The economic Organizations of the working class have become enormous political consequences. You are aware that we have activity of our Executive during the period intervening between and there ought must make this assertion. The working class was, sot o speak, beating a number of very important strikes on a large scale. These strikes were in the nature of a capitalist offensive. It is utterly ridiculous to ask who is the exploited, who the subject and who the object. The Republic and the International are as the foundation and the roof of a building, they belong together.

Report of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

Zinoviev: Comrades, first of all I must report on the activity of our Executive during the period intervening between the III. and the IV. Congresses, and then discuss the future activity of the Communist International. Accordingly, I shall divide my report into two parts between which we may have an internal if necessary.

I have embodied the facts and figures concerning the activity of the Executive during the past 15 months in an article which has appeared in several languages. Therefore I will not refer again to these matters.

We have two questions to consider: firstly, whether our Executive has carried out the decisions of the III. Congress in the right way, and secondly whether these decisions themselves were correct. This is all the more necessary since much material has accumulated during the 15 months, which we had not at our disposal before.

Let us now consider the situation at the end of the III. Congress, which was a determining factor in our entire policy. Immediately after the III. Congress, it became evident that world capitalism had begun a well organized and systematic offensive against the working class throughout the world. The working class was, sot o speak, beating a retreat. A large number of very important strikes on a large scale took place throughout the world during the last 15 months of our activity. In examining somewhat closely the results of these strikes, we must admit that the majority of them ended in the defeat of the workers. These strikes were in the nature of a capitalist offensive. The economic Organizations of the working class have become less numerous. There were in 1920, 25,000,000 members in the trade unions. In 1922 the trade unions had only 18,000,000 members, and I am not quite sure if even this figure is not exaggerated. This fact alone shows us the difficult position of the working class during the period covered by this report.

The position of Soviet Russia during this period must be taken into account. I need not remind you, that immediately after the conclusion of the III. Congress that famine on a large scale was beginning in Russia. This was not quite evident during the III. Congress, but immediately after its conclusion we had to address the workers of the whole world on behalf of the Executive of the Communist International asking support for the Russian proletariat during the famine year. This fact had enormous political consequences. You are aware that we have been accused of using the International as a weapon of the Soviet Russian Republic. There are even some "friends" who make this assertion. It is of course self-evident that there is and there ought and must be an interaction between the first proletarian republic and the Communist Party which is fighting against the bourgeoisie. From our communist viewpoint it is perfectly clear that the Communist International is of the greatest importance for Soviet Russia, and vice versa. It is utterly ridiculous to ask who is the exploited, who the subject and who the object. The Republic and the International are as the foundation and the roof of a building, they belong together.

The situation with which we were faced during the last year, was taken advantage of by our opponents, in order to fight against the idea of the proletarian dictatorship in general. The entire II. International endeavoured to use the Russian famine for a campaign against the Communist International.

A special feature of their campaign was the assertion that the Communist International was only a weapon of the Soviet Republic. The Russian Soviet Republic is such a great international factor, that no one can possibly ignore it. It is only a question on which side of the barricade one takes up his position. Let me give you as an illustration from the recent events the letter of Clynes, the leader of the British Labor Party. I believe that most of you have read that letter. Mr. Clynes, one of the best known leaders of recent years, has addressed a letter to the Soviet Republic which has now been published. In this letter Clynes proposes that the Soviet Republic should endorse as soon as possible the agreement with Mr. Urquhart (which you all know) in order that the Labor Party should have a better chance of success at the coming general election.

Mr. Clynes assured us that he was speaking not for himself alone but on behalf of all his colleagues. Though Great Britain is a big capitalist imperialist power, nevertheless the general election in that country is closely connected with the situation of Soviet Russia. The Labor Party, one of the important Parties or rather the most important Party in the II. International cannot ignore this situation in Russia and must take sides, but on whose behalf, on which barricade? The answer is—on the side of Mr. Urquhart, on the side of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, we think that when the II. International is accusing the III. International of being nothing but an appendix and a weapon of Soviet Russia we can justly say that neither can the II. International brush aside the Russian Soviet Republic, but must take it into account. The only difference is that the II. International is endeavouring to make use of the proletarian Soviet Republic for the benefit of the bourgeoisie and not for that of the proletariat.

As I said before, the famine in Soviet Russia served for the II and 2½ Internationals as a starting point for an energetic
campaign of all their parties against the III. International, and we are obliged to admit that this campaign was successful to a considerable extent. To the nonparty workers, lacking in political training, to be faced with the fact that famine reigned in the first Soviet Republic and that the life of the Russian working masses was in danger amounted to a disappointment in the revolution in general. One can be annoyed at this, but one cannot refuse to understand it. Considering the condition in which the working masses found themselves, this was not surprising. It was entirely natural and very dishonest on the part of our opponents to make use of our misfortunes, for they must have known the origin of the famine. They must have known that the traitors in the II and the 2½ Internationals and the entire tactics of imperialism in the countries which were in the greatest danger were the cause of our suffering and our hardships. It can be quite honestly stated that the III. International would make use of this in the struggle which it has been carrying on against us, and it has indeed done so.

To recapitulate, the position of the Communist International, as well as that of the first Soviet Republic has been a very difficult one. In this year, as against our opponents, the II and 2½ Internationals endeavoured to make use of it to our detriment, achieving a certain amount of success in this attempt.

As already stated, the strikes were in the nature of an offensive of the bourgeoisie. I do not want to tire you with so many figures, but I will use as an illustration a country which is of the greatest importance to us in the question of the united front, I refer to France. The French comrades were the most decided opponents of our line and our political training. I have not had occasion to refer to them, however, that should our French comrades criticising so violently the Communist International, have taken into consideration the figures I am going to quote they would have certainly been convinced that the French Party is in a relatively united front. The number of workers engaged in strikes in France which might be termed offensive strikes, i.e., strikes for raising the working class level of existence, for higher wages, etc., has been most acute and compelled the French working class to confess itself to offensive strikes, being too weak for an offensive against the bourgeoisie which had then launched its attack all along the line.

I am of the opinion that this was the deciding factor in France, as well as in other countries in the question of the united front tactics. If our French friends had paid attention to these figures and had studied the development of the strike movement in France, I believe that we would have been able to convince them that they would, from the beginning have relinquished their opposition to the united front.

Such was the general situation from the beginning of our activity and all during the period covered by this report. The III Congress for the first time sharply repudiated the tactics of the so-called left elements, such as the K.A.P., the semi-anarchist groups on one hand, and of the right groups on the other hand. I want to remind you of the Levi group to which our French friends belong, and to the II International. Then there was the Italian Socialist Party figuring very prominently at the III Congress. We realised then that the formation of truly communist parties had only just begun. The III Congress left us the well known watchword for the future, 1. to work for unity and 2. to work in the united front, and in the resolution on tactics it set before us the task of winning over the majority of the working class and rousing and drawing into the struggle the most important social sections of the proletariat.

The slogan of the United Front first formulated by our Executive in December 1921 was the direct outcome of this general situation. I believe, comrades, that now, after two sessions of the Enlarged Executive—which were in reality small world congresses—Congresses have been held, so far that even in France the Communists, as well as the Social Democrats, were obliged to adopt the slogan of the united front, so that a lengthy discussion of the matter will not be necessary at this congress. It is clear that our Executive was right when, in December 1921, it issued the slogan: "To the Masses, adopting the slogan of the United Front. All our strategy has been nothing but the practical application of the United Front to the concrete situation in each country. And I wish to state now that in my opinion this task will have to be adhered to during the coming year or coming years.

The United Front was really the first international campaign which the International attempted on a large scale. You know that we have insisted that the Communist International must be an international of action, an international of work, a centralised International Communist World Party, etc. This is an absolutely right principle, and we must abide by it. But we require years and years in order to carry it out thoroughly.

In the first two years of our activity, we were nothalf so revolutionary as we are to-day, but it is a much harder task when it comes to practical work. Even the attempt to carry out an international membership week—an undertaking which really differs very little from similar attempts in the Social Democratic movement—was exceedingly tiring and dull but the strikes were in the nature of a struggle which, we have insisted that the Communist International must pass over to Communism must join Social Democracy. This is an absolutely right principle, and we must abide by it.
Two-and-a-half Internationals marks an advance in the revolutionary movement. Less fiction, less lies, fewer illusions are better for the working class. I believe that in Germany we will soon realise that this union has actually been an advantage for the proletariat. The present situation is such that we won a victory at the ballot box in Germany and there are but two ways: either to join the Communist or the Social Democrats. The German proletariat will be able to see in a few months which way it will choose.

The German Party is the most important party of the United Front, I find they are the German and the Czechoslovak parties.—comparatively speaking of course. We have often seen that our German Party did not always emphasise sufficiently the independence of action; for with us the question of the independence of Communist agitation is the main thing. It was not always successful in this. But in general, the German Party has well applied these tactics. Strikes, such as the railroad strike in Germany are a classical example of what our Party does in France. The result of this strike was also a proof that every economic strike usually grows into a political one. I have read an article of the German "International" stating that the Fourth Congress will have to say clearly what is coming in Germany next? Will it be a period of increasing economic conflicts or of political conflicts? To put the question this way is absolutely incorrect. The coming period will be one of increasing economic conflicts, and also of increasing political conflicts.

The German Party has not grown very much numerically. It is one of the characteristic features of the movement this year that the parties whose influence upon the masses increased, did not grow numerically in the same proportion. There were various reasons for this, such as unemployment, the poverty of the proletariat who cannot afford to pay the minimum dues to the Party. There were also political causes which we may best observe in Germany. No one will deny that the influence of adventure upon our German Party has considerably increased. Nevertheless its number has not grown very much. I once said at a meeting of the Russian Communist Party that Germany must advance the slogan of raising its membership to a million.

Second Sitting.

But this will be no easy matter. But I do not mean to say that the proletarian revolution should be postponed until we shall have 2,000,000 members. In the French Party at the outbreak of the proletarian revolution had at most 250,000 members; the German Party is already stronger numerically than was the Russian Party in 1917. But you may rest assured that the break up of the German Social Democracy will go on at a more rapid pace than some of us anticipate. It is true that differences of opinion still prevail in our German Party, there are still many questions to be fought out, still a lot of work to be done. The last session of the Central Committee was not quite unanimous. But on comparing the movement now with what it was fourteen months ago, we maintain that the German Party has taken a giant stride forward. The events are not entirely misleading, the path of the proletarian revolution is very rocky in Germany. Thus the healing of all feuds in our Party in Germany is of first-class importance. In Germany we have only two Parties: as to the Leducour group we prophesy that within a few months it will as a group go over to the Communists or disappear altogether. We can afford to wait for events to decide themselves. It is clear that in Germany we have only two parties of importance and the future shall belong to our Party.

Communication between the Executive and the German Party was of the best. I have put the word "able" in a very official position. There is really no excuse for a Party which is a section of our Communist International allowing such a strike, incurring grave responsibility upon itself and upon the International, to take place. The German Party has again at its last Congress confirmed the 21 conditions. I had somewhat forgotten these 21 conditions, and to-day I had occasion to read them over once more. The first of these 21 conditions stipulates that the Press should report without touching upon it. A few months ago I wrote an article under the title of: "The Birth of a Communist Party". In that article I stated that the birth of a Communist Party was quite a difficult matter. Yet, on considering the course of the Congress in Paris, one must say that the birth of a Communist Party in France is borne even greater difficulties than might have been anticipated. You have the formula I have made: "the greater the number of struggles which have been overcome by us from the old Party, the greater are the difficulties which have to be overcome", in the most concrete form. This you will have occasion to observe also in Norway, and perhaps also in some other countries. In France we suddenly won over to our side the majority of the old Party, and it now only takes a few days of time before we shall have overcome all the ailments arising out of this. The situation was closely watched by the Executive and I have read an article of the German Party which has clearly what is anticipated. There the observation goes to show—let us be quite frank about it—that we have to look for quite a lot of elements for a Communist Party in the ranks of the Syndicates, of the best, of the rank and file of the Social Democrats. This is strange, but true.

The tradition of the French movement is such that even now—in 1922, after 2 years of the existence of a Communist Party,—we have to state that we have in France a good number of Communists who will be the best elements of our future Communist Party. These are the leaders of the French Party, the leaders of the United Front, in the ranks of the Trade Unions. And I think it is one of the most important tasks of our Congress and of the French Commission to bring into these ranks these truly proletarian and political elements. That is why I have said that the tradition in France is such that the Party is considered as a Party of "politicians", and it must be regretfully admitted that such view is not held without reason.

At the Third Congress we did not adopt a sufficiently critical attitude towards the French Party. It was so young at the time, and the French Party had much other work in hand. Perhaps it was a blunder on the part of the Executive this might readily be admitted—nevertheless it is a fact that we applied too little criticism to the French Party at the Third Congress, and it proved a mistake.

As late as 3 or 4 months ago the leaders of the French Party maintained towards the Executive an attitude of criticism from the Left Wing. They criticised the tactics of the United Front as being opportunist. I do not know whether there were many members of the Communist International who were naive enough to imagine that the French Party was really criticising from a left point of view. I do not think so. It is a good thing at any rate that such times are gone.

The French Party had failed to apply the tactics of the Communist International in a country where it was particularly dictated by circumstances. I have already quoted some figures on the strikes in France. These figures go to show that when the Party understood the real movement of the masses, the real proletarian movement, it understood that the best attitude towards the workers should be made the point of contact with the masses. The bourgeoisie in France is conducting a systematic campaign against the 8-hour day, and it must be frankly recognised that the Executive failed in its efforts to instil, in our Party to initiate a systematic counter-campaign. Our attempts to inaugurate a campaign in France for the 8-hour day in the spirit of the United Front has signally failed.

Let me recall to your mind the last general strike that took place in France. In this respect also we must frankly speak. It was in France in the course of 1918 to see a declaration of a strike on the Sunday and Monday of every week. But nobody took any notice of it. Those who were in the worst days of Syndicalism, and I believe I have read some words of mine that condemned this tradition. Unfortunately, our Party has perpetuated this unwholesome tradition. The general strike to which the French workers were called a few weeks ago was forced by a very small group of anarchists. Our newspaper "Humanité" the largest newspaper in France was made use of to urge the working class to declare the strike at a time when our Party was totally unprepared. We must draw the proper conclusions from the incident, and never again to repeat a mistake which lead to the strike being a failure.
be truly Communist. I must declare it openly that this first of
the 21 conditions has not been carried out in France. "Hu-
manity" strives to be a Communist newspaper, but it is still far
from being such. It has a very large circulation and has
rendered brilliant services in many respects—this should be
done without a doubt but a Communist newspaper and that
Fourth Congress should begin by enforcing this first of the
21 conditions, and I hope it will succeed.

In France, as you know, we now have three tendencies
and two minor tendencies. I am not going to describe these
tendencies in detail. Taken as a whole they amount to centrism,
and, if we are right, centrism will presently be eliminated. This
we have both said and written. Perhaps this is a little too
complimentary to the French. They are not perfectly centrist,
although a pretty good background of Centrism is there plainly
enough. Thus the French, a centre party in some respects, is now
seemingly to retain the centre while ejecting centrism. It is
mostly the leaders who came over to our side from the old
Party, and, while rendering great service to the Communist
International have not yet got rid of the old Adam of social
democracy, as the Third Congress Manager, and to recognize facts
and on the Trade Unions one must say that these articles are not
written any better than the article of Verfeuil whom we expelled
at the Paris Congress.

The second tendency pursues a middle course; I refer to the
Renoult Group. Here we must say that we find among some
of them, of course, those who have of course known the tactics of the United Front from a sincere Left Wing point of view, but who eventually became convinced of the correctness of our tactics and will come back to us.

The third tendency is really Communist. We will accept
everything that they have done, although at the Paris Congress
they committed big mistakes.

Personally I regard the resignation of our responsible
comrades of the Left as a big mistake, but we must say that this
group deserves the moral support of the Communist International,
and we will not deny it to them. This group began the fight
for the United Front; they have made many mistakes, but they
were sincere and our Party's policy of the United Front in France and brought it to victory.

I must tell you comrades that from our first conferences
with our comrades we became convinced that a split was avoidable, and the Comintern will naturally do all in its power to
prevent a split. Not this example shows us clearly how difficult
is the birth of the Communist Party. Just think of this com-
rades: the French Party has not yet carried out a single mass
action, think of what will happen when they attempt one. I remind
you of the fact that the first real conflict of the German Com-
munists with the Social Democrats has not yet been attempted. Whether
the action was good or bad makes no difference, the fact remains
that a real conflict began with a mass action. The action was
not a cure for the Party, it saved it; it was also the beginning
of open, if it had been wider, of our political enemies are out of place, but when it comes to a real movement, to a real mass action,
when it becomes a question of life and death, then we will see
a real crisis in the French Party, then will we see who actually
belongs to the Communist Party and who does not.

It is not the task of the Congress to my mind, to spare anybody and to condemn everyone. We must recognize facts and
to give moral support to those comrades who are true Com-
munists. This does not mean that we will expel the other com-
rades from the International, but we must make clear to them
what the lack, we must show them clearly what a real Com-
munist is.

I now come to Italy. The example of the Italian Party
should be a classical example of the policy of the Communist
Parties and the Communist International. If ever a true A. B. C.
of the tactics of the Communist Parties is to be written, the
most important chapter, the most important example, would be
furnished by Italy. It is not the classical land for a Communist
movement, but nevertheless we see much happening there with
classical inevitability. From that we see that Italy is on the
eve of revolution. In the fall of 1920 Italy presented the most
traditional, the most anachronistic of revolutionary concepts. Yet,
there was, it is not that we told the Italian comrades to make a
revolution immediately. The Communist International has never
demanded this of the Italian Party. Theoretically speaking it
is possible, that ones who had won power in the fall of 1920 the
case of Hungary might have been eliminated. I doubt it, but it is
not impossible. It may be that if the workers had seized power
in 1920, Italy would have gone the way of Hungary. We have
ever demanded from the Italian comrades that they must make
a revolution. Perhaps it was true that the time was not ripe
for the seizure of power. If the majority accepted this stand-
point, we would not have been justified in treating with the
Italian Socialist Party on that account.

The cause of the break was not that they did not want
to seize power. Our standpoint was, that the situation was
revolutionary, and that we must be prepared for all eventualities;
that the Italian left would have had to be eliminated as a preliminary to
the building up of a real revolutionary party. This is why we
demanded the expulsion of those who sabotaged the revolution;
but the Communist International did not in the fall of 1920
recognize that the Italian working class right then and there
Another comrade is sincere Left Wing to the point that he know that D'Arraga
has openly confessed that the reformists remained in the Party
to prevent the revolution. That is why they had to be expelled. It was only a question of preparing the Party for a possible revolution, but nothing more.

As you know, the majority of the Italian Party refused
to simplify the demand of the International. They did not wish
to build a revolutionary party or to break with these agents of
the bourgeoisie. These words "agents of the bourgeoisie" have caused much excitement; our friends in Italy sold a few
bottles of blood over tactlessness because in a telegram I sent I called
the reformists "agents of the bourgeoisie", but after D'Arraga
's confession I believe that this will be too mild an expression
to describe these gentlemen. I can think of no more diplomatic
word to express the meaning of the International than "agents of
the bourgeoisie", while D'Arraga, remained in the Italian Party and did all in
their power to prevent a Revolution and to deliver the working class
to the counter-revolution.

Our Italian comrades do not agree among themselves as
to whether what has actually happened in Italy is a coup d'etat,
or a comedy. It might be both. Historically, it is a comedy, in
a few months this will turn to the advantage of the Italian
working class, but for the time being it is quite a serious change,
for the International. We can say that the Italian Party
comrades is not, that they did not make a revolution in 1920,
but that they have permitted accomplices of the bourgeoisie
to remain in the Party and betray the working class into the hands
of the Italian right.

You know the policy of the Executive. You know that the question of whether the Party had acted rightly or not at
Leghorn has been much debated at different congresses. I believe
that it is clear now that we acted properly at Leghorn and in the
following year. Our Italian Communist Parties has often acted against
the policy of the Executive on the Italian question. I believe,
however, comrades, that we were justified, that at the moment
it was necessary to break definitely with the Italian Socialist
Party, for if we had not done so the Communist International
would have been hit. The majority of the members of the Italian Socialist Party recognized their faults and
wished to rectify them, we could not do everything to facilitate their return to the Communist International. It is quite clear that this opens a new era. Our Party and the counter-revolutionary
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domestics is not, that they did not make a revolution in 1920,
the Maximists, but also with Italian Communists. In certain questions we are not of the same opinion. They have adopted a program which is not Marxist. We have criticised and rejected it. Yet these conceptions are still deeprooted in the Italian Party. It is still tinged with adventurism. Our friend Bordiga has won ground in the Party. Most of the comrades we have influenced bravely. Under most difficult circumstances they did everything possible to keep the banner of the Communist International flying.

We must acknowledge these merits, especially of comrade Bordiga; nevertheless we must say that our opinions differ very much from theirs. We have no hope that a party so coloured may be able to have a disciplined party, but cannot afford to expel members so readily, however small a group it may be, before all other means have been tried. And this has not been done in the present case. If this is a breach of discipline, it is quite clear that the Executive did not invite them here in order to put them on the back and say: You may tread discipline under foot. Nothing of the kind! They have been invited in order that they may try themselves on the party and convince them that party discipline is a necessary thing. If they are unwilling, should it be shown that these comrades are unable to observe proletarian discipline, then there is nothing to be done for them. The decision of the congress must be law in this case.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that in Czechoslovakia we have already some 600,000 unemployed. The misery and despair of the working class is extreme. The masses are in an angry mood. Now it is easy enough to form a Syndicalist group, or a K. A. C. (Communist Party or Communist Labor Party of Czechoslovakia) just now. These Comrades should therefore understand quite clearly that they are not to form any such groups which at least might last perhaps six months, to the detriment of the working class. We have to see the situation in the light of the Czechoslovakia, with such a huge number of unemployed, we must do everything possible to prevent the formation of a separate K. A. C. group. The Communist International must do everything in its power.

I now come to the Norwegian question. I have already said that the more elements we get from the old movement the more difficult is the birth of a truly Communist Party. In Norway we have got the Party which is not Communist, the Party that is experiencing great difficulties there, which I do not intend to conceal. The question is similar to that of France. Of course there is some difference, but the source of the trouble is the same.

In France we have received a legacy of the old party traditions. In Norway there is a peculiar method of organization. The party was hitherto based upon the trade union organization. At Halle we had a conversation with comrade Kirke Grep, the leader of the Norwegian party, and with other comrades who then promised to re-organize the party. So far this has not been done. Even the name of the central organ has not been changed. The Norwegian newspaper still carries the old name Social Democrat. These comrades were permitted to use the pre-nomen Socialdemokraten, and as it is high time to take action in Norway so that the demands of the Communist International may be complied with.

We must not be afraid to admit that we are a Communist Party. Yet we have some parties which have not yet got rid of social democracy, the Social Democrats, and we belong to the II International, and we have inherited some of its traditions, which cannot be outlived overnight. But when this night has lasted a couple of years, we must demand an acceleration of the process. In our Norwegian newspapers for instance you could read articles, which lend support to the Scheidehannities against the German Communists. At the same time we have survivals there which are syndicalist in the worst sense of the word. Comrade Tranæen used to be in the I. W. W. and still retains some of the Syndicalist tradition. He cannot understand discipline. In an article he writes: "Discipline, discipline, I can't stand the word! It is something degrading to the dignity of a free man". And this is said by a comrade who is by no means an unregenerate syndicalist. The Norwegian Party is in a betwixt and between mood. It is difficult to say whether it is a Syndicalist or a Communist Party. But it is in a firmer mood.

Our fraternal Czechoslovakian party at its last congress, expelled the entire Central Committee, including its former leader Sturk, on account of breach of discipline. This came quite unexpectedly for the Executive which had not been consulted in the matter. The Executive deemed it its duty immediately to annul the decision. This does not mean that the opposition had been found in the right. The Executive abides by the standpoint of the majority of the party. We do not wish to describe the opposition as the Left opposition, neither do we wish to back our opponents as the Left opposition, neither do we wish to back our opponents. The Opposition has got some influence in the party, but we have no doubt in our minds as to whether unity could be organized in this party.

We have appointed an Italian Commission. It will have a peculiar method of organization. The party was hitherto built on the trade union basis. At Hallo we had a conversation with comrade Kirke Grep, the leader of the Norwegian party, and with other comrades who then promised to re-organize the party. But the spirit of Unification is capable. Today I read an illegal manifesto issued by the Norwegian movement, and we appreciate them. The Norwegian party is the most difficult moment.

Now about Czechoslovakia. In Czechoslovakia the Executive, of course with the help of the party as a whole, has successfully achieved unity. At the time of the Third Congress we had two parties and several groups in Czechoslovakia. It was somewhat doubtful as to whether unity could be organized in this country, where national problems play such an important part. But we have succeeded. We neglected certain opportunities in the Trade Unions. Nevertheless our party has succeeded in rallying the largest section of the central organ of our party. This proves that the Italian party has not laid down its arms even in the most difficult moment.

We have appointed an Italian Commission. It is capable. Today I read an illegal manifesto issued by the Norwegian movement, and we appreciate them. The Norwegian party is the most difficult moment.
I now turn to Poland. In Poland we have an illegal mass party. The policy of co-ordinating the legal with the illegal is a very important one, and the experience of the past year has shown, to my way of thinking, that this co-ordination is not opposition simple as we had imagined. The Russian Communists have the experience of 1905–1906. We were then of the opinion that when a legal movement is impossible, there should be no co-ordination of the legal with the illegal, with the leadership in the hands of the illegal. We have to bear in mind that the experience of various countries, which goes to show that such co-ordination is not quite so simple. It was possible in Poland, and it was practiced there. We have an illegal party there which at the same time is a mass party. We have almost no legal movement there, but just a very slight fringe of legality. In Poland this is possible, because the Polish Party has already gone through a revolution, because in 1905 it led the working class, because the illegal leadership has already fought in the front ranks of the workers facing the tsarist armies. If we ask ourselves, should we have acted thus? it has proved its reliability through its activities during the revolution. Therefore in Poland this method succeeds, while in other countries, e.g., in America, it is much more difficult, because the legal party has not yet had occasion to work in the open, before the entire working class, in a leading capacity; because the leaders there are not so well-known. There the co-ordination between legal and illegal is of a quite different kind.

As I have already said, in Poland we have an illegal mass party, an old party with a glorious past behind it. Yet there are a couple of important points in which the Executive of the Polish Party has certain differences of opinion, such as the agrarian question, the question of nationalities, and partly the question of the United Front. The agrarian question we shall discuss with our Polish comrades at the present Congress. I can only make a conception of the agrarian question has prevailed for a long time, which in my opinion is out of date and almost socialist-democratic. I must recall the stand that was taken by the I. Congress upon this question. At that Congress we adopted a platform wherein we proposed, in order to win over the peasantry, to include a statement of the problem of a redistribution of land.

We also met with some opposition from the Italian Socialists. The Fascists have shown that they are able to make use of such a program in a purely propagandistic manner. The mistake of our Italian comrades has cost us much, and the same error may harm us in Poland and other countries. Fortunately the policy of the Polish Party appears to be changing and we hope that we may be able to come to an agreement with them on the agrarian question and devise a program of action which will draw the peasantry to the party. The Communist Party is a working class party: this does not mean, however, that we must see to it that in Poland, Yugoslavia, Finland or the Balkans we have large nuclei, and secondly to become the vanguard of the whole proletariat. In America we have quite a different situation; there is a comparatively large trade union movement, and a Communist party with violent sectional strife. Therefore America is one of our most difficult problems, and must be studied carefully.

In Austria, in spite of all difficulties, our Party has made good progress. In Hungary, on the contrary, the situation is pitiful. I see many comrades here who have taken part energetically in factional strife and have contributed not a little to make the situation worse. We must permit me to criticize these comrades before the forum of the Communist International. The Executive has made an energetic attempt to surmount these difficulties. I do not wish to speak here of the political emigration. I believe that we owe much to such emigrants. Perhaps the Italian Party will have an emigration in the near future. We have sometimes thought that political emigration was a necessity. But there are emigrations and emigrants. There are emigrants who have suffered greatly after an unsuccessful revolution, but who were leaders, and who believe that the Party of the working class has already gained the recognition of the proletariat. In America we have quite a different situation; there is a comparatively large trade union movement, and a Communist party with violent sectional strife. Therefore America is one of our most difficult problems, and must be studied carefully.

One may say that the combination of legal and illegal work in Hungary will be easy, because the Communists there have an old tradition behind them.

In Japan we have a small party which, with the help of the Executive has united with the best socialist elements. It is a young party, but it is an important nucleus, and the Japanese Party should now issue a program. The Congress of the Socialists, and the success of the congress, which met here in Moscow, had great importance, especially for Japan, because, from the first day, it introduced the important question of the Japanese movement.

I have had valuable results in India. I can communicate to the Congress the work of our comrades during the past few months has been crowned with success. Comrade Roy, with a group of friends, is issuing a periodical, whose task it is to smooth our way in India. Our comrades have been able to attract the attention of the people, and the words of the Party have found entrance into the newspapers; they have entered the trade unions. I believe that this is a great step forward.

This year we have built more or less strong nuclei of our party in Turkey, China and Egypt. We should have no illusions on this point; the foundation of such nuclei is a step forward, and we must help our comrades there to accomplish a double task, first to increase this proletarian nucleus, and secondly to become the vanguard of the whole movement against the bourgeoisie.
Important work has also been started in Australia and other countries.

I will now speak of the Profmintern. As you know, comrades, the Profmintern has met with opposition, even in one of the best parties—the German Party. The German Party discussed quite seriously whether the Profmintern was not a premature organization, whether it should not be totally liquidated, etc. Neither the Leipsic Conference nor the Levellers liquidated the Profmintern. It was not only the Levites who fell into this error. This was a most dangerous period for the Profmintern. The Executive naturally held it its duty to fight against this liquidating tendency. It was the opinion that the Profmintern was not in any way premature.

The entire anti-Profmintern movement has now been defeated in Germany, and I hope in other countries, and the Profmintern is on the high road to success. We can prophesy that the Profmintern will experience a great growth in the coming years if not even in the next few months. The Amsterdamers wish to bring about a split. They have accomplished this split in France, and have begun it in Czechoslovakia. In Germany we face a possible split of the trade unions. We believe it to be our task and that of the Profmintern to combat this splitting. We want a united working class movement. We believe it to be our task and that of the Profmintern to organize the Y.C.I. in the countries the movement has become rather slack. The young Communist movement in Germany and in other countries has also gone through a difficult period. This is a feature of the general situation of the working class. Nevertheless, the Y.C.I. and the Communist International. A Young Communist League in the various countries has also started another split, and the more energetic must be compelled to organize in Germany and other countries, we must proclaim that the new unions, products of the splits, are born with the cry for unity upon their lips. The slogan of these new unions, produced by the more energetic, is to be the unity of all the trade unions.
by month. What is the meaning of the events in Italy? Are they not an unprecedented attack on bourgeois democracy? Italy was one of the countries where bourgeois democracy was most hollowed. The Fascist onslaught is an attack, not only upon the monarchical ideal, but also upon the ideal of bourgeois democracy. In the Balkan States, and especially in Yugoslavia there are indications that things are taking the same turn as in Italy.

We must look facts in the face. This is essential during a period that will not last very long, but will be a time of trial for our Communist Parties. It is perhaps inevitable that we shall see through the fog of Fascism throughout Central Europe, and this will necessarily involve that for a considerable period in these regions our Parties will be forced under-ground, will become illegal Parties. The Balkan States and other countries where Fascism is carried against our most important Parties, warning them of the need to prepare for a period of illegal action, just as in Italy to-day. The political situation at the present time, when we are holding our Fourth Congress, unfortunately confirms these anticipations. We must make it perfectly clear to ourselves that this is not to imply an arrest of the world revolution. It is part of the process of revolution, for the revolutionary movement does not proceed along a straight line. Various episodes may intervene. What we are witnessing in Italy is a counter-revolutionary movement. But when we take a broad view, we see that it is only an episodic intensification, a stave in the maturita -the proletarian revolution in Italy. The same thing may be said of the proletarian movement in quite a number of important countries.

In general terms, then, the international political situation has grown more acute during the last fifteen months. The Third Congress was right in declaring that no equilibrium has been secured in capitalist Europe; and it was also right in pointing out the perils which would come about. Fascist pressure, the Balkan States, extensive strikes, etc., might readily lead to revolutionary struggles. The foregoing sketch of the position will have shown that the diagnosis of the Third Congress was sound. Recent events emphasize the growth of the real situation. In connection with the Greek-Turkish War, the spectre of a new great war loomed ominously for a brief space. We seemed to be witnessing a rehearsal of the coming war. I am speaking to you there are renewed complications in the situation, such as are bound to lead to disaster. My own estimate of the situation is that war is not yet imminent, but the Balkan flurrie was a foreshadowing of what cannot fail to come unless the social revolution breaks out first, thus depriving the capitalist States of the possibility of organizing a new war.

The future, therefore, remains uncertain, but the collapse of the capitalist system is also in sight when we confine our attention to the complications in the political field. Simultaneously, the Probability of some kind of strengthening of the political position of Russia, the only revolutionary State which has been able to maintain itself for five years.

It will be necessary to discuss the new economic policy in detail when we come to consider the Russian question. I shall, therefore, confine myself to the position. We have arrived at the conclusion that the new policy was no chance matter. It was not something forced upon us by the weakness of the many of our economic relations. It was something greater than this. You are right in saying that without this new economic policy, Russia, that if Russia had not necessarily to adopt a new economic policy, this was because the German, French, and British workers were too weak to overthrow the bourgeois in their respective lands. The answer is that after coming to the conclusion that the necessity for the new policy is not something peculiar to our own land, in which the peasants form so large a majority of the population, We now believe that all, or nearly all, countries, even those with great proletarian masses, will have to pass through some such political phase. The new economic policy is something more than a result of the weakness of the working class proletariat; it is based upon an accurate recognition of the balance of power between the workers on the one hand and the peasants and petty bourgeois on the other.

Of course the peasantry in such a country as Russia differs from the German peasantry. Nevertheless, alike in Germany and in other countries where capitalist development is far advanced and where there is a very numerous industrial proletariat, the decisive moment the working class will have to adopt a whole system of measures to neutralize the trend of the most influencing part of the peasantry. We shall return to their consideration in connection with the Russian problem.

In a survey of the world political situation we must not fail to take into account the Soviet Republic as a factor of great importance. At a moment when the Entente is collapsing, when the colonial and semi-colonial nations are engaging in intensified struggles, when the war-sceptre hovers over the Balkan peninsula, when the Balkan States are all trying to take the lead-at this very time the position of Soviet Russia is being rendered increasingly stable by the adoption of new economic methods. Thereby Soviet Russia has become a titan factor in the political situation of the world.

The capitalist offensive is an international phenomenon, and is one of the factors making for revolution. The working class has not yet been able to arrest that offensive. There are, however, numerous indications, in France and elsewhere, that in the near future a change in this respect may be anticipated. The workers are losing their ranks for defense, and will recapture the offensive.

I now turn to the situation within the labor movement. In this domain the most notable phenomenon is the amalgamation of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals, an amalgamation that will be effected very soon. In Germany the matter has already been settled, and yesterday came the news of a similar settlement in Sweden. Branting has accepted the Left Social Democrats into his party. The same thing is taking place elsewhere. In point of organization, the proletariat has not yet complete; but politically it is an accomplished fact, and it is a fact of great historical importance. The Second International is the enemy of the working class. No detailed proof need be offered in the case of the Two-and-a-Half. We have already seen that the Two-and-a-Half is being absorbed into the Second International; the process is not the other way about. Suffice it to quote the words of Martoff, one of the spiritual leaders of the Two-and-a-Half International, and in many respects the intellectual superior of his associates. He writes as follows in an article in his newspaper: "Der sozialistische Bote" dealing with the problem of the Second International:

"Let us harbour no illusions. Under present conditions, the mechanical amalgamation of the two Internationals signifies not a return to the Second International of the parties that detached themselves from that body in the hope of founding a very different International. The return is a defeat of these parties."

Martoff makes no secret of his opinion. It is true that at the close he finds some consolation for the members of the Two-and-a-Half International, saying: "Within the Second International, they shall have their place." He also admits that the Two-and-a-Half International is returning into the bosom of the Second International, and that the former has sustained a defeat.

There will, then, be a union of the reformist Internationals. This union will greatly quicken the process of splitting the working class into two camps. We on our side must also say: "Let us harbour no illusions!" The union of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals means the preparation of the White Terror against the communists. The Fascist coup is as the return to the Second International, a union of forces that aims at bringing governments à la Stinnes to the front. The union of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals is the preliminary to an unprecedented splitting up of the working class. In this domain the most notable phenomenon is the amalgamation of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals, an amalgamation that will be very soon. In Germany the matter has already been settled, and yesterday came the news of a similar settlement in Sweden. Branting has accepted the Left Social Democrats into his party. The same thing is taking place elsewhere. In point of organization, the proletariat has not yet complete; but politically it is an accomplished fact, and it is a fact of great historical importance. The Second International is the enemy of the working class. No detailed proof need be offered in the case of the Two-and-a-Half. We have already seen that the Two-and-a-Half is being absorbed into the Second International; the process is not the other way about. Suffice it to quote the words of Martoff, one of the spiritual leaders of the Two-and-a-Half International, and in many respects the intellectual superior of his associates. He writes as follows in an article in his newspaper: "Der sozialistische Bote" dealing with the problem of the Second International:

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Ebert and Niske at the head of the Social Democrats in Germany, or such as Plisudski at the head of the government in Poland. Nor is it a chance-altered game that a huge organization in the trade unions is forming a solid front with the majority of the workers. No illusions then! The union of the two Internationals foreshadows the inauguration of the White Terror against the Communist Parties.

In the second place, this union will involve the splitting of the Working Class. We communists are now advocating a working-class policy, we are advocates of a united front, and so forth. The reformists see plainly enough that the ground is being cut from beneath their feet. Historically speaking, this is inevitable. It is inevitable that the trade unions (should) ever more distinctly be understood as organs of the working class, and not of the communists. The reformists have a keen scent. They realize what is coming. They see that the influence of the communists over the working class, the general influence of the revolutionary movement, is growing. Feeling this, the reformists try to play the same game as if they had been directly commissioned by the bourgeoisie to shatter the trade unions. They are trying to destroy them before they are themselves driven out. I do not wish to suggest that they are doing this with a purpose and in a direct way. We all know that political life is less simple than this would imply. Of course, Stalin does not issue direct written orders to the trade union leaders as his henchmen. In the general political sense of the term, the social democrats are being, and must be, swayed by the bourgeoisie to shatter the trade unions before leaving them. As they go out, they want to slam the doors so violently that all the trade union windows may be broken. This is their real aim.

No one can tell whether these developments will take months or years, but they are an historical necessity, and the "gods of the Second International" realize it. That is why the social democrats have decided on a preparatory for a split at the moment when they feel that large masses of the trade unionists are about to come over to our side. They wish to weaken the working class, to pulverize the unions, so that when we come to power the union may have nothing but fragments. That is what they are commissioned by the bourgeoisie to do, and it will be an act of unexamined treachery. In comparison therewith, even the treason of 1914 was perhaps a minor matter. A deliberate act of treachery is now being prepared. They want to disintegrate the working class, so that when the time comes for the workers to form a united front against the bourgeoisie, the workers will find themselves weak, disorganized, and utterly disintegrated. Such is the policy that finds expression in the union of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals.

This split in the labor movement is something more than a petty episode, something more than a trifle; it is an unprecedented political and economic phenomenon. Not only is its leaders, the working class has fought for and achieved a huge organization in the form of the trade unions, whose members are numbered by millions. At the given moment, this organization must be decisive, it must be a struggle of the working class. Today, when the momentous hour approaches, the Second International joins with the Amsterdamers in an act of utmost treachery against the working class. Their aim is to shatter to fragments this last refuge of the working class, in order that when we get rid of the Social Democrats, we may find that there is nothing left to take over, that we have no labor organizations that are of any account. That is the most important fact with which we have to reckon. The Social Democrats have determined to be professional disintegrators of the working class, not merely to betray the workers, not merely to interfere with the policy of the working weapons, the labor organizations. This will be the policy of the Second International and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals, during the immediate future, and it is a fact with which we have to reckon.

It follows, comrades, that our tactics of the united front must be something more than a stratagem against our enemies. The policy of the united front, however, is dictated by the historical situation as a whole, by the general position of capitalist alike in the economic and in the political sphere. It is a fact that the world proletariat has to be defeated in the near future. If I am right in my view of the policy of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals, if I am right in believing that the tactics of the deliberate splitting of the trade unions and of the working class have to be adopted in the near future, then our tactics of the united front are an inevitable logical consequence. There are many reasons why we must deliberately work against this plan of the Second International. We must do so by our tactics of the united front.

At the Third Congress we accepted the task of winning over the majority of the workers. Has this task been fulfilled? Have we been able to meet the fact boldly? In many countries, the influence of the Second International is constantly increasing, and a whole host of comrades, no less, could we not say at the Third Congress that the majority of the workers were on our side, nor can we say at the Fourth Congress that they are on our side. There is much still to be done. In such circumstances, the tactics of the united front are the most important means of winning over the majority of the workers. We must be perfectly clear on the matter. The tactics of the united front denote something more than an order to our friends in the United General Confederation of Labor. When we ask: "Are you still opposed to the United Front?" they answered laconically: "We have formed a United Front!" Whoever follows the situation in France is well aware that in the country of the workers and the poor, the United General Confederation of Labor have deliberately adopted a United Front, for they could not help themselves. The needs of the daily struggle of the proletariat have forced the adoption of the tactics of the United Front, both in the industrial and in the political sphere. It is the only way to defeat the world proletariat. The winning over of the opponents of the United Front in France has been a great triumph, and it shows that we are closing our ranks and that we shall be able to pursue tactics, effective, determinedly.

What do we mean and what do we not mean by the United Front? We certainly do not mean an electoral alliance. We have instituted an enquiry concerning the carrying out of the tactics of the United Front, and the enquiry has been fairly successful. Three hundred to four hundred answers have been...
sent in, some of them by comrades who work among the masses.

The details are now being elaborated, and will probably be issued in book form. The enquiry has shown that much confusion still exists among our comrades as to the meaning of the united front. I have already explained that it does not mean an electoral alliance. Nor does it mean an organizational union with the social democrats. The answers we have received from the executive committees of the Italian and of the French Parties point to the fact that a united front means the preponderantly our enemies, with those who are the last prop of the bourgeoisie. The United Front implies nothing of that sort. The United Front means the leading of the working masses in the daily class war. It means that the workers, who have in a general way, and who, on the contrary, understands something about the lives of the workers and who has labored in their ranks, will reject such childishness. For the reason that we wish to fight on behalf of the proletarian class.

We shall also fight for the partial demands of the working class. I was shown to-day an article written a little while ago by Comrade Gorter. I have not finished reading the article, but I will quote a passage from it. The passage runs as follows: "We have already passed the point where we will never be pre-empted to fight against the bourgeoisie. He wants to help the workers to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat. He is wrong. We are opposed to that. We are opposed to any form of dictatorship of the proletariat. We are opposed to any form of dictatorship, whether it be of the workers or of the peasantry. The United Front means the leading of the working masses in the daily class war. It means that the workers, who are the last prop of the bourgeoisie. The United Front implies nothing of that sort. The United Front means the leading of the working masses in the daily class war. It means that the workers, who have in a general way, and who, on the contrary, understands something about the lives of the workers and who has labored in their ranks, will reject such childishness. For the reason that we wish to fight on behalf of the proletarian class.

This manner of thinking is so confused that one stands speechless before the childishness of such a political thinker. He has no time to fight alongside the workers in their daily class war against the bourgeoisie. He wants to help the whole revolution. He who leads for the working class, he who is not satisfied with a subjective attitude towards the masses, but who, on the contrary, understands something about the lives of the workers and who has labored in their ranks, will reject such childishness. For the reason that we wish to fight on behalf of the proletariat revolution, we must participate in every strike, must go in advance of the working class, and must fight on behalf of every partial demand. We are revolutionists. But this does not mean that we ignore the fact that the position of the working class must be improved, were it only to enable the workers to bring a drop of milk for their children and a bit of for propaganda in favor of the revolution."

Further on he writes: "We are so few, the ranks of the KAPD are so thin, that we dare not dissipate our forces in strikes, but must keep them intact so as to concentrate upon the revolution.

The watchword of the Labor Government has not yet been fully clarified. The tactics of the united front are almost universally applicable. It would be hard to find a country where the working class has attained notable proportions but where the tactics of the united front have not been applied. The slogan of the Labor Government is applicable to almost all the great labor movements of our day. It is a sign of the times that in Germany, where important and decisive struggles are probably imminent, the whole vanguard of the movement is led by the industrial councils. Turning to other countries, we must advise our comrades to devote themselves first of all to the mass movement of the working class. We shall be able to organize the workers unless we fight on behalf of their partial demands. It is from this outlook that we defend the united front as a tactic which is not simply ephemeral, which is not simply episodic, but which in the existing circumstances of capitalism may last quite a while.

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The watchword of the Labor Government, then, is not a general watchword like the tactics of the united front. The watchword "Labor Government" is a particular concrete appellation of the tactical resolution drafted by Comrade Kautsky. It is quite easy to make mistakes in this matter. I think we have to beware of the danger that results from an attempt to regard the stage of Labor Government as a universally necessary one. In so far as it is safe to prophesy in such matters, I myself incline at the present stage to the opinion that a united front should only be made occasionally; in one country or another, where peculiar circumstances prevail. I think its occurrence will be exceptional. Besides, it is quite a mistake to suppose that the formation of a Labor Government will be a matter of days or weeks. The mere fact that thereby we shall be saved from the burden of the struggle. A Labor Government can only be based upon the winning of parliamentary positions, and these are worth nothing when won. A Labor Government should come before there is a petty episodic insurrection, and will not suspend the civil war. Please do not interpret me as meaning that the watchword of the Labor Government is one to be rejected in existing circumstances. The working class must be made clearly to understand that a Labor Government can only be a transitional stage. We must say in terms that the Labor Government will not do away with the need for fighting. It will not obviate the necessity for civil war. But as long as we recognize the dangers of this watchword, we need not hesitate to employ it.

The United Front has its dangers also, and the Executive referred to them in its December thesis. The dangers are especially great where the Front is made by the Social Democrats. In countries with old parliamentary traditions, in France, for instance, comrades seem to think that when we Marxists speak of the Labor Government we are referring to some kind of institution which will inaugurate a quasi-peaceful period, and will not suspend the civil war. Please do not interpret me as meaning that the watchword of the Labor Government is one to be rejected in existing circumstances. The working class must be made clearly to understand that a Labor Government can only be a transitional stage. We must say in terms that the Labor Government will not do away with the need for fighting. It will not obviate the necessity for civil war. But as long as we recognize the dangers of this watchword, we need not hesitate to employ it.

I cannot refrain from saying a few words concerning the industrial councils movement. I have devoted to this matter a special section of my thesis. In this I contend that a Party which has no communist organization in industrial life, which has no communist nuclei, is not to be taken seriously, cannot be regarded as a serious communist mass party. I contend that a labor movement which has not yet learned how to support and organize a mass movement within the domain of the industrial councils is not yet a serious revolutionary mass movement. The statement is applicable to almost all the great labor movements of our day. It is a sign of the times that in Germany, where important and decisive struggles are probably imminent, the whole vanguard of the movement is led by the industrial councils. Turning to other countries, we must advise our comrades to devote themselves first of all to the mass movement of the working class. We shall be able to organize the workers unless we fight on behalf of their partial demands. It is from this outlook that we defend the united front as a tactic which is not simply ephemeral, which is not simply episodic, but which in the existing circumstances of capitalism may last quite a while.

I must also add a few words concerning international discipline. In the thesis concerning the tactics of the United Front, proposed by the Renoult group at the Paris Congress of the French Party, there was a section concerning international discipline. Golden words are here inscribed. The group gave a brief theoretical presentation of the subject. But the question of discipline, the question of the relationship of power render its adoption opportune, where the problem of power, the problem of government both on the parliamentary and on the extra-parliamentary field, has come to the front. Of course there is not one day in the life of any Party. But propaganda work can be done with the slogan of the Labor Government. We can explain to the workers: If you want to free yourselves, you must take power into your own hands. But we cannot do that without our propaganda. For instance in the United States, that the watchword of the Labor Government is applicable to an existing fight between two parties, as it has been in Czechoslovakia, as it will be perhaps in Germany, and as it was and may be again in Italy.
The advance will not be resumed until the material position of the Russian workers has so greatly improved that they are better off than the average European and American worker. Then the example of the economic advantages of the Russian workers will arouse a revolutionary impetus, and there will be a renewed surge of revolution.

In my opinion, comrades, this is nothing better than a subtle form of opportunism, though such views are advanced by many who are revolutionarily minded and good soldiers of the International. I will confine myself to a word or two upon the subject. It is an undeniable fact that the position of the Russian workers is on the upgrade to-day. The upward trend in Russia is slow, but it is unmistakable. But it is pure opportunism to say that it is impossible to lead a revolutionary struggle on the part of the workers of capitalist countries so long as Russian conditions remain difficult.

The real Revolution will not be made by the workers in various countries because of an example drawn from other lands; it will not be made in any country because the workers there envy those in some other country who have more meat. The revolution will occur because the workers will find themselves in difficulties from which there is no exit without the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Consequently we must not allow those tones to become dominant in our agitation which imply that there is an arrest in the revolutionary movement. The Russian workers had far more numerous obstacles to overcome than those which impede the revolutionary progress of the workers in other lands. The revolutionary workers all over the world will have the support of the Russian workers. The Russian workers were the first to rise in revolt, and they were opposed by the entire capitalist world. It is unlikely that the working class of any other country will have such great difficulties to encounter. To the working class throughout the world we must present the picture of the Russian proletariat in its true colours, speaking of the blockade, of hunger, and of pestilence, and of the greatness which triumphed over all obstacles. We can now be satisfied that the Russian working class, despite all its sufferings, is past the worst, and that from hour to hour, day to day, and month to month, improvements are coming. Such must be our conception of the Russian revolution; this conception must be the basis of all our tactics.

To the Workers' Champions
Imprisoned by Capitalism

Prisoners of capitalism! Champions for the emancipation of the working class, thrown into chains by the capitalist governments. The representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world, assembled in the fourth congress of the Communist International, send their greetings to you first of all.

Comrades! From year to year the world congresses do honor to the revolutionary vanguards when they count the victors of the working class, the victims of the struggle, who have perished beneath the hand of the executioner or have been thrown into prison. And this year, now that capital is attacking with united front, the merciless cruelty of the attack is more plainly revealed. Again the blood of the proletariat flows over the whole capitalist world, everywhere where the proletariat is fighting its "last fight" with its class enemies; the best forces are in the prisons, the waves of the white terror flood all capitalist countries.

In Italy the Fascists overpower the proletariat with fire and sword, destroy the trade union buildings, the buildings of the workers co-operative societies and of the party organs; in fact they do not shrink from destroying the private dwellings of those fighting for the emancipation of the working class. And thelogic sailors of France, who refused to fight against the Russian workers and peasants, are still languishing in captivity. And during the rising in Le Havre the defenders of capitalism again reaped their bloody harvest.

The streets of Berlin, are again red with the blood of workmen, and the fighters who opposed the monarchist bands have been thrown into prison. The leaders of Soviet Bavarian are still languishing in the prisons, although three years have passed since the fall of the Bavarian Soviet government. Despite the amnesty, many participants in the March action have not yet been liberated from prison.

In Finland the prisons are overflowing, there is no end to arrest and torture.

In Estonia, before and after the execution of our memorable comrade Kingissepp, the prisons have been kept filled with representatives of the revolutionary proletariat.

In Latvia once more the gallows have been erected. Comrade Kliaws-Klijawin is condemned to death, and the fate of hundreds of arrested workers is not yet decided.

In "democratic" Poland the champions of Communism are condemned to penal servitude under the old Czarist legislation. The bourgeois law courts trample on their own laws. The "immune" deputy comrade Dombai has been condemned to penal servitude and is already serving his term. The election committees are arrested without exception. More than 500 men lie in prison for having taken part in the election campaign, and in the border countries a state of siege and martial law are declared.

In Roumania thousands are murdered on the so-called excuse of "attempted flight". The tortures employed in the prisons during the hearings are such as to arouse protest and indignation even in the bourgeoisie.

In Yugoslavia, arrests, tortures in the prisons, derision and insult for the workers, are the order of the day.

In Greece the leaders of the proletariat are still languishing in the prisons, even after the so-called revolution.

In Hungary the bloody Horthy government does not cease with executions and torture.

In South Africa the English bourgeoisie rages against the workers' risings with the utmost cruelty.

In democratic America, so proud of its liberties, the severest punishments are meted out to those suspected of belonging to the Communist Party. The police of the American bourgeoisie destroys the trade unions, arrests hundreds of workers, seizes the strikers with swords and rubber truncheons.

In India, Egypt, and in all colonies, the very slightest sign of discontent, the very slightest attempt to resist the unbridled exploitation, is suppressed by force of arms.

Comrades, in all these bloody transactions the Social Democrats are the accomplices of the bourgeoisie. It is they who hold the working class back from fighting by their deceptiveness, and prepared of reforms without fighting. It is they who undermine every action of the proletariat. It is they who distract the attention of the masses in one country from the ruthless treatment of workers in other countries by the bourgeoisie. It is they who make breaches in the united front of the workers.

Comrades, workers! The Communist International does not have to be initiated into making sacrifices. Every revolutionary conquest is bought with the blood of the fighters and founded on their sacrifice. The acuter the struggle, the greater the number of victims. But even when human beings fall, the idea cannot die. Comrades, prisoners in the capitalist prisons! To-day, the day of our great festival, the great fifth anniversary of the Russian revolution, we share with you our conviction, our firmly rooted faith, that the hour is drawing near when the revolutionary proletariat will throw off the yoke of capitalism, and free itself from bondage and exploitation, when it will shatter the locks of your prisons and welcome you again into its ranks, you, its pride, its most highly honored comrades.

Down with the capitalist executioners.
Long live the fight for the emancipation of the working class!

Long live the Social Revolution—the liberator of the workers of all countries!

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