

Comintern have recognised that the Tranmaelites were on the wrong path when they desired not to abolish collective membership in the Communist Party of Norway, when they permitted the party to be the cockpit for various anti-communist tendencies, when they rejected the revolutionary slogan of the workers' and peasants' government etc.

The Norwegian opportunists let their own obstinacy come before the resolutions of the World Congresses and the unity of international leadership of the movement. Comrade Hoeglund has also disregarded international party discipline. The Executive Committee however acted in a conciliatory manner and endeavoured to induce Hoeglund to loyal co-operation with the Comintern and with the left wing of the Swedish party, which upholds the line of the Comintern. After the December Conference in Moscow the Executive hoped that the inner conflicts in the Swedish Party would cease. The majority of the central committee of your party wished after the conference to gain time, on the one hand in order to create trifling disputes, and on the other hand to convene in all haste a party conference at which they intended to remove the representatives of the left wing of the central committee. That could only have led to the splitting of the party in Sweden. At the session of the Enlarged Executive the representatives of all communist parties pronounced against Hoeglund and his followers and supported the standpoint of numerous Swedish party organisations, in accordance with which the party conference should not be held until after the parliamentary elections.

In Moscow, comrade Hoeglund failed to answer the question, whether he would comply with this decision of the International. We still believe that he will do so. In the event of Hoeglund and his immediate followers, in spite of everything, opposing this resolution, then we call upon you, members of the Swedish Party, to support with the greatest unanimity the efforts of the left wing in the interest of the preservation of party unity.

The Executive does not at all wish to remove comrade Hoeglund from the central committee of the party, unless he himself desires to destroy international fighting unity. He must be compelled to co-operate closely with the most prominent representatives of the left wing, as for example, comrades Chilbum, Samuelson, Tunnel and others. This effective collaboration can however only be based on the decisions of the Fifth World Congress. Without desiring to limit the right of the Swedish comrades freely to elect their central committee, we say it openly that in our opinion you would best serve the further revolutionary development of your party, if your next party congress were to correct the tendency of the central committee of your party in the sense that the majority of the presidium of the central committee should consist not of right but of left leaders, who stand entirely on the standpoint of the Comintern and show a stronger will for communist activity. In addition to this all party organs, from the highest to the lowest, must be supplemented by new active forces from the ranks of the factory workers.

Dear Comrades, study the most important decisions of the V. World Congress and also the resolution of the Comintern regarding the Swedish question. We hope that you will be in agreement with these decisions. That is of decisive importance. On the firm basis of these decisions it will not be hard for you to overcome rapidly the inner differences of opinion in the party, to gather together all revolutionary forces, and in

solidarity with the whole Communist International to conduct the fight against the enemies of the Swedish proletariat against the capitalists and the social democratic leaders. In this fight you will build up your party to a powerful, victorious, Communist mass party.

Long live the Communist Party of Sweden!

Long live the Communist International!

Moscow, 22nd of July 1924.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

### The Peasant International and the International Co-operative Alliance.

The Peasant International (International Peasants' Council) has addressed a letter to the International Co-operative Alliance in London, proposing that connections shall be established between the Alliance and the Peasant International, which latter body is at the same time the only international union of agricultural and peasant co-operatives. It is suggested in the letter that there shall be a constant exchange of material as well as the setting up of connections for joint trade in the agricultural, peasant and workers' co-operatives, while it also contains a number of practical proposals as:

1. The establishment of an International Society for wholesale purchasing in which the consumers' societies of the International Co-operative Alliance, as well as the agricultural unions of the International Peasant Council, shall participate.

2. The establishment of an international co-operative bank in which the co-operative unions of both international organisations shall have shares.

3. Constant inter-communication both in the field of business and ideas, joint participation in international actions against exploitation by private capital, for the protection of the interests of the workers and peasants and their co-operative organisations, and against war and economic decay.

4. Mutual information etc.

In addition to this the International Peasants' Council suggests its participation in the Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance which is to be held at the beginning of September in Geneva and expresses its readiness to send its representatives to the Congress.

The letter is officially signed by the Presidium of the Co-operative Section and the General Secretary of the International Peasants' Council.

The German "Arbeitsgemeinschaft", which is a member of the I. P. C., and also the Small Holders' and Peasants' League of Baden have approached the I. P. C. with the request that the latter assist them through the Soviet Co-operatives in supplying them with food for poultry.

The Co-operative Section of the I. P. C. applied to the appropriate Soviet and economic organs in order to ascertain the conditions and possibilities for carrying out a definite order on the part of the above named organisations.

This case marks the beginning of direct trade connections between the organisations affiliated to the I. P. C.

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

# - INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 4. No. 61

28th August 1924

Editorial Offices: Langegasse 26/12, Vienna VIII. — Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX.  
— Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 64, Schliesstach 29, Vienna VIII.  
— Telegraphic Address: Inprecorr, Vienna.

## CONTENTS

E. Verney: Conference of the "Minority Movement" in Great Britain.	Youth Movement.
Politics.	To the Working Youth of all Lands.
Karl Radek: A New Stage in the Liquidation of the Versailles Treaty. IV.	To the Children of the Working Classes of the Whole World.
Labour Movement.	Co-operative Movement.
To the Builders of the Whole World.	The Significance of the Co-operative World Congress.
In the International.	Appeals.
Statutes of the Agitation and Propaganda Section of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.	Appeal of the C. C. of the C. P. of Bulgaria.

## Conference of the "Minority Movement" in Great Britain.

By E. Verney (London).

The Conference of the British Minority Movement is an event of the greatest importance. This Conference, organised by the British Bureau of the R.I.L.U. is being held just before the Trade Union Congress.

The situation in England after these last three years of industrial struggle clearly proves that the capitalists have been unable to solve the post-war economic crisis. There are still over a million unemployed, there are no signs of a trade revival, and as a result of this, the workers are still burdened with high prices and rents, with increased taxes and lower wages. The present international situation will bring no improvement. The Dawes Scheme which will reduce the German workers to a coolie level, only intensifies the situation, as the British capitalists, forced to compete with the resulting cheapening of German commodities, will have to reduce still more the cost of production. This will mean further attacks on the wages of the British workers. The capitalists, united for common action, have secured victory every time by attacking and defeating the workers by sections. The workers, however, are beginning to realise that nothing can come from this sectionalism, and that they must fight as a class or be continually crushed. The series of unofficial strikes during this recent period, although losing their full value through their isolated character, shows that everywhere the workers are beginning to wake up to the reality of the situation. Discontent with the Reformist leadership is ripe.

There is an unmistakable desire among the workers for co-ordinated action. This is expressed in the growth of the Minority Movement. The bankruptcy of the reformist leaders

who have encouraged sectional fighting, disregarding the demands of other sections, has led to continual set-backs and defeats, and also intensified inter-union rivalry. The militant workers, convinced that there can be no industrial truce, are beginning to revolt against the old leadership which has nothing to present but a class peace. This revolt will develop into a mass Minority Movement which will sweep away the old T. U. bureaucracy, and by unity in the fight for immediate demands, the workers will at last get on the right road towards the final struggle for power. The Minority Conference is a big step on this road.

The Minority Conference is the result of a concerted campaign of the British Bureau of the Profintern to concentrate all the militant Trade Union elements into a compact movement with a national centre for guiding and co-ordinating the activities and propaganda of the revolutionary minorities, and to formulate a new programme to unite all workers in the common fight against the capitalists. This programme will be built up out of practical experiences. The active elements in the Trade Unions who up to now have had no contact among themselves are alive to the necessity of co-ordinated action. This is seen in the increased influence of the Trades Councils. This conference of militant Trade Unionists, united in the National Minority Conference, will have a great influence on the Trade Union Congress, which is the most important which has yet been held, and which meets a week later. It is significant that the General Council of the T. U. C. has already prepared a new Charter to present to the Congress. Although this contains nothing radical enough to rally the workers in a common fight for

immediate demands, it at least discloses the influence of the growing discontent of the rank and file. There is no doubt that this pressure of the rank and file is largely due to the propaganda of the R.I.L.U. and the Communist Party.

The Minority Conference will be the most representative of its kind yet held. The bodies invited to participate include the District Committees of the Trade Unions, the Minority Movements and Vigilance Committees, the Unemployed Committees, Local T.U. Branches, etc. The Conference will place on record resolutions on the present industrial situation, and on the tasks of agitation for the militant workers. It will place before the working class a clear analysis of the existing situation and an appropriate programme for the common fight. The Conference is the first systematic attempt to organise the rank and file on a fighting basis, for common struggle within the present Trade Union Organisation. The experiences of the International movement will not be neglected, and in connection with this the decisions of the Third Congress of the R.I.L.U. at Moscow and the Congress of the Amsterdam International at Vienna, will be fully discussed.

The following is the provisional agenda of the Conference:

1. Minimum Wage.
2. Working Hours.
3. Unemployment.
4. Workers' Control.
5. Trade Union Reorganisation.
  - a) The Trades Councils.
  - b) The General Council.
  - c) The Unemployed Movement.
6. Minority Movement.
  - a) Name of Organisation.
  - b) Structure.
  - c) Finance.
7. International Trade Unionism.
8. Election of Officials.

It will be seen that this agenda is composed of questions closely effecting the daily struggles of the workers. On the wide basis of this agenda the Conference should formulate a programme to revolutionize the Trade Union Movement from top to bottom. With regard to the minimum wage, it will have to be decided whether this should be for skilled or unskilled workers, whether it should be different for different industries, or whether there should be one national minimum. The Conference will also have to define a clear-cut policy as to working hours. As regards unemployment, the Conference has to take into consideration prospects of a trade revival, and also discuss measures of relief and the relations of the Unemployed Movement with the Trade Unions. The Conference will also consider the question of Workshop Committees as one of the means for ending the present chaos and sectionalism; the role of the Trades Councils, and also that of the General Council of the T.U.C. will be thoroughly gone into. The G.C. must be turned into a proper General Staff of the Trade Union Movement. Such vital parts of the T.U. Movement as the Unemployed Committees and the Trades Councils have been till now denied expression, and it will be up to the Conference to formulate their role.

The basic work of the Conference will be the formation of a national Minority Movement. A National Committee will be formed, composed of delegates representing every industry taking part in the Conference. This Committee will be able to establish control with all centres and organise common methods of propaganda and action. The National Minority Movement will also have its own newspaper. As far as International Trade Unionism is concerned, the Conference will deal with the relations between the British Movement and the International of Amsterdam, the role of the R.I.L.U., the international character of the struggle against Capitalism etc.

As was to be expected, the Communist Party has from the very first given full support to the campaign for the Minority Conference, just as it has been the inspiring factor in the National Movement of Trades Councils and in general in the building up of the whole Minority Movement. The C.P.G.B. has put forward a Draft Programme for this Conference to act as a basis for the future policy of the National Minority Movement. This is as follows:

1. United Fighting Policy (Hours, Wages, Unemployment).
2. A Centralized T.U. Movement.
3. Workshop Organization.
4. Control of Production.

5. No industrial truce, or policy of Class Peace with the Capitalists.

6. A Workers' Government.

7. Strengthen the Minority Movement.

There is no doubt that such a programme will find favour with the Conference. A campaign on hours and wages would mean a concentrated attack for wage-increases in those industries where the whole movement would be touched by the struggle. At the present juncture this would mean the Miners, Transport Workers, Engineers, Building Workers, etc. As the Capitalists' next attack will be upon hours, the Conference will probably adopt a definite platform of the 36 hour week. The biggest issue of all is undoubtedly unemployment. The old slogan "Work or full Maintenance!" is now out of date. The Six Point Charter of the Joint Committee of the G.C. T.U.C. and the Unemployed Movement, might serve as a basis for the Minority Movement's Unemployed programme. This charter demands: 1. Effective Government maintenance through T.U.'s. 2. Abolishment of Poor Law Relief. 3. Government Relief Schemes. 4. Establishment of State Workshops. 5. Reduction of hours of Labour to absorb unemployed. 6. Training Centres. 7. Suitable housing accommodation. It will be necessary, however, to add to this charter such points as: credits to firms desiring to trade with Russia, confiscation of idle factories, etc.

The Conference will widely discuss the question of Workshop committees which in view of their uniting the workers at the place of work, are of great revolutionary significance and a powerful instrument in the hands of the militant workers for smashing down the barriers of sectionalism. The power of the Shops Stewards Committees during the war supports this and it will be the task of the Minority Movement to revive these councils.

The Conference will also have to define its attitude to the so-called Labour Government. There is no doubt as to what the opinion will be. MacDonald's record of spying at working-class conferences, his preparation for armed suppression of strikes, his persecution of Communists for anti-imperialist propaganda show that this "Labour" Government is following strictly on the lines of its capitalist predecessors. Its policy of Class Conciliation has provoked widespread discontent among the working masses, and the Unions are beginning to make a stand against the Joint Industrial Councils Bill, Compulsory Arbitration, and in general, against MacDonald's Class Peace apparatus. The Conference is a landmark in the development of the Revolutionary movement in Great Britain.

## POLITICS

### A New Stage in the Liquidation of the Versailles Treaty.

By Karl Radek.

IV.

#### The Experts' Proposals.

How much do the Experts claim from Germany?

They do not fix a total amount of the German payments and do not establish a definite term for the payments. But this is only the outward aspect of the affair, because from the conditions of the amortisation of the industrial and other obligations etc., it can be seen that these payments are to bring forward a total sum of 90 milliard gold marks. The sum of the payments, according to the London Plan of 1921, was higher by a third.

According to the Experts' Plan, Germany has to pay in 1924/5 — 200 million gold marks; 1925/6 — 1220 million gold marks; 1926/7 — 1220 million gold marks plus or minus 250 million (depending upon circumstances which need not be explained here); in 1927/8 — 1750 million, plus or minus 250 million (as above); in 1928/9 — 2500 million. This last year is already regarded as a normal one, and in the years following it, Germany must pay the same tribute, which can be raised, if the statistics regarding the consumption of coal, iron, the growth of foreign trade and of the consumption of tobacco etc. show a considerable improvement in the welfare of Germany. The sum of 2500 million in annual payments is the lowest amount which the allies claim from Germany. In the London ultimatum (1921) they claimed 2000 million plus 26 per cent of the values exported.

Germany herself in the proposal of the Cuno Government suggested an amount of 1800 million a year. In order to estimate the extent of the present claims, it must be emphasized that these 2500 million are to constitute the total sum of all payments of Germany, while up to now she had to pay at least 1000 million a year for the expenses deriving from the occupation etc. Thus there is no doubt that the Experts' Report proposes a reduction of the payments as compared with the sum claimed up to now by the Allies from Germany.

From what sources is Germany to pay the tribute?

The first source is to be the customs, the brandy monopoly, the taxes on tobacco and beer. This source is not supposed to begin functioning before 1925/6, yielding in the first year 500 million marks, in 1926/7 — 110 million marks, in 1927/8 — 500 million marks and, beginning from 1928/9 — 1250 million marks each year.

The second source is to be industry which has to give obligations amounting to 5000 million with the payment of 5 per cent for interest and of 1 per cent for amortisation. This source is to yield in 1925/6 — 115 million, in 1927/8 — 500 million and, beginning from 1927/8, 300 million a year.

The third source is constituted by the railways. Remaining the property of the state, they are to pass for exploitation into the hands of a private company which gives obligations amounting totally to 11,000 million annually yielding as many per cent as the industrial obligations mentioned above. Furthermore, a transport tax is to be introduced. This source is to yield in 1924/5 — 200 million gold marks, in 1925/6 — 595 million, in 1926/7 — 840 million, and, beginning from 1927/8 — 950 million.

Is Germany able to pay this tribute?

The Experts' Report is praised in the capitalist world press as the first scientific attempt to estimate the paying capacity of Germany. As a matter of fact, however, Keynes was obliged to acknowledge that "the proposals regarding the third and the fourth year are based upon presumptions regarding the extent of the German receipts which may prove to be either wrong or right". (London "Nation" of April 12th.) The same might also be said concerning all other presumptions of the Experts' Report. In reality their scientific foundation is based upon the following conclusions:

The national income of Germany in 1923 according to the calculations of the German government, amounted to 25,000 million gold marks. The burden of taxation amounted to 7,000 million, i.e. 28 per cent of the income. If this income increases to 34,000 million, i.e. by 40 per cent, even maintaining the rate of taxation of 28 per cent, the German economy will pay the tribute to the Allies without new burdens. Owing to the Ruhr events, 1923 was a very difficult year for German economy. And therefore — the Allies say — Germany will be able to pay the sums claimed from her.

But how is it to be proved that the Ruhr year was absolutely the heaviest for Germany? Germany is at present confronted with a very heavy economic crisis, and nobody knows whether the Experts' Report will not prove to be a new card house. One thing, however, is already clear, namely that the Experts' proposals determine that half of the tribute is to be paid by the broad masses by means of an increase in the burden of indirect taxes by 1,250 million a year. The proposals of the Experts are, as is shown, based upon an aggravation of the position of the workers, not to speak of the fact that, of course, both the railways and industry will try to devolve upon the working masses that portion of the tribute which they are to bear.

What constitutes the main difference between the Experts' proposals and the schemes for payment formerly suggested by the Allies?

a) The Allies' Scheme of 1921 in no way determined, where Germany is to get the money from, for the payment of the tribute. In fact, she has already paid a considerable portion of her contributions by selling the mark in foreign countries speculating upon a subsequent increase. Keynes describes this operation very well in an article devoted to the report of Mac Kenna, the former Chancellor of the Exchequer of Great Britain, on the German capital invested abroad. "For five years", Keynes writes, "Germany's conquerors have been pressing a

lemon with both hands, so that their hands ache. They gathered every drop in the cup, and it was only at the end that they noticed that the drops were not running out of the lemon, but out of their own fingers: the sum paid by Germany on reparations, corresponds approximately to the sum for which the foreign countries purchased German marks representing no value at all. As we are informed, a million foreigners have accounts in German banks averaging 4,000 gold marks each. It is these foolish people who, in the first place, have been paying the German account. This group consists of bankers and financial experts. But, besides them, millions of barbers, servants etc. have been buying, for their few shillings or pounds, German marks fresh from the press, so as to fill the whole world with the odour of this mark."

And hardly was the world filled with the odour of the German mark, when the whole payment scheme of the Allies went to pieces. Then M. Poincaré decided to impose the taxes himself, by seizing the Ruhr basin. It is known, how this affair ended. According to unofficial information, the adventure cost France a milliard of Francs a month. A humorous paper of Paris correctly described the situation by drawing General Degoutte sitting in the Ruhr basin, dressed with furs and wiring: "We are working successfully; send coal; it is very cold here!" At present, the Allies bring forward a third scheme: They lay their hands not upon a particular area of Germany, but upon particular sources of income.

b) The chief difficulty of the Allies up to now was that Germany was obliged to pay the tribute in foreign stable currency. In view of the passivity of her trade balance, the purchase of foreign currency led to the collapse of the mark. But it goes without saying that, if the Allies, by means of loans, had stabilized the German mark, and received them on the reparations' account and begun to export them, the result would have been a still further fall of the stabilized mark, because for this mark the Allies would have been obliged to accept goods from Germany without giving her any compensation, i.e. her trade balance would have got still worse.

Which is the way out of this situation? The Experts' Plan promoted the question of converting the German Reparation payments from German marks into foreign currency. For this purpose the Gold Bank is to be founded which is to be under the decisive control of the Allies, and into which all reparation receipts are to flow in, in marks. The Bank converts the Marks into foreign currency only in the event of the trade balance of Germany allowing this, in the contrary event the money is to remain in Germany. Of this sum, up to two milliard Marks are to be used for financial operations with short terms, while up to five milliard Gold marks are allowed to be invested in German industry. Merely the interest is exported. What does this mean? This means, that the reparation sums are to serve for purchase of industrial enterprises in Germany etc. for the regulation of the German credit. The American banker Owen Young who is proposed as the Chief Reparation Agent, some days ago declared to the well-known correspondent of the "Matin", M. Sauerwein, that it is completely unknown whether it will be possible at all to export considerable sums from Germany abroad. Then only one thing remains possible: to invest the money in German economy, i.e. by means of the reparation to occupy Germany economically.

It is of no use explain at length the dangers involved in this. Since France has a huge need in money, she will be hardly able to satisfy herself with the mere interest, and will try to capitalize the debt by means of international loans. The very fact that the railway and industrial obligations will necessarily be sold in the first place to America and England, creates the danger of an immediate interestlessness of international capital in the intensification of the exploitation of the German workers. The coming international loans will still further increase this interestlessness. The German working class will be the object of exploitation on the part of the whole of international capital, and in its revolutionary light will have to confront it a ten-fold more, than it already has to do from its position in the heart of Europe.

c) It would require too much space to give a concrete illustration of the organization of the administration of the German railways and of the new bank proposed. It suffices to state that the Allies reserved for themselves the decisive influence in these fundamental instruments of German economy. They will determine the number of workers employed on the railways, the wages, the level of the railway tariffs. They will

determine the credit policy of Germany. The Experts' Report shows quite clearly the aim pursued in this. Germany, before and after the war, raised the competitive capacity of her industry on the foreign markets by means of a reduction of the railway tariffs, port taxes etc. The Experts' Report does not hide the fact that, by taking the railways into their own hands, the Allies obtain the lever for equalizing the conditions of competition between Germany and other countries. The same aim is pursued by raising the German taxes. The Experts' Report says quite definitely that

"it would be unjust and in every respect undesirable that the tax payer of the Allied countries, as a consumer, should be exposed to heavier taxes resulting from war than the German consumer, or that, as a producer, he should be burdened in trade competition by higher expenses, among them also expenses on wages, than his German competitor." The meaning of the Experts' proposals is very clear. The reparations do not constitute the chief aim of these proposals. Their chief aim is the regulation of the economic life of Germany by Allied and American capital according to the interests of capital. It was not for nothing that, on the eve of the London Conference, in the English Parliament Mr. Baldwin, President of the Conservative Party and former partner of the renowned firm, declared: "We cannot free ourselves from the fact that, by putting Germany on her feet, we simultaneously restore our strongest and most dangerous competitor... I, therefore, ask the Premier, whether he is inclined to study the question, as to what measures must be taken in order to burden German industry, either by taxes or in some other way, as our industry is burdened."

#### The meaning of the Experts' proposal.

To sum up, we can say that the Experts' proposals constitute a liquidation of the Versailles treaty, but not in the sense of bettering, but of worsening it. The policy of M. Poincaré aimed at tearing Germany to pieces. This was a hopeless adventure, not only because an industrial nation of 60 millions cannot so easily be torn to pieces; not only, that with this attempt France would have unchained huge revolutionary forces in Germany and over-burdened her own forces. The adventure of M. Poincaré, furthermore, aggravated the Franco-English relations and, thereby, made itself problematic. The Experts' proposal hands over the exploitation of Germany to international capital, trying to create a solid interest against the German people. One of the cleverest conservative publicists, the editor of the "Basler Nachrichten", Herr Eri, is perfectly right in saying that the proposal of the experts appears to be a barometer of how far the solidarity of capitalist interests can be substituted for their competition, as a guarantee of peace. We may add: and as a guarantee for the exploitation of the working masses by international capital.

Whether this attempt will succeed, only the future can show. But already now the huge contradiction forming the fundament of this attempt, becomes apparent. The Experts' proposals can be realized only under the condition that international capital chiefly English and American capital, come to Germany in the form of loans, purchases of obligations etc. This capital will derive profits only by developing German industry and its competitive capacity in the world market. But the interest of the leaders of the fundamental branches of industry requires the restriction of German competition.

With capitalistic means, this contradiction could only be solved by a very rapid enlargement of the capacity of the world market, which would enable an extension of English, American, French and German industry. But for the moment it is not obvious, where such an enlargement of the world market is to come from. There only exist two new huge markets — the Russian and the Chinese. But even, if we do not take into consideration that Soviet Russia is not inclined to make herself a country producing raw materials and a market for foreign industry, that the political conditions of China do not permit capital freely to penetrate there, that two formidable wars victorious for imperialism would be necessary for creating the political conditions of the unlimited opening of the Russian economic market, so also the economic conditions do not favour a rapid enlargement of these markets for foreign capital. Both Russia and China are agrarian countries. They might rapidly increase their purchasing power only in the presence of very long-termed and huge credits, which international capital is at present incapable of affording.

And this is why the Experts' Report, though accepted by the Allies, does not eliminate the necessity of a revolutionary solution of the contradictions of the reparation problem, but only creates new conditions for this. The internationalization of the exploitation of Germany will provoke the internationalization of the struggle of the working class, because the reduction of the German workers to the position of the Chinese coolies threatens English, French, American and international proletariat.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### To the Builders of the Whole World.

The Amsterdam Builders International is further destroying the unity of front and the striking strength of the builders.

The Stockholm Conference has refused to admit the All-Russian Builders Union. Thereby the reformists have proved afresh that they will continue the split in the Builders International obstinately in the future.

The Stockholm Conference has also shut out the Czechoslovakian and the Norwegian Builders Unions from the Builders International. The former exclusion of the revolutionary builders in various district unions, particularly in Germany, together with the new resolutions of the Stockholm Conference, prove that the Amsterdam reformists will push the split further systematically, and thereby help the contractors to further suppress the workers.

All struggles are undermined by these leaders. In Germany even, in wages-struggles (which were declared to be wild strikes) men were actually challenged to open strike-breaking. They tried to ignore the strike resolutions by refusing support. Did colleagues strike nevertheless, there followed exclusion from the organisations; these reformists do not shrink from the dissolution of whole district unions.

Against this work of disintegration the builders must take up the fight decisively, and must protest against it energetically. These protestations may not be confined to isolated meetings, but a thorough enlightenment of the builders against the disintegrating tendencies of the reformists must also be carried on on the building grounds, by means of a press campaign, and in daily personal intercourse. The destroyers of unity of front must everywhere be mercilessly set in the pillory.

The split tendencies of the reformists were proved afresh in a conversation of the representative of the All-Russian Builders Union with the representative of the Amsterdam Builders International (Käppler). The representative of the A. R. B. U. was asking about the motives which led to the refusal to admit the A. R. B. U. Käppler's answer was:

1. Communist organisations;
2. dependent on Moscow;
3. danger of offending against the statutes.

Päpłow, chairman of the German Builders Union, who joined in the conversation later, said: "Bogdanov was of the opinion that the union of those excluded formed an organisation which had a view of things differing from that of the social democrats. In reality he thought it was not so." He added that it had more sense and he liked it better to deal with the Christian and with the Hirsch (Liberal) Unions. Yes, it is right, it is easier to negotiate with these Unions and to carry on Capitalist reconstruction.

#### Builders of all Countries!

We turn to you. What is to be done? How can the attack of the contractors in reduction of wages, prolongation of working hours, and piece work be turned aside?

#### Form a united front from below!

Get together everywhere. Discuss the form of the struggle, set up a programme of action.

Compel your leaders to give way to the will of the masses or to stand aside. There is no time to lose.

Prepare for the Unity Congress of the Builders of all countries!

Make an end of this disintegration!

To the work!

Up! To the struggle against our exploiters and their helpers!

The I. P. A. C. of the Revolutionary Builders.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### Statutes of the Agitation and Propaganda Section of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

1. The Agitation and Propaganda Section is an organ of the Comintern Executive. Through this Section the Executive Committee of the Comintern and its organs direct, organise and unite the whole agitation and propaganda activity of the Comintern and its Sections.

2. Duty of the Section: To organise the agitation and propaganda activity of the Comintern, to direct the corresponding activity of its sections, to unify the agitation and propaganda activity by means of studying, systemising and generalising the experiences of the separate sections.

#### I. Structure of the Section.

1. The general administration according to the direction of the Executive Committee of the Comintern is the affair of the section leader or of his representative. The section leader calls as required, at least fortnightly, a committee with the following constitution: 1. the leaders of the sub-sections, 2. the leaders of the agitation and propaganda section and of the press section of the C. C. of the R. C. P., or their representatives, 3. the leader of the Organisation Section of the C. I., as also the leader of the A. and P. section of the Executive of the C. Y. I. and a representative of the International Women's Secretariat. As necessary, other representatives of other sections of the secretariat, members of the Executive, and national as well as national group representatives are drawn in.

2. For the purpose of discussing important questions of the agitation and propaganda work, the Enlarged Committee is called twice yearly, in which in addition to the members of the small committee, the representatives of all the sections of the secretariat of the Comintern, as well as the leaders of the A. and P. departments of the German, French, Czechoslovakian, Italian and English, eventually other sections, take part.

3. The duties of the Section are worked out in the following Sub-sections:

- a) Sub-section for agitation;
  - b) Sub-section for propaganda;
  - c) Sub-section for press and publication activity;
  - d) Sub-section for the collection of section experiences.
4. As need arises other sub-sections and commissions can be formed with the permission of the Executive.

#### II. Sub-section for Agitation.

The duties of the Sub-section for agitation are as follows:

- a) Treatment and execution of the agitation duties of the Executive Committee; popularising of the ideas and slogans of the Comintern.
- b) Determination of the general direction of the agitation work of the sections; the working out of general instructions the control and provision of material for particular actual political campaigns.
- c) The working out of and forwarding of methods, ways and technics of mass agitation.

The Sub-section works out also for this purpose, circulars as well as periodical instructions in close touch with the Sub-section for press and publication activity.

#### III. Sub-section for Propaganda.

1. The duties of the Sub-section for propaganda are as follows:

- a) Unifying, systemising and control of the Party education work (propaganda of Marxism-Leninism).
- b) Working out of the forms and methods of the inner Party education work.
- c) Help in the working out of means of teaching and learning, programmes for Party schools, programmes for cycles of lectures, Marxian reading circles.
- d) To work out the questions of the school policy of the Communist Parties and to give them their political direction.

e) Direction and control of the culture unions in connection with the Communist Parties by the party.

2. The Sub-section for propaganda follows with particular attention the Party life of the sections of the Comintern, takes measures for the combination of the theoretical forces of the communist parties, looks after the development of their theoretical and literary activity.

3. The Sub-section for propaganda furthers the organisation of Party schools of the sections of the Comintern, in that it prepares programmes and plans for them.

In the Sub-section for propaganda, a commission for method is being organised which studies and works out the methods of propaganda of Marxism-Leninism.

The Sub-section for propaganda stands in close touch with the Marx-Engels Institute, the Lenin Institute, and the Communist Academy, as well as with the Institute of the Red Professors in Moscow, makes the results of the researches of these institutes available for the propaganda activity of the communist Parties.

#### IV. Press and Publication Sub-section.

1. The duties of the Press section are:

a) Direction and control of the communist Party Press, publication activities and the giving out of instructions for them,

b) Direction of the periodical and informatory organs of the Comintern Executive Committee (with the exception of those which are immediately under the Presidium).

c) Setting up of duties for the periodical press of sections with regard to agitation and propaganda. The labour press on the Soviet Union and information of the Russian Party press on the activities of the Comintern and its sections.

2. The press and publication Sub-section works out plans and material for agitation campaigns, together with the Sub-section for agitation.

3. The systematic working out of publications which do not appear periodically, is carried out by the Press and Publication Sub-section, and the Sub-section for propaganda.

4. The Press and Publication Sub-section makes use, for translation work, of the general apparatus of the Comintern.

#### V. General Arrangements.

1. All circulars of the Agitation and Propaganda Section are published after endorsement of the Secretariat or of the Executive. The most important documents as well as the documents on special questions having a general political significance, must likewise be signed by one of the secretaries.

2. The Agitation and Propaganda Section, through its representatives, shares the whole agitation and propaganda work of the Profintern, the International Peasants' Council, the Women's Secretariat of the Comintern, the Youth International the Co-operative International, etc.

Béla Kun.

## THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

### To the Working Youth of all Lands.

Young Comrades, Young Brother Workers, up!

We turn to you with an urgent warning call. We are directing an earnest flaming challenge to you. It is again a question of the lives and fates of millions of young workers and farmers' sons, it concerns your future. A great new war, fanned up by the capitalists and greedy imperialists of all lands, stands at the door!

Again the world is like the feverish madhouse of those fatal days before the outbreak of the great slaughter of 1914. Today, ten years after the outbreak of the world war, which the capitalists and social democrats of all lands called the last, the conflicts and quarrels of the imperialistic states are greater than ever, armaments have taken on fabulous proportions, everywhere the world is sounding the alarm to arms. Ten years after the beginning of the "peace", the bankers, capitalists and slaveholders of the great robber states are working greedily and feverishly, to draw tight the sling about the necks of the millions and millions of the German working people, and through the so-called.

## Experts' Report

to press it to the very last drop of blood and sweat.

What is this Experts' Report other than the continuation of the war with other weapons? It is not one jot better! The plan is still more shameful!

As in the years from 1914 to 1918, the days of starvation are to return for the millions of German workers, the sufferings of the proletarian mothers and children begin again, the whole working population languish and perish, millions be given over to death. Only this time instead of swiftly working bullets, the slower means of starvation and need, of unemployment and poverty are to take effect.

And working youth, as always, is to suffer most bitterly. On them the need will have the worst effect. Already the German government is preparing the "gaol" law against German youth, the law of compulsory labour, which is to make them into costless working animals and to militarise them again.

If Germany is to be, according to the plan of the experts, the land of white slaves, the land of oppression and misery, of mass-unemployment and mass deaths among the working people, that means also the destruction of all protection for the workers, bitterer exploitation, mass unemployment, and mass misery for the labour and particularly the labour youth of all other lands.

To hide this dreadful plan against labour, to drown the alarms of the preparations for the new war, the bourgeoisie in all countries is now playing a new rôle. It is expressing itself as peace loving, pacifist, democratic! Workers young and old, in town and country, are to be again betrayed. Betrayed and deceived as in 1914!

And who is helping them here? Who is again their best and most important tool?

## Social Democracy!

It is the "Labour Government" of MacDonald, the leader of the II. International in England, who has driven war preparations to a height not known before, and who together with France wishes to bleed the German working class white!

It is the "left" government of the "pacifist" Herriot, the darling and immediate confidant of the Social Democracy of all countries, supported by the socialists, who is swinging the whip over Germany worse than Poincaré did!

It is the German government of the democratic pacifist middle, supported by the Social Democrats, which is licking the boots of the Entente generals and bankers, and is consenting to the sucking dry of the German working population, but which at the same time is openly preparing for the war of revenge.

It is the same everywhere. Social Democracy is playing first violin in this great concert.

Social Democracy also announces that a new pacifist, democratic age has dawned. It is challenging you to take up and carry out the plan of the Expert Commission. It is deceiving you over the great danger of a new armed struggle, a new war and new attacks on the working classes.

But we call out the Alarm! to you.

The new war, the new exploitation, the new reaction will be still more terrible than anything yet experienced.

## Is that to happen?

In the name of the IVth World Congress of the Communist Youth International, in the name of a million organized revolutionary young workers and peasants, we appeal to you to take up the decisive struggle with us against this.

It may not be that the generals and capitalists let loose the fury of a new, a worse war against the working population. It may not be that the masses allow themselves to be surprised and betrayed again as in 1914. It may not be that new attacks, new plans for exploitation, further aggravate the position of the working classes, and working youth. It may not be that the bourgeoisie sharpens its dictatorship over the working class. Soviet Russia which stands today stronger, freer and mightier than ever, shows us the way. Only the Proletarian Revolution can save us from war, impoverishment, and Fascism!

For these slogans enter into the struggle! For these slogans ten thousand young workers together with adult labour have been demonstrating during the anniversary week of the out-

break of the war. But a special demonstration of the whole working youth of all countries ought to bring to expression the will to struggle of the working youth of all countries. Therefore

Out to the Tenth International Youth Day!

Out to the mass demonstrations and announcements of working youth in all countries on September the 7th!

Year by year the working youth of all countries on this day goes out on to the street and announces its demands in great meetings and demonstrations. This time it is the 10th International Youth Day since October 1915, the first Youth day, when we first raised the banner of the struggle against war, and for the revolution. This time it must be a Youth day of such might and growth as has never been seen before. Hundreds and millions must stand up and make their demands.

## Comrades!

With one demonstration, however so powerful, we have not enough. Much more is necessary. It is

Lenin,

the great leader of the workers of the world and of the proletarian revolution, who never grew tired of demanding that the working classes should lastingly combine their strength, organise, create their organisations for the struggle against war and against capitalism. Lenin, the creator of the Communist International, helped the working youth to form for themselves an organisation, a strong defence and shelter, the

## Communist Youth International.

Already before the war, founded by the best men of the labour movement, like Liebknecht, it had begun its effectiveness with the war as a group of bold revolutionary working youth, and it has become a world movement.

The IVth Congress of the Communist Youth International which took place recently in Moscow, was already able to count in its ranks

## one Million

young workers, working peasants and soldiers.

But, comrades that is too few! Many millions stand aside, remain unmoved, or obey our class enemy. Our congress has shown the great progress which the C. Y. I. has made in the struggle for the demands of working youth, and on the way towards mass organisation, but it has also shown that we are only at the beginning of the way.

Therefore up, all of you, up! Gather in the wide masses of working youth, shake them up, your working brothers and sisters, bring them into your organisation, the Communist Youth Unions and the Communist Youth International!

The Communist Youth International works for working-class youth in all spheres. Its last, IVth World Congress, dealt with and laid down the demands of working youth in all spheres, as against war, in the army, in the trade unions, in the economic struggle, against Fascism and the white terror, in the country, for the liberation of the oppressed youth of the colonies, in the sphere of organisation. Over its work stood one flag, one leader, one slogan:

Lenin.

It is the spirit of Lenin which is leading the workers in the struggle so far, and in his spirit we wish to continue this struggle. Then we are assured of victory!

Join with us in the appeal:

Down with imperialist war!

Down with the exploiting and impoverishing dictatorship of capitalism!

Down with the social democratic pacifist hypocrites and traitors!

Long live the leader of the toiling masses, the organisation of Lenin, the Communist International!

Long live the Communist Youth International!

Long live Soviet Russia!

Long live the World Revolution!

Moscow, the 10th anniversary of the war, 3rd August 1924.

By order of the Congress of the Communist Youth International:

The Executive Committee  
of the Communist Youth International.

## To the Children of the Working Classes of the Whole World.

Demonstrate for International Children's Week!

Dear young Comrades!

Ten years ago, the greatest war in the history of mankind broke out. Most of you were then very small. At that time you did not understand, what was going on. But later you saw what was happening. Millions upon millions of working men were murdered in this war. And for what cause? The governments said, "for the fatherland". No one believes this lie any longer now. Everybody, you children of the working classes also, knows that the war was not fought for the "Fatherland", but for the money bags of the exploiters of the working classes, the capitalists. The war was really a mean war of robbery. The exploiters of the separate countries fought a brutal war at the expense of the workers, in order to decide who has the greater right to exploit the weaker countries, who is lord of the world.

The leaders of the working classes at the time, the leaders of social democracy betrayed the workers and voted for the war. Only Lenin, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and few other told the workers the naked truth.

The capitalists promised the workers after the victory many good things, better wages, shorter working hours, and much else. But what have the workers received? Wages are cut down, and working hours lengthened. Hunger and political oppression are all that the workers have received from the war.

## Young comrades!

The children of the working class suffer most of all. You, the children of the after-war years are physically poorly developed. In all countries there is child labour, the working class children must work hard early, in order to help provide the most necessary things for the family. But still all this is not sufficient. In your homes you suffer from hunger every day, while the rich and their children live in luxury.

Now they are preparing a new, still crueller war, at the expense of the workers, your fathers and brothers. The exploiting classes want to bring the working classes still deeper into poverty! They wish to rob us of all rights.

Will you have that? No! A thousand times no! You have already had enough of poverty! Therefore go in great masses during the

International Children's Week from the 1st to the 7th of September

to the demonstrations of the Communist Children's groups, and there express your will:

Against the new war!

Against the attacks of the capitalists!

For the strengthening of the Communist Children's Groups!

In, young comrades! In to the Communist Children's Groups in great masses, for they are the only organization which fights for the rights of the working class children. And therefore they are hated and persecuted by the capitalists. In many countries the Communist Children's Groups are forbidden.

On the 7th of September, the 10th International Youth Day is to be held. On this day all the working class children take part in the demonstrations of Working Youth and demonstrate for the common fight of the working class children with the whole of the working class!

Up, young comrades! Show that you are prepared for the fight! In a close front to the fight against your exploiters, for your rights and for the rights of the whole working class!

The Executive Committee  
of the Communist Youth International.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

## The Significance of the Co-operative World Congress.

The Party press is asked to print this article at once. Ed.

The Co-operative section of the Comintern in Moscow has written us: From 1st to the 5th of September there is to be in Ghent the Xth International Co-operative Congress of the "International Co-operative Alliance" (London) preceded by an Inter-

national Co-operative Women's Conference, which are connected with an International Co-operative Word Exhibition.

In all capitalistic countries, the path of suffering of the proletarian masses, which entered on an acute stage ten years ago, with the beginning of the world war, is proceeding with fresh bitterness: prolongation of working hours, decrease in real wages, unbearable food conditions, fearful lack of houses, boundless increase of prices, and the exploitation of the working classes in town and country, sharper fascist attacks, and above all the ever growing danger of war.

What has the working class done against? What are the concrete means of defence which are organised on the side of national and international proletarian organisations? Concretely set for Ghent, these questions run: What has the Co-operative International done in the past and now, and what are its future plans to help the working class in its decisive fight against world capital? Since the combination of the membership of the 74 national co-operative organisations out of 30 different countries forms the Alliance and the 85,000 co-operative societies contain 40 million members, there can be no doubt that these societies are of the working classes, both of the industrial proletariat and of the small and middle farmers, as of the impoverished middle classes, against which the offensive of world capital is directed.

Still fondled during the war because of its war work as a useful helper of the bourgeoisie, the co-operative societies are being oppressed by the bourgeoisie with their capitalist competition of warehouses and monopolies, as well as by exceptional duties and other laws. Thanks to the anti-socialist bungling of the co-operative bureaucracy, it has largely capitulated both in business and in organisation, and has suffered great business losses. Where the capitalist dictatorship does not wish the societies to prolong their miserable life, it destroys them absolutely as Fascism has done in Hungary, Bulgaria, and Italy.

The agenda of the Alliance Congress of Ghent contains not a single point which concerns the attitude to the vital questions of the international proletariat or mentions the prospects and duties of the co-operative societies within the proletarian struggle to take measures against the robber plans of the bourgeoisie. Only unimportant questions of business and organisation are to be set before the Congress.

The whole past of the Alliance and of its national unions has been the continual struggle of the co-operative leaders against the class conscious members of the societies. To hold the societies away from the historic quarrel between capital and labour, they proclaim an unreal neutrality, instead of setting themselves clearly and definitely on the side of the proletariat. Under cover of "political neutrality" the leaders of the co-operative movement have made it an organ of help for the capitalist policy of the bourgeoisie. That was only possible because the masses in the societies were indifferent, and allowed this misuse of their organisation, whose sole destiny is: to be a tool in the proletarian class war.

Today — after these ten years — it can no longer be regarded as reformist illusion, but as conscious misleading of the masses, and as social treachery, if the leaders of the co-operatives proceed against the class-conscious society members, and propagate an "independent" co-operative societies policy, which should bring in socialism "by virtue of their own means". Not by work in common with the bourgeoisie, not by class harmony, and the toning down of some contrasts or other, but only by the purposeful struggle of the working class for the winning of political power will the end be attained. All that and only that which the co-operative societies do for the direct and indirect support of the class war, is their historic duty. The societies can do today an extraordinary amount in the way of moral and material support for the struggle of the proletariat and its victims. The societies are in a position through their society solidarity to bring help to the unemployed, the locked out, the strikers, and others in the struggle; food credits must be organised, provisions in the fighting areas must be assured by the societies being active as proletarian provision offices, fitting up kitchens, and having provision stores. It should be the duty of the Ghent Congress to substitute this proletarian solidarity for the nonsense of neutrality, and declare such solidarity as fundamental, bind the separate societies to this, and organise international co-operative relief by the formation of funds collections etc. on the greatest scale.

In many countries the co-operative leaders have already seen that the masses will put an end to the policy of coalition

with the bourgeoisie, and that the bureaucracy can no longer do exactly what it pleases. Not to be carried too far left by this move, the leaders, on the advice of the social democrats, are fastening themselves on to the social reformists in the trade unions and in the II. International. In May the Alliance had a conference with the Amsterdam Trade Unions Alliance, at which an "entente" was formed which has no other purpose than to make a close coalition with the Amsterdam trades union movement, under the protection of the II. International. In the present stage of the Co-operative International it is a matter of nothing else than that the Social Democrats declare the co-operative societies their domain, and that in the future we shall have in the co-operative societies the avowed instruments of the II. International and of the Amsterdamers, with the object of still more strongly fettering the masses, to hold them back from the revolutionary struggle.

The number of communis delegates in the Ghent Congress will, except for the Russian members, be very small. That is because the class-conscious elements have troubled themselves much too little about the co-operative societies and have allowed the bureaucracy there to do exactly what they wanted. But even there where there is a strong proletarian opposition in the societies, as in Germany, the bureaucracy prevented a democratic delegation system being carried out. Therefore the Congress will not be the meeting of democratically chosen delegates, which expresses the will of the 40 millions, but a gathering of the bureaucrats of the societies of all countries, who go to Ghent without the direct commission of the masses of the society.

In Ghent the question will be put as to whether the international society bureaucracy is to work still further in the future as the enemy of the working class but it will not be decided. To the complaints which are now being framed by the society leaders in England and Germany, that the communists within the societies wish to realise aims foreign to their purpose, which would stand in the way of the societies aims, and which would be un-co-operative, the millions of the communist masses organised in the alliance answer: The co-operative societies cannot attain their end, apart from the struggle of the working class, but only on the ground of the winning of political power by the proletariat. Therefore it is necessary to further and support the co-operative movement both directly and indirectly, by winning the co-operatives for the revolutionary class war. Should the Ghent congress decide against this proletarian policy, then the word is given anew to the proletarian and revolutionary members of the society at last to take the leadership into their own hands.

## APPEALS

### Appeal of the C. C. of the C. P. of Bulgaria.

To the Communist Parties and Labour Organisations of all Countries.

Comrades!

With the exception of a handful of capitalists, bankers, profiteers and exploiters, the whole of the Bulgarian people is against the Fascist regime in Bulgaria, on account of its anti-popular home and foreign policy, and of the awful repressions and bloody crimes, which it has committed during its time of government. This fact is easily comprehensible when one considers that the deeds of violence and terror of the Fascist government of Zankov have surpassed the cruelties of all known reactionary governments, even the terrible crimes of Italian Fascism; that in Bulgaria all rights and freedom have been taken from the workers and peasants, their organisations (parties, trade unions, co-operative societies) have been dissolved, and every attempt to set them up again, is sharply persecuted; that their newspapers are forbidden, no meetings are allowed, the prisons are crammed with workers and peasants, whose only

fault is that they are opposed to the unbearable Fascist regime; that all the opponents of the Zankov government are in danger of their lives, there are incessant political murders, organised by the secret terrorist organisations of the government, and finally, under the protection of this monstrous terror, the bands of capitalists, bankers and profiteers have subjected the whole working population to ruthless plundering.

The general discontent with the government of Zankov is also increased, because it is carrying on the old nationalist and conquering policy of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie against Macedonia and Thrace, and thereby forces the people into new and bloody conflicts with neighbouring states, and in particular with Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey.

The patience of the masses is exhausted. A general movement for the liquidation of the Fascist regime is arising throughout the country. This regime must inevitably fall, as it is impossible for a whole population to be lastingly bound by a band of capitalists, bankers and profiteers, who seized the power in the June coup d'état.

For this reason the Zankov government, completely isolated in the country, is making the greatest efforts to maintain the support of the neighbouring states and of the great capitalistic powers, by representing the present popular movement against the Fascist regime, as a "bolshevist revolution" prepared by "agents of Moscow", although it is well known to everybody in the country that at the present moment it is not a question of a communist revolution, but of a popular, anti-fascist, mass movement, in which not only workers and peasants, but also the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria, a section of the reserve officers, and a great section of the intellectuals are taking part. At the same time the Zankov government is preparing new massacres of the followers of the Communist Party and of the Peasants' Union, which they justify to the outside world as the necessity for destroying the "bolshevist revolution" alleged to be prepared for the autumn.

The C. C. of the C. P. of Bulgaria is in possession of exact information on the government's new plan, in accordance with which the latter intends to make mass arrests of communists and of left peasants' unioners in the second half of August, and of whom they will kill a part, as they did after the suppression of the rising of September with the thousands of fighters of the Communist Party — workers, peasants and intellectuals.

The C. C. of the C. P. B. considers it its duty to warn the proletariat, all defenders of popular rights, and all fighters against Fascism in the Balkans, in Europe and in all countries, and to tell them that the growing popular movement against the bloody Zankov government is exclusively directed towards the removal of the cruel Fascist regime, and the creation of a real popular government in the country, and that the lies which the Bulgarian government is spreading, according to which it is a "bolshevist revolution" prepared by Moscow, only try to justify the new crimes of blood, which the government is preparing for the masses of the people, to maintain its shaking, threatened power.

The C. C. of the C. P. B. is sending an urgent appeal to all Communist Parties as well as to all workers' and peasants' organisations and to all sincere friends of the rights of the people, to raise their voices against the new deeds of murder and violence prepared by the Zankov government against the working masses in Bulgaria, and to use all their influence to prevent this new crime of Bulgarian Fascism.

The working population of Bulgaria needs the most intensive support of international proletariat to free itself from unprecedented slavery and complete extinction. It is convinced that this cry of the martyrs for support will find a hearing, and that with the help of this support, it will soon succeed in breaking the chain of barbaric Fascism, and win again for ever the lost freedom.

Sofia, August 1924.

The Central Committee  
of the Communist Party of Bulgaria.

## SPECIAL NUMBER

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

# - INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 4 No. 62

29th August 1924

Editorial Offices: Langegasse 26/12, Vienna VIII. — Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX.  
— Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 64, Schliessfach 29, Vienna VIII.  
— Telegraphic Address: Inprecorr, Vienna.

## Theses and Resolutions

adopted by the V. World Congress of the Communist International.

### Resolution on the Report of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Fifth Congress of the Comintern approves of the activity as a whole of the Executive since the Fourth Congress and asserts that the correct and firm leadership of the Executive has contributed substantially to the report that the Communist International, during this stage of the fiercest attacks of capitalism, struggling for its dictatorship has proceeded almost everywhere with increased strength.

In this period of one and a half years the capitalist offensive, which was earlier began, has developed in most capitalist countries into fierce attacks upon the revolutionary proletariat, as in Bulgaria, Italy, Germany, Poland, Finland, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Spain, Japan, India. Even in France repressive measures against workers on strike and many imprisonments of Communists have been the order of the day. In Czechoslovakia special laws have been passed against communists, in Austria blood was shed by fascists, and in Norway brutal attacks by police upon the workers on strike were made while class injustice was intensified and a White Guard organisation formed.

These violent attacks have inflicted severe losses on the Communist movement, and the manner in which the movement has met these attacks was not altogether free from serious mistakes and back-slidings. In no country, however, was the power of capitalism able to break up the organisation of the Communist leaders of the fight, or to cut their connection with the masses. Not even in Italy has the systematic uprooting of communism been able to achieve the slightest damage to its influence on the masses—not even in the parliamentary elections. In Bulgaria, after the most bloody defeat of the workers and peasants, defending themselves under communist leadership, the masses again rallied to the banner of the Communist Party in the elections. After the heavy defeat of the revolutionary movement in Germany, and a consequent dangerous internal crisis, and after the most brutal persecution from without, the Communist Party of Germany quickly rallied its ranks, set up a firm leadership, and by brilliant victory at the elections, polling three and three-quarter million votes demonstrated that its revolutionary force is greater

and stronger than ever before. The electoral victories in France and Czechoslovakia similarly showed the decisive growth of the influence of communism on the masses.

During these great class conflicts, the Executive Committee undertook a series of steps destined to be of decisive importance for the correct direction of the Sections of the Communist International. The Congress points out in particular the following cases:

1. The Executive rightly indicated at the International conferences in Essen and Frankfurt in the early months of 1923, the practical tasks of intensified revolutionary preparation arising from the occupation of the Ruhr, for the European proletariat and particularly for the Communist Parties of Germany and France.

2. When the rising revolutionary mass movement in August indicated the approach of a favourable situation for a decisive struggle for power in Germany, the Executive demanded that the German Party immediately set itself to the unqualified task of conquering power, assured it of all possible help to this end, and mobilised a number of other sections to support the German Revolution to the utmost of their power.

3. After the surrender in October, which took place almost without a struggle—circumstances rendered possible by the treachery of the social-democratic leaders and by the failure of the Communist Party leadership—it became both proper and necessary for the Executive—its attention being called by the strong leftist movement in the German Party, and supported by the German leftists—severely to criticise the opportunistic attitude of the German Party leadership, and above all, the distortion of the united front shown in the Saxon government experiment. The Executive determined to profit from its political and organisational consequences by an increased and relentless fight against opportunism. It had also become aware of the strong Left tendency in the German Party, by which it was supported in its decision.

4. The Executive—in accord with the views of the leftists—had already criticised the opportunist digressions at the Leipzig Conference of the German Communist Party;