers once again to the important questions which already occupied the attention of the Presidium.

On the Trade Union Question.

Only in as much as the Party takes care of the so-called everyday cares of the working-class, in as much as it endeavours to influence the conduct of Trade Union struggles, to that extent the Party will be able to gain the increasing confidence of the organised workers of the Trade Unions. Our representatives in the Trade Union Movement must be guided in their activities by the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International, and above all by those of the R.I.L.U. Congress. The activity of our comrades in the Trade Unions must be deliberately supported and promoted by the Party Press. Hence it follows the Party Press must give its most thorough attention to the problems of the economic struggle of the proletariat.

The thesis advocated by the Trade Union leaders, Wys and Kopp, to the effect that the Party should give the least possible attention to Trade Union organization matters, is certainly absolutely wrong. It is true the direct influencing of the Trade Union movement by the Communist Party should not be emphasised at all times and at every opportunity. The main thing is that the Communist Party, or its representatives, should be actually in a position to influence the Trade Union struggles in the spirit of the decisions of our World Congresses, and to compel the present nominal leaders of the trade unions, to act in the interest of the large masses of the working class, and thus to put the trade unions at the service of the class struggle.

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Austrian Question

The following are the main characteristics of the present situation in Austria: a) the complete dependance of Austria upon the Entente, whose representative is the unrestricted lord of the country; b) the extreme reactionary policy of Seipel, which is directed exclusively against the Austrian working class; c) the strength of Fascism, the organizations of which are already making the first attempts to smash the Workers' organizations and to crush the workers in blood; d) the strengthening of the monarchist organizations which hope for the restoration; e) an extremely acute economic situation, rise in the cost of living, tremendous unemployment; f) the situation of the working class becoming steadily more acute, owing to the attempts of the capitalists to reduce the wages of the workers which are already far behind the increased cost of living, and to the growth of unemployment and the worsening of the conditions of labour.

Owing to the above economic and political reasons, the class war in Austria is becoming more critical and armed collisions have already occurred.

The Austrian Social-Democratic Party, which was once the strong-hold of the former 2½ International, is pursuing its policy of betraying the interests of the Austrian working class, of impotence in face of the capitalist offensive, and of supporting the bourgeoisie. The working class masses, and even certain Social-Democratic organizations, are becoming steadily disillusioned by this policy and are setting themselves in opposition to the leaders, as in the case of certain strikes which were initiated in spite of the decision of the central organs of the Social-Democratic Party, and of other actions undertaken by the working class.

These circumstances should induce the Austrian Communist Party to pursue its political policy with especial energy and perspicuity and to devote its attention to attracting working masses into the struggle against the capitalist offensive and against Fascism and also to the slogans connected with the following important tasks of the Party:

Workers' and Peasants' Government.

It is the duty of the Austrian Communist Party as of every other Section of the Communist International, to conduct a clear propaganda in the sense of the decisions of the Fourth World Congress and of the Enlarged Executive with regard to a Workers' and Peasants' Government. The fight against the Seipel Government or against a coalition government with the Social-Democrats cannot be conducted successfully, nor taken up seriously by the revolutionary workers of Austria, if the Austrian Communist Party is not in a position to bring forward a definite aim for the struggle. A Workers' and Peasants' Government is consequently not merely a propaganda slogan, but a slogan of action. The agitation of the Austrian Communist Party, as far as concerns a Workers' and Peasants' Government, will be without effect and will remain incomprehensible to the broad masses, if the Party does not succeed in creating a practical, i. e. organisational and agitational, close contact with the agricultural population. It is in this very sense that the Austrian Communist Party has not proved itself equal to its task.

Electoral Policy.

The Austrian Communist Party must participate independently in the elections. It can adopt a common electoral platform only with the opposition trade union bloc. In its electoral program the Party must make clear its communist point of view. The Austrian Party must conduct the election campaign mainly on the questions of the fight against Fascism, the Christian-Socialist Government, against the Coalition Government, and for a Workers' and Peasants' Government. If the Party conducts its work well on this basis, if it fulfils its duties in the sphere of trade union activity and in agitation and propaganda, not only among the proletarian sections of the people, but also among the petty bourgeoisie and semi-proletarian masses, and above all among the agricultural proletariat, it will be in a position to obtain the votes not only of the conscious revolutionary class fighters, but also a part of the votes of the honest opponents of capitalism. It goes without saying that the Communist Party of

Austria must expose the treacherous attitude towards the workers on the part of the Social-Democratic Party.

The Trade Union Question.

The Trade Union tactics of the Communist Party of Austria, in the main express the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the Profintern. In this sphere of its tactics the Communist Party of Austria has alredy certain successes to record. Recently, however, the responsible bodies of the Party have permitted certain serious errors to be committed in the sphere of trade unionism. It appears from the reports submitted by Comrades Koritschoner and Frey that responsible trade union officials of the Communist Party of Austria, during negotiations over wages have not always acted according to the principles formulated by the Red International of Labor Unions. In every wages campaign, the attitude of our officials must be well considered, well prepared, and above all, unitedly and compactly represented. The Party must combat the reformists, not only by its criticism but also by positive proposals. At every meeting of wages committees, factory councils conferences, etc., the representatives of the revolutionary bloc must always represent the principles of the Red International of Labor Unions. This must be done even at the risk of our comrades being expelled from these bodies by the reformists. Under no cirumstances should communist officials strive to secure the right to participate in any campaign for wages negotiations at the price of sacrificing our principles.

At the conclusions of wages movements, which have ended unsuccessfully as a consequence of the tactics of the reformists, a thorough estimation of the movement must be made in the press and particularly in the factories giving a definite outline of our position.

The Youth Organisation.

Without going into the details of the differences between the Communist Party of Austria and the Young Communist League of Austria, it must be generally stated here that the Party must bring about good relations with the Youth Organisation. The Party must strive always to maintain good relations with the Youth Organisation. On the basis of the decisions laid down by the CI. (YCI.), politically and tactically the Youth Organisation is subordinate to the Party. Nevertheless, in accordance with international decisions, the organisational independence of the Youth's Organisation is not hereby limited. In the Youth's Organisation, as well as in the Party, all factionalism must cease.

The Party Newspaper.

It has been estabished that the editorial staff of the *Rote Fahne* has not always understood how to be politically realistic. We refer here to the assassination of Comrade Vorovsky, to the Unity Congress of the Second and 2½ International, and last but not least to the propaganda for the Labor Government. The editorial staff of *Rote Fahne* has given but little attention to these questions in every respect. The Party press must, more than hitherto, give prominence to news and facts and deal with the events of the day in their social connection and at the same time advocate the slogans of the Comintern.

Personal.

The representatives of both factions undertake to put an end to all personal and factional conflicts and ruthlessly oppose any attempt to renew them.

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Clara Zetkin presented the report of the Commission on the Women's Question: She said:

I have to state that the decisions both of the International Women's Conference and of the Third World Congress on the Woman's Question have not been carried out completely in any country. We must therefore impose the duty upon the parties to carry these resolutions into effect. The Women'. Commission has not yet completed its work and will continue to sit after the Enlarged Executive meeting has ended, inviting to its meetings representatives from each of the Parties. It is necessary to place before the Parties the experiences of the Russian Revolution in the organisation and attraction of women to the fight. Just as in Russia, we find the women in Germany today participating in the struggles against the rising cost of living, and in the Control Commissions of house-wives set up during these struggles. Our task is to carry on this work on a greater scale, and also in the other countries. The Commission will embody the results of its labours in a resolution which it will lay before the Presidium.

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Trachtenberg (United States) reporting on the work of the Dutch Commission said that the opposition movement in the Dutch Party had developed, among other reasons, owing to the expulsion of certain members for breach of discipline. The opposition had organised and was attempting to enroll members in opposition to the policy of the present leaders.

The Presidium had asked the Party to send delegates to the Enlarged Executive and had invited the opposition to send representatives. These had, however, arrived too late to deal with the questions. The Commission had collected a good deal of material and it would go into the subject on Monday.

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Comrade *Böttcher* said that the meeting of the British Commission was still proceeding, and that the Presidium would make the final decision on this question. No objections being raised against this proposal, it was adopted.

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There is also another proposal awaiting the decision of the Enlarged Executive.

A Negro Conference is to take place simultaneously with the Fifth World Congress. The Presidium is to be responsible for the preliminary work for it.

The proposal was adopted unanimously.

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Thereupon, the "Fifth Congress" was the next item on the agenda. The following resolution was introduced:

"In March 1924 the Communist International will be able to look back on five years of fighting and work. The Enlarged Executive therefore proposes that the Fifth International Congress be held in March 1924.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International is instructed to enter into communication, with regard to the holding of the National Party Conferences, with the various Sections.

The Enlarged Executive instructs the Sections of the Communist International to make the Fifth Anniversary of the Communist International the occasion for a mighty demonstration of the world proletariat in favour of communism.

In the event of special circumstances arising, the Enlarged Executive empowers the Presidium to convene another meeting."

This resolution was adopted unanimously.

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In connection with the next item on the agenda "Re-election of the Presidium", the chairman said that only the amendment had come from the Italian comrades to the Presidium to the effect that Comrade Bordiga be elected to the Presidium in lieu of Comrade Gennari; Comrade Terracini was prposed as deputy. The composition of the presidium is as follows: Zinoviev, Zetkin, Terracini, Bucharin, Radek, Kolarov, Katayama, Kuusinen, Neurath, Souvarine, Macmanus, and Shatzkin. In addition a seat was put at the disposal of the Scandinavian Parties, the latter to agree among themselves as to who should be their representative. This proposal was carried unanimously.

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Several telegrams of greetings to the Enlarged Executive were read, to which the chairman replied on behalf of the Presidium.

A delegation of Russian Metal Workers from Tula presented the German delegation with a Red Banner for the Krupp workers in Essen, accompanied by a letter addressed to the Essen workers. One of the Tula workers said, that they, the armourers of the Russian proletariat, present this banner to the Ruhr workers, and especially to the workers of the Krupp works, with the conviction that the time is not far distant when also in Essen, this old armoury of German imperialism, the workers will take the power into their own hands, and if necessary forge new weapons, to be used not in the service of imperialism, but for the defense of the working class.

Comrade *Clara Zetkin* thanked the Russian comrades on behalf of the German delegation, and said:

Not only the workers of the Krupp works, but also the entire proletariat in Germany will show themselves worthy of this gift. At the sight of this banner the masses of the German proletariat will be reminded that it is dyed with the blood of thousands and thousands of Russian proletarians, who chose to die rather than suffer slavery. They will be reminded that this banner has witnessed bitter struggles and that it conquered because of the incomparable self-sacrifice of wide proletarian masses. We take this banner, without expressions of profound gratitude, for stronger than any words of thanks will be the promise transformed into deeds—not to rest until the small force, which, fighting in Essen for its freedom, not only against French imperialism

but also against its other oppressor—German capitalism, will have assumed enormous proportions. We shall not rest until the Krupp metal workers are no longer workers in a capitalist enterprise, but become armourers of freedom, of revolution, makers of the sickle and the scythe which will give bread to the wide masses—workers of a new Soviet Germany, over which shall wave the banner of the hammer and sickle. I can assure you that the German working class will be as good as its word, and that we shall see in the near future also in Germany the victory of communism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The chairman, Comrade Böttcher, then called upon Comrade Zinoviev to deliver the concluding speech.

Concluding speech of Comrade Zinoviev

Comrade Zinoviev, who was greeted with prolonged and hearty cheers, said:

"I believe you all feel in common with me that this has been one of the most fruitful sessions of the Communist International, and that its importance was equal to that of a Congress. Our work was divided into two parts. First, the concrete situation in the different sections, and secondly, questions of principle for the entire International. Of the questions affecting the individual Sections, the most important ones were the Italian, the Norwegian and the Bulgarian question. With regard to the Italian question, we must now declare, after having, subjected our Italian Party to a fair amount of criticism, that our Party is after all the only hope for the revolutionary proletariat of Italy. At this point we think of our friend Bordiga, who is now languishing in jail, and of all the other Communist leaders who are fighting nobly at their posts and have saved the honour of the Italian working class. We do not know how our relations with the Italian Socialist Party are going to shape themselves. At any rate, we are prepared to do everything to achieve the unity of the Italian proletariat in the fight against the reaction. But our strong post is the Italian Communist Party, and notwithstanding some of its weaknesses and the differences which we have had with its leaders, we say with all our heart: Long live the Italian Communist Party!

Now we come to the Norwegian question. In Norway we have a kind of Labor Party, not like the English Labor Party which breathes the reformist spirit, but a Labor Party which, although organised on the same lines, is on the whole, impregnated with the Communist spirit. It is the duty of the Communist International to safeguard the broad basis of the Party and at the same time, to purge it of all ahe survivals of Federalism. I hope that the resolutions adopted by us will contribute towards this end. With regard to the Bulgarian question, we have now to make the best of a severe lesson. We are now confronted with two tasks. The first one is that the severe lesson of the Bulgarian Party should not be lost on all the other Parties. Particularly the Czecho-Slovakian and the German Party must learn by this example. Secondly, we must help our Bulgarian Party in its present trials, so that it may speedily recover from its defeat, and with the least amount of losses

At this Congress, we had to adopt a resolution, which defines our attitude towards religion. Hitherto, at all our meetings we almost never touched upon questions of this kind. We now do it for the reason that we still have to get rid of some of the traits inherited from the Second International. We need not be ashamed to confess that we have grown out of the lap of the Second International. But I hope that at this session, we will deal for the last time with questions of this kind, and that we have now disposed of all, or nearly all, the survivals of the Second International.

The most important result of this session is the political resolution on the Workers' and Peasants' Government. In nearly all the importaut sections this slogan has been well prepared for. Just today, I saw in the *Humanité*, that Comrade Renaud Jean was making propaganda in France for this very slogan, without our initiative. The conditions are ripe for the formulation of this slogan, and I hope that its realisation will be much quicker and more unanimous than has been the case with the United Front. With this slogan we will penetrate into new masses and create a new basis. The Bulgarian example furnishes the best illustration of the importance of this slogan. The Stambuliski Government has shown the impossibility of the peasantry, conducting an independent policy, that the peasantry must follow either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. It is our principal task to educate the peasants and to convince them that they must join hands with us for the protection of their own interests.

We also discussed here, a way of transforming the psychology of our parties, of arousing in them the desire for power. It has always been the distinguishing feature of the Mensheviks, to refuse to take power at the decisive moment and to declare that the bourgeoisie was the only class that should exercise power. There should be no room for such ideology in the Communist International. It is the historic mission of the working class to take the destinies of the world in its own hands.

A black spot has recently beclouded the political horizen. The Italian example was emulated in Bulgaria. For the present, the balance of forces is such, that the reaction dare not venture a direct assault against Soviet Russia. But let us not delude ourselves. If these black spots were to multiply, they would grow into a tremendous menace for Soviet Russia. Fascism would then pass from the minimum program to the maximum program, i. e. to an attack against Soviet Russia.

As against this, we have to record some encouraging facts which have occurred among the working class. The negotiations with the Transport Workers' Unions are signs of the times. They prove the soundness of our judgement as to the situation of the Amsterdam International, and we hope that the session of the R. I. L. U., which is to commence in a few days, and to which we extend our heartiest greetings, will make the best use of these new factors. Some other symptoms are characteristic of the new trend among the working class. We are informed by our Czecho-Slovakian comrades that the Central Organ of the Social democracy, one of the most reactionary parties of the Second International, has published a series of articles in favor of the United Front. It were really a miracle if such tendencies should not manifest themselves within the social democracy. Day by day, as the pressure of Fascism becomes stronger, these manifestations are bound to appear among the working class. We must fully appreciate these tendencies, and do our best to foster the idea of the United Struggle of the entire proletariat. This will bring into our ranks the whole of the working class and a large portion of the peasantry, and will accelerate the approach of the final struggle for power.

For the first time we have a common feeling that the Communist International has become a militant organisation in practice, that we are right in saying that there is only one international world organisation of the proletariat, namely, the Communist International. For the aims of this world organisation we will fight, and we will conquer.

(Loud applause. All the Delegates rose and sang the "International").

The session of the Executive was then concluded.

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