

formations, whose activities are described in another book from the same publishers, "The White Terror". The German, as the Swiss democratic governments helped this "Red Cross". In Finland, Poland, and Bulgaria the Tsarists were actively supported; hospital flags covered the political activities of the reactionaries. The contact of the Vorovski-murderers with the old organization (Polonnin, the organizer of the murder, was its secretary) led to an energetic interference of the Russian representative J. Bagotzki with the Geneva International. Nevertheless, the monarchist Emigrant Committee, with the help of the bourgeois governments, tries to further misuse the flag of the Geneva Cross. The workers must take care that the reorganization of the Societies of the Red Cross makes the establishment of murder centres under their protective shield impossible.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Communist Persecutions in Egypt and Palestine.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

Soon after the entrance of the government into power, Zaghlul Pasha began to persecute the communist movement in Egypt. Occasion for it was given by a strike wave in Alexandria, which otherwise was of a purely economic character. The striking factory workers demanded the recognition of the Trade Unions, the fixing of working hours, rise in wages etc. That did not prevent the factory owners, of course, from representing the strikes as "the fruits of Bolshevist propaganda", and calling in the aid of the government against the communist intrigues. The government hurried up with their aid, and had all the leaders of the Communist Party, who were known to them, arrested, and ordered the closing of the Party clubs, and the confiscation of the property of the Party. A number of the workers were soon put on their trial, and the verdicts ran to several months arrest. The leaders were kept in prison, and all protests and appeals for the hastening on of the trial, or at least for provisional release on bail, were unavailing. The Egyptian government found it more convenient to let the Communists languish in prison without trial, and purposely delayed the inquiry longer and longer.

At the same time the police began a regular hunt for "individuals suspected of Communism". The newspapers were able every day to report new arrests which had practically no foundation, and were only the results of malicious denunciations. In the police campaign against our Egyptian comrades, those police spy elements took a pre-eminent part, which formerly, under the Tsarist regime, performed the same work in Russia, and now, being fled to Egypt as members of the White Guard Wrangel army, wished to take their revenge on the revolutionary movement. The Egyptian police, on the model of the Okhrana (Tsarist Secret Police), set themselves, without further ado, above such details as the inviolability of letters, domestic authority, and other democratic rights guaranteed in Zaghlul Pasha's constitution, as soon as it was a question of tracking down communist conspirators.

There was a particularly sharp hunt after foreigners. The government could simply, without a trial, make use of their authority to turn troublesome foreigners out of the country. Besides the Communist Party, the "Confédération des Syndicats", which stands on the principle of the R. I. L. U., was declared illegal, and so gave the police possibilities of new arrests and persecutions.

Within the last few weeks, the Communist persecutions have come to a temporary stop, probably because the police are directing particular attention to the so-called "nationalist conspiracy", to which, nominally, the attack on Zaghlul Pasha is attributed. The foreign Communists were deported, after the visas of the governments concerned had been obtained for their passports — those who are Egyptian subjects, set free for their time being, the trials being arranged for November at first and then, on the protest of the Public Prosecutor, for September.

A special law concerning the control of the immigrants from Russia, Bulgaria, Turkey and Armenia, together with stricter police control of those set free, is to prevent a new development of the Communist movement in Egypt.

The official press of Zaghlul Pasha, but in particular the organs of the English and French governments, which praised the draconic suppression by Zaghlul Pasha of the labour movement, as a clever and useful measure, and encouraged further persecutions, sum up with satisfaction the "liquidation of the Communist movement", and base the moral justification of the Communist hunt as follows: "It may be in other lands that the time is ripe for Communism; here in Egypt, where industry is only in a stage of development, every trace of class war is detrimental to the progress of production. If production does not develop, the working class will never be powerful. Thus the Communists and class-war supporters altogether, are not only the enemies of the country, of society and of progress, but above all, of their own class, of the working class..." When we keep it in mind that Egyptian comrades have no press at their disposal, with which to come out against these demagogic arguments, and that these "theoretical" bases are woven out of a mass of calumnies and "flesh-creepers" on Communism and Communists, — we can imagine to some extent the social atmosphere in which the C.P. of Egypt must carry on its fight.

In Palestine the persecutions of our comrades began after the entrance of MacDonald's government. Here the instigation on the part of the Jewish-chauvinist (Zionist and Poale-Zionist) parties has contributed a great deal to the handing over of the communists to the hands of the police. About six weeks ago in Haifa, the club of the "Workers' Faction" which had existed legally for more than a year, was closed by the police. (Only a few weeks earlier the Workers' Faction (Section of the R. I. L. U.) had been excluded from the General Labour Organization). On the occasion of a protest meeting against the closing of the club, seven workers were arrested. A few days later the proceedings against these workers took place. Although the Arab judge did not even know what "Bolshevism" meant, they were sentenced by him "as belonging to a Bolshevist organization", to one month's imprisonment and deportation. The verdict had in fact been sent down to the judge cut and dried, and therefore it is quite comprehensible why he did not allow the defendants a word of defence, and did not even verify their names. In prison also those arrested were dealt with according to "special orders", that is, as political prisoners, worse than criminals. They were ruthlessly beaten till they were bloody, and had to perform the very heaviest work under unhygienic conditions, while any complaint led to an aggravation of their condition.

Although appeals were lodged against the unheard-of verdict, the police refused to set free the workers even after the completion of their time. Telegrammes and letters, which informed the Labour Minister Thomas, Colonial Secretary, of the shameful deeds of his officials, remained unanswered, just as in the first days the appeal to the intellectuals of Palestine. Only the news of the mishandling to which the arrested men were subjected, set public opinion in the country moving a little. The doctors, professors and engineers were of the opinion that one could perhaps protest against Poland and Roumania, and at the very worst against German reaction, but not against the pioneer of civilization, the most progressive of governments, the government of MacDonald. The terrible treatment of the prisoners reported by witnesses unfortunately reminded one very much of the descriptions of conditions in Poland or Finland. An appeal which only set out the facts, was promptly confiscated.

The persecutions are being continued intensively. A few days ago the club of the Workers' Faction in Jerusalem was closed. Printed matter, particularly in Arabic, even harmless appeals for Trade Union organization, was seized. Almost daily, single members of the Workers' Faction are arrested, and house searches undertaken. The orders of the police amount to the stifling of the Communist movement in Palestine. In such a state of affairs the Communist Party of Palestine must call for the active help of the Communist Party of Great Britain, since only the working people of England can put a stop to the persecutions of the workers in the colonies which are carried on under the auspices of the Labour Government.

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## Theses and Resolutions

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

### Resolution on the British Labour Government.

The Labour Government of Great Britain is a bourgeois imperialist government and not a government of the working class. It is a devoted Servant of His Majesty the King, of the Empire of the capitalists, independent of socialism, independent of the Labour movement, and dependent upon the dominant class only. As agent of the bourgeoisie it continues the policy of imperialistic suppression and exploitation of the masses of India, Egypt, Africa and so forth, and gives support to the policy of defending capitalism, strengthening of British imperialism and carrying out the economic and financial colonization of the countries defeated in the world-war. It is not even a Labour government in its composition, but a coalition government, made up of the leaders of the Second International who betrayed the workers in the war, and of liberal politicians and tory lords. In positions of the government where the influence of the imperialists is most acutely felt, the old gang of imperialists are in office and in power.

The creation of the labour government is not a peculiar British phenomenon. It is a product of the period of capitalist disintegration, wherein the old forms of capitalist government become incapable of solving the national and international, social, political and economic problems generated by capitalism. In this period the capitalist class resorts to a variety of means of defence, ranging from labourism (socialist ministerialism) with its social pacifism, to fascism and all its forms, according to the sharpness of the class-antagonisms and the relation between social classes. The labour government and the fascist government are the extremes of the methods used by the bourgeoisie to continue their dictatorship.

By their inability to solve the problems of post-war capitalism, the bourgeois parties in Britain sharpen class-antagonism. With dissension growing in the ranks of their own parties and alarmed at new evidences of increasing class-consciousness in the ranks of the workers, they agreed to the creation of the labour government by the time servers of the Second International.

This is not the workers' government for which the British workers have toiled and sacrificed. Its six months record of activity stamps it as a government of working class betrayal. Under the cover of minor concessions—the apparent reduction in the cost of living, the abolition of the gap in unemployment pay, and volumes of pacifist promises—it has conducted a bourgeois imperialist policy as vigorously, and certainly with more success than its predecessors of the right wing of the bourgeoisie.

Towards the workers in Britain it adopted a policy of liberal toleration as long as they remained quiet and did not menace the capitalist class. Immediately they began actively to protest, the labour government set police spies to work in working class organisations, introduced blackleg Labour in strikes, mobilised the police to dragoon the protesting workers, and prepared military measures against them, as in the railway strike. The miners did not even receive a minimum wage. The labour government permitted the Liberals and Tories to defeat the nationalisation of mines and the miners' minimum wage bills without the slightest effort to mobilise the workers against them. No attempt has been made to break the grip of the aristocratic officer cast on the military forces or otherwise to weaken this powerful weapon of British capitalism in its actions against the workers.

Under the cover of pacifist promises it has gone to the limit of its capacity to build cruisers and air fleets and it has adopted strenuous measures to perfect the war equipment for the butchery and enslavement of the workers. Under the cover of pacifism, this Labour government is preparing on behalf of the bourgeoisie a new slaughter exceeding in horror the mass murder of the so-called great war.

The struggle in the ranks of the working class against the labour government has become therefore a struggle for the protection of mankind from mass destruction.

As the custodian of British Imperialism, the labour government denies the elementary political rights of organisation to the Indian workers, condones their persecution and starvation and supports with its authority the bombing, shooting, and terrorism conducted against the masses of India, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. Ireland remains in the grip of British imperialism, and hundreds of the working men of Ireland remain in prison with the consent of the labour government.

The labour government has become the administrator of the Versailles Treaty, and allied itself openly with American and French imperialism and the German bourgeoisie to apply the Experts' Plan for the more efficient enslavement and deeper degradation of the workers of Germany. Even in its relations with the United Socialist Soviet Republics, it has proved the falsity of its claim to be custodians of the interests of the working class by its shameful support of the bond holders and bankers against the workers and peasants of Russia.

While the labour government is thus defending capitalism at every step, it is trying to spread the illusion that it is pursuing a policy of strengthening the workers movement and



saving mankind from war. The leaders of the Labour Party, and especially those of the Independent Labour Party, are the most powerful allies of the labour government in this treacherous work. If the Labour Party really represented the workers, it would, in spite of the opposition of the dominant class, use its influence to mobilise the masses for the struggle against British capitalism. But blind to the realities of the class war, corrupted by the spoils of capitalist democracy, and dazzled by the electoral success, the Labour Party plays upon prejudices of the most ignorant sections of the working class organisations, including the Labour Party itself, to the bourgeoisie without a semblance of a fight.

It is the task of the Communist International and its section, the Communist Party of Great Britain, to rescue the working-class movement from the reactionary leadership now dominating it; to destroy the illusions that still exist in the minds of the masses that their liberation can come through the gradual process of parliamentary reformism; to make clear to the workers that only through fierce class war and the crushing of the power of the bourgeoisie can they ever win their freedom from capitalist exploitation. For this purpose, and this purpose alone, the Communist Party of Britain must continue its struggle for affiliation to the Labour Party, and this struggle must be won by continuous battle with reformism all along the line. In this struggle against the betrayals by the Labour Party, the leadership devolves upon the Communist Party of Britain. Already a serious fermentation is taking place within the broad masses who are discontented with the reactionary Labour Party leadership. Unofficial strikes are breaking out repeatedly against the will of, and in opposition to, the trade-union bureaucracy. The Left wing movement has now manifested itself even in the directing organs of the British trade unions. It has no clear-cut programme. It is timid and vacillating. Nevertheless, it represents the growing discontent amongst the workers against the old leadership.

Inside the amorphous Left wing movement organised minority movements are taking shape. They have a clear-cut programme, consist of revolutionary and disciplined workers and spread from district to district popularising the policy of the Red International of Labour Unions. Though ridiculed and denounced by the trade-union bureaucracy, they are the first steps to organise the revolt of the masses against the treacherous leadership and are a guarantee that the revolutionary spirit of the masses is developing, and will, under the leadership of the Communist Party, rescue the working class movement from disaster. To win this victory, the Communist Party in Britain has (a) to support the Left wing movement in all its actions against the trade union bureaucracy, its strikes, its propaganda, and combat all waverings within its ranks without hesitating to expose ruthlessly at the same time the weaknesses and inconsistencies of that movement; (b) to strengthen the solidarity of the minority movement and unite it on a national basis, with a programme based upon a platform of Red International of Labour Unions; (c) to strengthen the minority movement by fighting for the

## Resolution on the National Question in Central Europe and the Balkans.

The imperialist war, into which the bourgeoisie drew the workers by hypocritical slogans about the defence of small nationalities and the right of self-determination, actually led to the intensification of national antagonism as a result of the victory of one the groups of capitalist powers and national oppression in Central Europe and in the Balkans.

The Saint-Germain, Versailles and subsequent treaties dictated by the victorious Entente powers, created a number of new small imperialist states — Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Roumania, Greece — as a means of fighting against the proletarian revolution. These states were formed by the annexation of large territories with foreign populations and have become centers of national oppression and social reaction.

The question of national oppression is now on the order of the day for those imperialist nations which before the war were not the object, but the subject of oppressive policies. An object lesson is supplied by the case of Germany. In regard to the latter, Entente imperialism was not content with the direct annexation of territories inhabited by Germans, which was accomplished on the basis of "peace treaties". An attempt was

creation of work-shop committees, and thus lay the foundations of an industrial unionism with the shop committees as a basis of industrial organisation; (d) to struggle for the active participation of the British trade union movement in the international struggles of the proletariat.

The Communist Party must not neglect the needs and demands of the working class which are close to its daily life and which are powerful forces driving the working class to closer unity and a higher degree of militancy. These are of special importance because of the significance of the fight against British capitalists in furthering the unity of the proletariat in the struggle.

The Communist Party should put forward the following slogans of immediate demands and wage an aggressive campaign for their realization:

- A national minimum wage.
- Nationalization of the mines with workers control.
- Houses for the workers, built by the workers without participation by the profiteers.
- For the unemployed; Application of the unemployed charter; minimum of 3 pounds per week for heads of families.

The Communist Party must fight valiantly in the everyday struggles of the masses centring around these slogans and thus lead the workers in every action of the labour movement.

The minority movements directed against the trade-union bureaucrats and the popular struggles for the above reforms are important bases of the activity of the Communist Party, but our Party must not confine its work to these alone. The principle issues are (a) to arouse the working masses of Britain to fight against the false pacifism of the MacDonald Government which hides the preparations for new war; (b) to expose the imperialistic military and international policy of the Labour government of His Majesty; (c) to launch a mass-movement in complete agreement with the workers of Germany, as well as the countries of the Entente, against the Experts' Report; (d) to fight against imperialist prejudices amongst the British workers in order to unite the class-struggle of the working class of Britain with the revolutionary movement of the oppressed nations and masses suffering under the dictatorship of British imperialism. The slogan of this must be:

**The Liberation of the workers of Britain depends upon the Liberation of the Colonies.**

All these issues are part of the paramount issue of the struggle of the working masses for their emancipation. This victory can never be won, the dictatorship of the proletariat can never be established, without a mass-Communist Party, a party which unites the masses on the basis of activity and ceaseless struggle against the bourgeoisie, and exposes the social traitors within the ranks of the working class.

**A Fighting Mass Communist Party is the Real answer of the working class to the bourgeois Labour government.**

Long live the Communist Party of Britain!  
Long live the Communist International!

also made to dismember Germany by the aid of concealed, refined forms of annexation, either in the shape of the comedy of "national self-determination" or in the shape of unadorned robbery exceeding the provisions of the peace treaties, as for instance in the case of the Ruhr.

The national question has thus attained new importance since the war and has become at the present time one of the essential political questions of Central Europe and the Balkans. At the same time the struggle of the oppressed peoples against national oppression has become a struggle against the power of the imperialistic bourgeoisie who were victorious in the world war, since the strengthening of these new imperialist powers means the strengthening of the forces of world imperialism.

The importance of the struggle against national oppression is still further augmented by the fact that the nationalities oppressed by Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Roumania and Greece, in their social composition, are largely peasants, and the struggle for their national liberation is at the same time the struggle of the peasant masses against foreign landlords and capitalists.

In view of these facts the Communist Parties of Central Europe and the Balkans are confronted with the task of giving full support to the national-revolutionary movement among the oppressed nationalities.

The slogan "the right of every nation to self-determination, even to the extent of separation" in the present pre-revolutionary period must be expressed in the case of these newly arisen imperialist states in the more definite slogan, "the political separation of the oppressed peoples from Poland, Roumania, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia and Greece".

The Congress declares that there are deviations in certain parties expressed in the attitude of certain comrades and groups who formulate their relations to the national-revolutionary movement on the basis of the sovereignty of the states formed as a result of the Saint-Germain and other treaties. The slogans of these comrades and groups with regard to the national revolutionary movement are directed not against these states founded on national oppression and directed against proletarian revolution, but toward partial reforms in these states, and urge autonomy for the oppressed peoples within the boundaries of these imperialist states.

The Congress vigorously condemns this strong tendency toward Social Democracy, just as it repudiates the tendency toward national Bolshevism which results in the Communist Party's support of the leadership of these movements by the ruling classes and their parties, which in effect is the surrender of the working masses to the influence and domination of the chauvinist bourgeoisie.

The Congress charges all the Communist Parties of Central Europe and the Balkans with the task of giving complete support to the national-revolutionary movements of the oppressed peoples against the power of the ruling bourgeoisie, and of organizing communist nuclei in the national-revolutionary organizations, in order to win the leadership of the national-revolutionary movement of the oppressed peoples, and to direct it along the clear and definite path of revolutionary struggle against the power of the bourgeoisie, on the basis of the close solidarity of all workers and their common struggle for a workers' and peasants' government in every country.

Only by a union of the communist elements within the national-revolutionary organizations can the former secure priority for the toiling masses in the latter, as a counter-poise to the bourgeois-landowning and adventurist elements, which frequently used these organizations for their own class aims, or converted them into the tools for imperialist aims in the various capitalist States.

The Congress imposes on all the Communist Parties the obligation of carrying on an energetic struggle against the provocation of national hatred and chauvinism by the bourgeois and the social-traitor parties, and of explaining to the working masses of both the oppressed and oppressing nationalities, the social character of national oppression and the national revolutionary struggle and the dependence of this struggle on the struggle of the world proletariat for the complete social and national emancipation of the workers.

The Congress similarly condemns separatist tendencies in the solution of the national question, and believes that the realization of the right of all peoples to self-determination, even to the extent of separation, has nothing to do with separatism as such, and in no way interferes with the development of productive forces.

The Congress notes the counter-revolutionary significance of the colonizing of these small imperialist powers carried on by the ruling classes, leading to an aggravation of the national differences. The Congress charges the Communist Parties of Poland, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia and Greece, with the obligation of conducting a vigorous campaign against this colonizing policy.

The Congress approves of the slogan launched by the Communist Parties of the Balkan countries advocating a Balkan Federation of equal and independent Workers' and Peasants' Republics.

Considering the extreme growth of anti-Semitism in the new imperialist powers, especially in Poland, Roumania and Hungary, and the attempt of the ruling classes to divert the attention of the working masses from the real causes of their impoverished condition and from taking part in the revolutionary struggle, by stirring up anti-Semitism, the Congress imposes on all Communist Parties the duty of waging a stubborn and vigorous struggle against anti-Semitism, and puts forward the slogan:

the unconditional removal of all restrictions imposed upon the Jewish population, and the guarantee of their free cultural development.

As regards the particular national questions of the different countries of Central Europe and the Balkans, the Congress considers the position to be as follows:

### I.

#### Macedonian and Thracian Questions.

1. The Macedonian and Thracian questions have during the course of decades been the cause of constant bloody conflicts between Turkey, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia, and a tool of imperialist policies in the Balkans.

The last imperialist war of 1914—18 ending in the economic disruption of the Balkans, their national enslavement and a new division of Macedonia and Thracia among Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria, aggravated still further the national question in the Balkans, and intensified their national antagonisms.

The partition of Macedonia among Yugoslavia, Greece and Bulgaria still further strengthened the aspirations of the Macedonian people in all parts of their despoiled native land for the formation of a united and independent Macedonia.

The same aspiration for the formation of a united and independent Thracia is being manifested by the Thracian peoples who are divided among Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria.

2. The Macedonian and Thracian questions are thus resolved into a single, basic, national-revolutionary problem which can and must be solved only by the Balkan Federation of Communist Parties, by directing it into the channel of proletarian revolution in the Balkans.

The Congress notes with satisfaction that the VIth Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation decided on the correct solution of this important question.

3. The Congress considers the slogans formulated at the VIth Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation — "For a United and Independent Macedonia" and "For a United and Independent Thrace" as entirely correct and truly revolutionary.

The slogans of autonomy for the different parts of Macedonia and Thrace within the boundaries of any of the bourgeois States artificially created by the Treaty of Sevres and other treaties, must be denounced as opportunistic slogans leading to agreement between the richer strata of the Macedonian and Thracian population and the ruling classes, and the further social and national enslavement of the Macedonian and Thracian poor.

4. The Congress at the same time emphasizes the fact that the revolutionary struggle of the Macedonian and Thracian people for their national and social freedom can only be successful, when it is carried on in conjunction with the revolutionary workers and peasants in every one of the Balkan countries.

5. The Communist Parties of the Balkans and the Balkan Federation must vigorously support the national-revolutionary movements of the oppressed peoples of Macedonia and Thrace for the formation of independent republics.

6. On the Balkan Communist Federation rests the obligation of uniting and directing the activities of the Communist Parties of the separate Balkan countries both in regard to the national questions and in regard to the special problems of Macedonia and Thrace.

### II.

#### The Ukrainian Problem.

1. The Ukrainian problem is one of the most important national problems in Central Europe, and its solution is dictated by the interests of the proletarian revolution in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania as well as in those countries adjoining.

The Congress declares that the Ukrainian problems in Poland, Roumania and Czecho-Slovakia form one Ukrainian national question, demanding a common solution for all these countries.

2. The Ukrainian population in the districts annexed by Poland, Roumania and Czecho-Slovakia in the main is a peasant population and is suffering extreme national oppression, as a result of which the fight for national freedom in these districts is closely connected with the fight against the landowners, capitalists and government officials. This forms a firm ground for the durable union of the peasantry and proletariat in these



countries for the united struggle against social and national oppression.

3. The Congress declares that the slogan of autonomy for Carpathian Russia in Czecho-Slovakia, or for Western Ukraine (Eastern Galicia, Volin, Podlyashe, Volinsky Polesye and Kholmshina) in Poland or for Bessarabia and Bukovina in Roumania, is directed towards forming a coalition of the wealthy strata of the Ukrainian peasantry with the ruling classes in Czecho-Slovakia, Poland and Roumania, and serves to strengthen the economic and national oppression of the peasant population in these lands and therefore must be turned down by the Communist Parties of these countries.

4. While supporting the slogan of the Communist Party of fighting against the annexation of Bessarabia by Roumania and the slogan of the state self-determination of this country, the Congress at the same time considers it necessary for the Communist Parties of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania to launch the general slogan of separation of the Ukrainian lands from Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania and their union with Soviet Ukraine and through it, with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The Congress considers that the Communist Parties of Poland and Roumania are successfully advancing this slogan.

5. At the same time the Congress emphasizes the fact that the revolutionary struggle of the Ukrainian peasantry in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania for their national liberation can be successful only on the absolutely essential condition that the Ukrainian peasantry will build all their struggle and organization on a close alliance with the struggle of the workers and peasantry led by the Communist Parties of these countries for the overthrow of the rule of capitalism.

6. The Congress obliges the Communist Parties of Czecho-Slovakia, Poland and Roumania to give all the help possible to strengthen and develop the Communist Parties and organizations in these Ukrainian districts. The Congress notes with satisfaction the results obtained in this connection in these countries.

7. The Congress approves of the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Poland and the Fifth Conference of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine (Galicia), directed towards creating advantageous conditions for communist propaganda and organizations in Western Ukraine. The Congress considers it expedient to co-ordinate the actions of and to establish periodical contact between the communist organizations of Western Ukraine, Carpathian Russia and Bukovina and with the Communist Party of Ukraine, retaining however strictly centralized leadership on the part of the Communist Parties of Poland, Roumania and Czecho-Slovakia over these organizations.

8. The Congress recommends the Communist Parties of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania to consider co-ordinated action on the question of the Ukrainian national-revolutionary movement, to publish proclamations, organize general peasants' congresses, etc. etc.

### III.

#### The Yugoslav Problem.

1. Yugoslavia is a State composed of many nationalities. The Serbian bourgeoisie which is imposing its domination, is a nation which forms only 39% of the total population of Yugoslavia. The remaining nations, together forming the vast majority of the population, are subjected in a greater or smaller measure to national oppression. A policy of forcible denationalization is being carried out against them.

2. The Serbs, Croats and Slovenes represent three separate nations. Theory of a united trinity of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes is only a mask for Serbian imperialism.

3. The tasks of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are to wage a resolute fight against national oppression in all its forms, to fight for the self-determination of the different nations, support the national liberation movements, constantly strive to remove these movements from the influence of the bourgeoisie and connect them with the common fight of the working masses against the bourgeoisie and capitalism.

4. The national problem in Yugoslavia is not a constitutional question and, therefore, cannot be identified with the problem of revising the Vidovdan constitution. It is in the first place a question of the fight of the nationally oppressed population for the right to national self-determination and secondly, it is a question of the revolutionary struggle of the working masses in the whole of Yugoslavia.

5. The fight against national oppression for the right to self-determination of nations, even to the extent of separation, and the workers' and peasants' rule must be connected with the general fight against the aggressive Serbian bourgeoisie, against the monarchy and against the political sanctions of the Vidovdan constitution.

6. Although the national question cannot be solved by a revision of the constitution, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, nevertheless, must take an active part in the fight for the revision of the constitution that is taking place at the present time, with the aim of overthrowing the present oppressive regime of the Serbian bourgeoisie and obtaining as many guarantees and political rights and freedom as possible for the working masses of the oppressed nationalities. It must constantly strive to unite the working masses in the fight for the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government. It must explain to the masses that only a workers' and peasants' government can finally solve the national question.

7. Since there exists a mass movement against national oppression in all its forms and a movement for self-determination in Yugoslavia, the national problem becomes actual and acute and directly affects the interests of the working masses.

In view of this, the general slogan of the right of nations to self-determination launched by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, must be expressed in the form of separating Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia from Yugoslavia and creating independent republics of them.

8. With respect to the Croatian and Slovene population of those territories occupied by Italy, the Communist Party of this country must carry on propaganda and agitation in the spirit of those slogans mentioned above and in close contact with the brother Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

### IV.

#### The Czecho-Slovakian Question.

1. The national relations in Czecho-Slovakia are very similar to those in Yugoslavia. The Congress declares that Czecho-Slovakia is not a single nation, but that besides the Czech nation the State comprises the following nationalities: Slovak, German, Magyar, Ukrainian and Polish.

2. The Congress considers it essential that the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia with respect to the national minorities, should launch and realize the slogan of the right of nations to self-determination, even to the extent of separation. The Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia must particularly support the fight of the Slovaks for their independence and untiringly strive to release this movement from the influence of the bourgeoisie.

The slogan of autonomy advanced by the bourgeois and nationalist parties, is directed towards enslaving the working population of all nationalities in Czecho-Slovakia to their own bourgeoisie in alliance with the Czechs.

3. The Congress emphasizes the fact that the national emancipation of the national minorities of Czecho-Slovakia can only be successful under the condition that the working population of all nationalities will carry on their struggle in close alliance with the fight of the workers and peasants in the whole country for the overthrow of the power of capital for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

### V.

#### The Upper Silesian question.

The Congress declares that the plebiscite of 1921 which resulted in the division of Upper Silesia, did not succeed in any considerable measure to eliminate national hatred. Concurrently with the growth of capitalist exploitation in both of the separated parts of the country, there is an increase in national oppression.

Upper Silesia is one of the most important industrial centres of Central Europe and, as a result of the fact that its population is mainly proletarian, it is a natural bridge between the maturing revolution in Poland and Germany.

The national emancipation of German workers in Poland and Polish workers in Germany can only be achieved by overthrowing the power of capital and by establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Fifth Congress establishes that considerable successes have been obtained by the Communist Party in the German Section of Upper Silesia where the C. P. of Germany, thanks to its resolute

revolutionary policy, obtained leadership in the proletarian struggle.

The Fifth Congress calls the attention of the Communist Parties of Poland and Germany to the necessity of co-ordinating and intensifying their work in Upper Silesia with the aim of obtaining leadership over all the proletariat in both States. Both fraternal parties must collaborate in the fight against national oppression in all its forms, and in their agitation and propaganda they must take into consideration the language differences of the German and Polish workers.

In that part of Upper Silesia now in the hands of Poland, the German workers are being subjected to national oppression as well as to capitalist exploitation. The same state of affairs prevails in the German part of Upper Silesia with respect to Polish workers.

### VI.

#### The White Russian Question.

1. The White Russian question together with the Ukrainian is the most important national revolutionary question in Poland, and its solution has the same foundation as the Ukrainian question.

2. The Congress takes responsibility for the correct evaluation of the national and agrarian questions in White Russia made by the Polish Communist Party and for the energetic work of the Communist Party of Western White Russia in this direction, as a result of which the Communist Party of Western White Russia has achieved nearly exclusive influence over the peasants of this country.

3. The Congress approves of the slogan of the State separation of White Russian territories from Poland for its union with Soviet White Russia and through the latter with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics advanced by the Polish Communist Party.

### VII.

#### The Lithuanian Question.

1. The Congress considers it essential to intensify communist activities among the Lithuanian working population in those parts of Western White Russia and Eastern Lithuania annexed by Poland.

2. The Communist Party of Poland must carry out the slogan of the right of the Lithuanian population to self-determination, even to separation from the Polish State.

### VIII.

#### The Magyar Question.

The Congress considers it essential to intensify the Communist work among the Magyar population of those territories annexed by Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania and Yugoslavia, and that the Communist Parties of these countries should launch the slogan of the right of these Magyars to self-determination, even to separation from the States that annexed them.

### IX.

#### The Transsylvanian and Dobrudja Questions.

The Congress approves of the slogans advanced by the Communist Party of Roumania for the separation of Transylvania and Dobrudja from Roumania and forming independent regions of them.

### X.

#### The Albanian Question.

It is essential to support the fight of the Albanians for their independence, since there is rivalry between the Italian, Yugoslav and Greek governments for the possession of Albania.

## Resolution on the Question of the Relations of the Comintern with the International Peasants' Council.

1. The Congress hears with satisfaction of the International Peasants' Conference which took place in 1923 and of the foundation of the International Peasants' Council. It declares that there are no contradictions between the theses accepted at the First International Peasants' Conference and the theses of the Second and Fourth Congresses of the Comintern. It instructs all the Sections of the C. I. to support the International Peasants' Council and its Sections in every land in its work of organizing the toilers in the fight against the present social order which is exploiting and oppressing both peasants and workers.

The Congress expresses its conviction that the fighting alliance between the class of exploited workers and the class of exploited peasants who are working with their own tools, will develop quickly as a result of the agrarian crisis which is burdening the peasants, the increased military burdens, and the new menace of war, which are partial manifestations of the general capitalist crisis. This fighting alliance, after intense struggles, will rapidly lead to the overthrow of the rule of the large landowners and of the bourgeoisie and to the establishment of the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

2. The Congress is in absolute agreement with the conception expressed in the theses of the First International Peasants' Conference, that it is impossible for the peasantry, without the assistance and guidance of the working class, to capture power from the large landowners and the bourgeoisie; and, on the other hand, that the working class is compelled to look to the toiling peasantry for support in its struggle against the bourgeoisie for victory and power.

3. Hence the communists must support with all their strength every movement on the part of the toiling peasantry to improve their condition, which will inevitably lead to a fight against the ruling classes. In many cases this will lead to the necessity of forming temporary or more permanent worker and peasant alliances.

4. The struggle of the toiling peasantry will lead to fruitful results only if they can wean themselves from the influence of the large and rich peasants, and of their agents, the priests, professional politicians, and officials. The majority of the or-

ganizations of the peasantry are at present under the mental and organizational control of the large landowners and large peasantry. It is impossible to wage a successful struggle under those conditions. The communists must take part in the work of organizing mass organizations of the peasantry, and, wherever it seems feasible, to join these organizations in order to be of assistance to the toiling peasants in their efforts to free themselves from the leadership of their class enemies, and to develop their mass organizations into organizations of the class struggle.

5. The closest co-operation must be established between the organizations of the working class and of the peasants. To bring about this co-operation is the task above all of the comrades in industrial undertakings in the countryside, or on large estates on which agriculture has been industrialized. The industrial and agricultural workers must support in every possible way the struggles of the peasantry against the large landowners and bourgeoisie, and help them to co-ordinate their struggle and direct them into revolutionary channels in the interests of the toiling peasants. It is the duty of the Communist Parties to devote special attention to the agricultural workers.

6. Where political peasant parties or other political peasant organizations exist, the comrades must help the toiling peasants to transform these parties and organizations into class organizations of the toiling peasantry — to crowd out the large landowners and large peasantry from the leadership of these parties, even though a split in the Party or organization may result, since the interests of the toiling peasants will always be betrayed in a party or organization which is under the leadership of the large landowners and rich peasants.

7. Where the toiling peasantry is fighting for a redistribution of the land against the large landowners, but within the framework of the bourgeois social system, the communists must not look upon this fight with indifference, but must support it with every possible means (mass meetings, parliamentary elections, demonstrations, etc.). But they must stress the fact that a bourgeois agrarian reform cannot improve the position of the toiling peasants to any great extent; they must issue the slogan of confiscation of all large estates and the free division of the land



among the toiling peasants and in this way inspire the great masses of the toiling peasants to revolutionary struggle.

The communists must also support the toiling peasants in their struggle for lowering taxes, interest on mortgages, and rent, but here too they must issue the revolutionary slogan of the complete abolition of taxes, interest and rent for the poor peasantry. The communists must continually urge the point that the demands of the peasantry will be fully satisfied only after the large landowners and the bourgeoisie have been completely defeated, and the Soviets have been established in power.

8. Not only the Communist Parties of the colonies, but especially those of the colonial powers, must support the struggle of the peasantry in the colonies. Here, besides the demands that are being made on behalf of the peasantry of all countries, special demands which arise as a result of the special conditions existing in the colonies, must be energetically supported, such as the confiscation of the land which has been stolen by foreign capitalists, equality before the law of all inhabitants, withdrawal of foreign troops, the hindering of the dispatch of native troops

## Resolution on the Rôle of the Co-operatives and the Duty of Communist Co-operatives during the Present Period of Proletarian Revolution.

Three years of communist work in the co-operatives have proven that the decisions of the recent Congresses on the rôle and character of the co-operatives and on our rôle and our tactics were absolutely correct. The Fifth Congress endorses the former decisions, supplements them on certain points, and particularly emphasizes the following:

1. During the present period of proletarian revolution, the organizational, educational and propaganda work within the co-operatives is of greater importance than ever before. The prospects of material advantages tempt such workers and peasants into the co-operatives who have not yet become conscious of the necessity of participating in the class struggles of the political parties and trade unions. Under these circumstances, the co-operatives are an extraordinarily useful factor in the organization of the proletarian class. They render particularly important services in organizing the proletarian women, who belong to no trade union, because they do not work in any factory or institution.

Hence, activity among the backward workers and peasants, and especially among the women, is one of the first duties of the co-operatives.

2. In the capitalist countries, a proletarian victory is impossible without the peasants. Hence the active workers must endeavour to make clear the identity of interests of the workers and peasants.

An excellent opportunity for this purpose is offered in the relations which exist between the various consumers' co-operatives and the labour union on the one hand and the peasants' co-operatives on the other hand.

In this way the middlemen and traders, who exploit the peasants as well as the workers, will be forced from the field. In order to accomplish this, we must apply the methods which were recommended by the First International Peasants' Conference in its decisions on the co-operatives.

This alliance is useful not only for the proletarian struggle but is also the means by which the proletariat which has conquered power, can assume the general leadership of the co-operative movement. This leadership is one of the economic foundations of the proletarian state.

3. It is of great importance that the elements which are not antagonistic to the proletariat, such as the administrative workers, handicraft workers, intellectuals, and other elements of the petty bourgeoisie, take part in this work.

Experience teaches that joint work with the opportunist elements of the petty bourgeoisie within the co-operatives has a damaging influence on class-consciousness and might increase the reformist illusions. Therefore the communists must intensify their agitation and propaganda within the co-operatives movement.

4. In order to bring about the class solidarity of the co-operatives, contact and joint activity with the trade unions must

be developed. Contact with the red trade unions is particularly necessary, especially on an international scale with the Red International of Labour Unions in Moscow. Such an alliance would be all the more useful, when a coalition has been formed between the Amsterdam International and the Co-operative International.

5. In regard to the danger of fascism, the communist co-operatives must form a united front with the other labour organizations and lead the peasants' organizations against fascism. Moreover it is necessary to form organizations for defence and for preparing for the armed struggle, in order to exclude the possibility of such a destruction of the co-operatives, as took place in Italy. Where fascism is in power and has taken over the leadership of the co-operatives, the communist co-operators must not leave their ranks. They must continue their activities secretly and as soon as the interests of the working class demand it, they must come out into the open.

6. At present, in the countries where a Labour Government is in power, there exists the danger that reformist illusions will again temporarily revive. The influence of these illusions is specially harmful in the co-operatives, since the co-operatives embrace many backward elements, and their leadership is mostly in the hands of the opportunists.

7. The menace of new wars which will be more terrible than anything we witnessed in the world, is very great. All the burdens of the war will fall on the shoulders of the workers; therefore the co-operatives, like the other labour organizations, must energetically fight against the growing militarism and the possibility of war. In this fight, which must be carried on in harmony with the Communist Parties, the revolutionary trade unions and the International Peasants' Council, the co-operatives must do everything that was outlined by the Russian Delegation at the Peace Congress of the Hague in December 1922.

The communist co-operators must develop active agitation in all countries, so that the co-operative union can take the initiative in calling a new international congress embracing all labour organizations which adopt a class war attitude, for the purpose of taking energetic measures against the war.

8. In view of the great importance which the co-operatives assume on the eve of the seizure of power, the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International resolves that:

a) All members of the Communist Parties must join the co-operatives; they are in duty bound to form communist nuclei within the co-operatives and to form fractions with other proletarian opposition elements. Every campaign must be endorsed by the nuclei and systematically carried out by the communists.

b) Every question regarding the work in the co-operatives must be examined by the Communist Parties on its own merits, and all party organs must lend their support to this work. The co-operatives, like the proletariat, must be induced to take part in all conflicts, whether they are of a political or an economic nature.

c) Every Communist Party must entrust active members with the work in the co-operatives.

d) The Party press must devote considerable space to co-

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## Theses on the Young Communist International.

### I. Developments in the Young Communist International since the Fourth World Congress.

1. Following out the decisions of the Fourth World Congress, the Third Congress of the Young Communist International outlined in detail the tasks which had already been set in a more general form by the Second World Congress of the Young Communist International, with its slogan "To the masses". It defined the basic form of the organisation, the content of the work and methods of a mass organisation of the young of the working class, and stated as its most important immediate task the transfer of the basis of the organisation to the factories by starting factory nuclei. It laid stress upon the necessity for the fuller participation of the Young Communist Leagues (Y. C. L.) in the struggles and problems of the Communist Party and of the working class, and assigned as their immediate practical task the fight against bourgeois militarism, against new wars, and against the "break through" offensive of capital.

2. The development of the Y. C. I. in the period which has just passed, has proved the correctness and necessity of these decisions. They have proved their worth and have enabled the further development of the Y. C. I. into an organisation of working class youth. They have also justified themselves in the steady rise, even from the numerical point of view, of most of the more important sections of the Y. C. I. This rise is especially notable, because at the same time there has been a marked drop in the so-called Socialist Youth organisations. If the Y. C. I. continues to carry out the decisions of the Second and Third World Congresses energetically, it will soon be seen that this rise has been neither accidental nor temporary, but that it is a permanent improvement which will lead to the development of the Y. C. I. into a mass movement of working class youth and to the complete liquidation of those organisations which call themselves "socialist" or "social".

3. The most important results were attained in the following fields:

a) The political activity of the Y. C. I., whose participation in the fights and problems of the working class and of the Communist Party have markedly increased. The political line to which the Y. C. I. held fast, was right and good, and its members have in most cases proved themselves the best of the Comintern front.

b) With regard to their reorganisation on a basis of factory nuclei, the Y. C. I. have not only achieved the ideological readjustment of their members, but have in some cases already created the necessary conditions from which the whole reorganisation of the movement can eventually follow on the new basis in some of the bigger organisations. The Y. C. I. and Y. C. L. have been the pioneers in this work and have given great help to the Communist Party and to the Comintern by tackling this job and by collecting valuable experience.

c) The Communist International welcomes enthusiastically the readiness for self-sacrifice, the initiative and the activity shown by the Y. C. I. in the struggle against war and imperialism and in propaganda in the bourgeois armies. Its work among the French troops in the occupied area of Germany and in the Ruhr has been the first practical, concrete and international work which has been carried out in this field. Also the active work of the French Y. C. L. in the French Army is an important step forwards. The Y. C. I. has proved that work of this kind is possible and effective even under the most difficult conditions.

d) The Y. C. I. has also made great progress in its development into a centralised and unified international organisation. In addition to the numerical growth of the most important sections of the Y. C. I., the Comintern particularly welcomes the steady intensification of its influence on the broad masses of working class youth and the continuing consolidation of the Y. C. I.'s in various countries into a strong world organisation of youth.

operative questions. The daily papers must, whenever possible, issue co-operative supplements; as soon as possible, communist co-operative literature must be issued and distributed.

e) The decisions of the Third and Fourth Congresses on joint activity of the trade unions and the co-operatives (see also the decisions of the Second Congress of the R. I. L. U. of 1922) must be carried out from now on in all countries.

In all this work the Y. C. I.'s have had only inadequate support from the Communist Parties. In some cases the Young Communist Leagues had first to contend with violent opposition from individual parties or from their Central Committees, before they could fulfil their tasks. (For instance, in anti-military work, or, again, in Sweden where the Young Communist League and the Y. C. I. were violently attacked by the majority of the Party Executive because they stood by the line laid down by the Communist International; in Czecho-Slovakia the Party did its best to hinder the attempt on the part of the Y. C. I. to form factory nuclei, and continued its opposition for a long time; in the Balkans also it met with obstruction, and there were other similar cases.) Moreover, the decisions of the Third Congress of the Comintern with regard to the independent organisations of the Y. C. I.'s have not yet been carried out in all cases.

4. In some fields, the Young Communist Leagues could work in an imperfect manner only. Thus the fight of the Young Communist League against the offensive of capital, and against the impoverishment of working class youth, and its activity in the trade unions has been, with the exception of a few countries, still too feeble. Its educational work has also not yet been equal to the demands of the vast new stream of members and to the great fighting tasks which lie before it in this field. Here again the lack of support from the Communist Party has been a contributory cause. The attempt to win over the peasant youth which has to be conducted with special methods and which has great significance in view of the necessity for fighting the recently formed fascist youth movement and the various Christian organisations, has also not been sufficiently made in the period we are reviewing.

5. Taking it all together, the results of the last working year show great progress. The Y. C. I. has increased its influence and has been able to draw broad masses of working class youth into the new struggles of the working class. It has made its movement more active, consolidated it and taken decisive steps to develop it into a mass organisation of working class youth. Added to this, it has also given real help to the Communist International during the past months in the battles of the working class, by its earnest endeavours to act according to true Communist and Leninist principles. It has collected valuable information for the work of the Comintern and the Communist Parties in the course of its campaign against war and its work in the bourgeois armies.

### II. The Immediate Tasks of the Y. C. I.

6. In considering the development of the Y. C. I. in the recent period, the Fifth Congress finds that the decisions of the Second and Third World Congresses of the Y. C. I. and of the Third Congress of the Comintern on the Young Communist Movement have thoroughly justified themselves in practice. The Y. C. I. and its sections must continue their work on the same lines and must immediately undertake the next steps towards transforming the Young Communist organisations and the whole International of Youth into really Leninist organisations, into strongholds of bolshevism.

The struggle to bolshevise the Y. C. I.'s must be regarded as its central task, the starting point of all its collective work. That must be impressed upon the consciousness of every individual member. The bolshevisation of the Y. C. I.'s must be expressed in the transformation of the whole organisation into a mass organisation of working class youth, inextricably bound up with the youthful peasants and workers and pressing forward energetically in the work of conquering the majority of working class youth, the leaders and representatives of the interests of the masses, must take firm root in the consciousness of the young workers. The Young Communist Leagues must get hold



of the best elements among the young workers and in the course of their development and their battles must liquidate all other "socialistic" and "social" organisations of youth.

But they have not only to conquer the masses of young workers and to permeate all their practical work in the masses with the will to fulfil this task, they must also educate the young workers organised in their ranks into true Leninists, into faithful guardians of the legacy left us by our great leader. They must see to it that every one of their members has a thorough knowledge of the main teachings and tactics of Lenin and is capable of applying his methods. This Leninist education must be expressed in the active participation of the Young Communist Leagues in the battles of the Communist Party and the working class, and in the union of this practical work among the masses with theoretical education.

The whole Y.C.I. must be permeated with Leninist principles. It must steadily strengthen the principles of centralisation, of international discipline, and of unity, and must root itself more and more firmly among the masses, while it encourages the idea among all its sections that the working class is the leader of all oppressed peoples. The Y.C.I. must work for the enrolment of the poorer young peasants and the oppressed youth of the colonial countries in the fighting line of the international working class. This is the way in which the Y.C.I. must develop a new generation of young Leninists.

7. At the same time the Young Communist Leagues must give special attention to the following questions: **Intimate participation in the life of the Communist Party and in the battles of the working class (political activity); reorganisation on the basis of Factory Nuclei; active work in the bourgeois army, and fight against impending wars; preparations for the tasks connected with civil war, particularly systematic military training; economic and trade union activity; educational work.**

a) **Political Activity.** This must continue and, where it has not reached a satisfactory stage, must be strengthened. Political activity means that the Young Communist Leagues must be in closest contact with all the fights of the working class, take part in them all under the leadership of the Communist Party, and mobilise working class youth to do the same. They must also take an active interest in the solution of all the problems of the Communist Party and the Comintern and in all questions of party life. Political activity is not a special task in addition to the other tasks of the Y.C.L.'s; its nature is simply the permeation of every activity, its vitalisation, and its influencing in the Leninist direction. It is the basis and method for all the tasks of the Y.C.I.

The Communist Parties must do everything they can to develop this political activity, which will mean a great reinforcement of the fighting front of the working class and the education of new competent political fighters for their own ranks.

b) The Y.C.L.'s must go on energetically with the work they have already begun in the creation of **Factory Nuclei**. They must also immediately proceed from this to a complete reorganisation on the new basis. The slogan of every young Communist must be the **complete reorganisation on the basis of the Factory Nuclei by the time of the next World Congress**. The Fifth World Congress of the Communist International points out, in view of certain tendencies, that the Y.C.L.'s must organise their own factory nuclei quite independently of those organised by the Communist Party. This applies in periods of illegality.

c) **The Work in the Army and against fresh wars** must be energetically continued by the Y.C.L.'s. This is one of the most important of the commandments, arising out of the international situation and the prospects of revolution. The transition from simple propaganda to concrete work, as it was made in the occupied area of Germany and in France, must quickly be extended internationally. Special attention and effort must be given to carrying out Lenin's slogan of nuclei in the bourgeois armies. The Y.C.L.'s must make every possible attempt to mobilise the young workers against fresh imperialist wars. They must meet the hypocritical and misleading doctrine of the Social Democrats, that a general strike is the infallible method of stopping an outbreak of war, by sober propaganda showing what happens when a war actually breaks out. They must point out the necessity of transforming an imperialistic war, when once it has broken out, into a civil war within the imperialistic states, and in order to do this, they must carry on revolutionary work in the bourgeois armies.

d) **The Fight in the Economic and Trade Union Field** must be intensified in the future, or where necessary, must be definitely taken in hand. The Y.C.L.'s must progress from mere propaganda to the actual fight for the defense of the material and cultural interests of working class youth, they must act here as the representative of youth. With this end in view, work in the reformist trade unions must be markedly strengthened, the final end being to revolutionise them. In all trade unions existing fractions of Y.C.I. members must be further developed and proposed as candidates and any sort of division between young and old, especially in the form of special sections for young workers, must be energetically opposed.

This can be done by showing the trade unions and the adult workers by practical results that the Young Communist Leagues, as they develop into the only mass organisation for the working class youth, are defending the interests of youth only as a part of the whole battle of the struggling proletariat. This is also true of the relation of the Young Communists to the Red Trade Unions with which they must work hand in hand, knowing that these are the only trade unions which are in a position to lead the fight for the interests of the young workers in a really useful way. Communist trade unionists must see to it that the Y.C.L.'s are recognised in the trade unions and among the adult workers as the organisations which look after the interests — economic and otherwise — of the young workers in harmony with those of the whole working class.

e) The more the Young Communist Leagues succeed in rallying round their banner the mass of the young workers, the more must they be careful to carry on systematic **Communist and Leninist Education** for all their members, in the closest association with all the battles of the Communist Party and the working class. Unless they do this, they will be in danger of diluting the true Communist character of their fight and activity and becoming superficial. The training which must be carried out in the immediate future is first and foremost political training. It must enable young communists to take over the heritage of Lenin's works and deeds and to carry them further. How far the Y.C.I. is able to carry out this task of Leninist training, depends on the support given them by the Comintern and the Communist Party. To make this support possible is one of the most pressing tasks of the International.

8. Although the Young Communist Leagues must concentrate their main forces on these tasks in the immediate future, they ought not to neglect tasks in other fields.

The winning over of rural youth is specially important since on it, in most countries, must depend the victory of the proletarian revolution.

The fight against our opponents especially against Fascist, so-called "Socialist" and Religious Organisations of youth, must be carried forward with every possible intensity in the future. The aim of the Young Communist Leagues must be to do away with these organisations altogether.

The work of preparing the **Young Communist Leagues** for attempts on the part of the bourgeoisie to suppress them and for the period of illegality must not be neglected.

Work in the colonial lands of the imperialist nations must be carried forward with the ultimate end of drawing into the Y.C.I. the native youth of these lands. At the same time the Y.C.I. has the task of organising the young workers who are fighting for their national freedom in colonial and semi-colonial countries, in the dominions, and in the East, and winning them over for the international struggle of the working class.

Constant attention must be devoted to conducting propaganda among the **young women**. They must be attracted to the communist youth organisations to a greater degree, than they have been hitherto.

Great attention must also be paid to **work among children**. This must be carried out according to the principles of communist education, through which the proletarian children will be drawn into the battle of their class which must be led by the Y.C.L.'s.

9. **The period of the direct struggle for power** which in the near or distant future will be at hand in several countries, must lead the Y.C.I. to consider its tasks during this period in the greatest earnestness. The experience won in Germany last October must be carefully examined, and careful preparatory work be carried out on this basis in the respective Communist Leagues.

10. All these tasks can be fully accomplished by the Y.C.I. and its sections only if the various Communist Parties provide them with the necessary help. The support of the Y.C.I. and its sections is one of the most pressing tasks of the Comintern and the Communist Party in the near future. If this support is successfully given, it must result in winning over the great masses of young workers to communism and in providing the Communist Party with new cadres of class conscious and steadfast Leninists.

In detail this task chiefly consists in drawing young communists into the political activities of the Communist Party and the fights of the working class and to give them the opportunity to assist in the solution of the problems before the Communist Party and the Comintern. The factory nuclei of the Communist Parties and their fractions in the trade unions must also give every possible help to the Y.C.L.'s in their economic struggle and in the fulfilment of their other tasks. It is especially important that the Young Communist Leagues and the Y.C.I. should have better support in their work in the army and against

## Sports Resolution.

1. Sport and physical culture at present play a very important rôle in all countries. The bourgeoisie uses sports and physical organisations for its class purposes, and supports the bourgeois and State sports movements with all the means at its disposal.

There are still many working class elements in bourgeois sports organisations, which are purely bourgeois class organisations. The main object of these bourgeois organisations is — to train the youth for the bourgeois army and to awake in the young feelings of nationalism and chauvinism by special educational methods, in order to be able to use them as fighting cadres against the proletariat. The fascist movement has succeeded in making use of these organisations as military reserve forces.

2. To counteract the influence of these bourgeois organisations and the efforts of the bourgeois States, workers' sports organisations have been founded in a number of countries. These organisations have in their ranks considerable numbers of workers and proletarian youth. They are to a great extent still in the hands of reformists who misuse them for their reformist purposes under the slogan of "sport is neutral".

The class conscious elements in the sports organisations rally around the Red Sport International, whose work is based on the principles of revolutionary class struggle.

3. To make the proletariat physically fit, is a necessary prerequisite of successful revolutionary class struggle. Therefore, it is in the interests of the class struggle as a whole that Communist Parties in conjunction with Communist Youth organisations and Red Trade Unions pay attention to the sports and physical culture movement, using it for their revolutionary purposes.

The Fifth Congress emphatically declares that work on this field is of the greatest importance, and lays down the following rules for the benefit of the Communist Parties:

a) In countries where no working class sports and physical culture organisations exist, Communist Parties must encourage their formation. They must form workers opposition groups in bourgeois organisations with the object of forming independent working class sports organisations, they must insist on working class elements leaving the bourgeois organisations and must

fresh wars. The actual carrying through of this activity which is one of the most important preliminary tasks for the victory of the proletarian revolution, can only be attained if the Communist Parties participate in it as leaders. Also the pressing task of Leninist training must depend largely on the help afforded by the Communist Party.

11. The Y.C.L. must do everything possible on its side to unite itself more closely in daily work with the Communist Party in all its daily activities as far as it possibly can, but must also carry out a regular and systematic training within its own ranks as a preparation for entrance into the Communist Party and must see to it that its members enter the party when they attain the right age.

In this way, the Young Communist Leagues and the Y.C.I. will fulfil their duties towards the Communist Party and the Comintern and so fulfil the expectations of the Comintern that they will be in the future as they have been in the past, the best fighters and the best defenders of the policy of the Comintern.

carry on propaganda for the entry of the working class youth into independent workers' sport organisations.

b) In countries where workers' sports leagues and physical culture organisations exist, Communist Parties must form fractions in them with the object to emancipate these organisations from reformist influence and to win them over for the revolutionary class struggle.

c) Communist fractions must also be formed in the already existing red workers' sports and physical culture organisations in order to give every chance to the revolutionary elements to exercise continuous influence.

All fractions must be subordinate to the Communist Party.

d) Through the work of the Communist fractions, the workers' sports and physical culture organisations are to be drawn into the revolutionary fight and are to be used in support of the fight against fascism and bourgeois militarism.

e) The workers' sports and physical culture organisations are of the greatest importance for the general proletarian struggle. They are an excellent means to make the working class youth disciplined and efficient as a fighting force. Thereby they contribute to the formation of revolutionary forces and must be used as such by the Communist Parties.

f) Communist Parties must endeavour to extend the influence of the workers' sports and physical culture organisations also to the small peasantry and to the agricultural labourers.

4. Encouragement must be given to the fight of the revolutionary elements against the reformist tactics of the Lucerne Workers' Sports International, and the Red Sports International must be supported. All tendencies towards splits and formation of purely communist organisations are to be discouraged. The idea that workers' sports and physical culture organisations are a substitute for political organisations must be strongly condemned. The Communist press must place its sports column mainly at the disposal of working class sport.

Communists are fighting for the upkeep and establishment of a uniform workers' sports and physical culture movement on a national as well as on an international scale.

The Fifth Congress instructs the Executive Committee of the Communist International to give its attention to the development of the International sports movement and to work for it.

## Resolution on International Red Aid.

Already the Fourth Congress took cognisance of the communication by the initiative group of Russian Comrades on the formation of the I. R. A., recognising the timeliness of the undertaking and the need for its further development. Since then the international counter-revolution became stronger and was accompanied by unparalleled acts of violence perpetrated upon the masses of workers and peasants. Proletarian organisations, trade unions, labour papers, clubs, co-operatives, etc. are constantly persecuted by world capitalism and its hireling-bands of fascists. The most active fighters for the cause of the proletarian revolution are done to death without trial or investigation. They are imprisoned in their thousands, on the least suspicion of sym-

pathy with the revolutionary movement and communism. The prisoners are in the majority of cases subjected to the worst forms of ill-treatment and torture. Tortures in the course of the investigation have become of daily occurrence in the most "democratic" bourgeois States. The prison system consists of relentless physical and moral suppression of the individuality of the prisoner. Bourgeois justice has everywhere been converted into man-hunting, while even the elements of bourgeois justice are trampled under foot.

This unleashing of the counter-revolution contributes to the extermination of "democratic" illusions among the workers and peasants throughout the world, serving the purpose of streng-



thening the international solidarity of the workers. This growth of international proletarian solidarity finds its best expression in the rapid development and in the successful activity of the International Red Aid. (I. R. A.)

The I. R. A. is a non-party organisation, whose task is to render material, moral, and legal support to the imprisoned revolutionary fighters, their families, and children, as well as the families of the fallen fighters. The I. R. A. unites large masses of workers, peasants, and employees, without distinction of party affiliation, all those who suffer from capitalist exploitation and national oppression and who are striving towards the victory of labour over capital.

Thus the I. R. A. in developing its activities, becomes one of the most important weapons of the united front, because by concrete activity it constantly organises new forces for international solidarity, and its draws them directly into the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. Furthermore, the tremendous political significance of the I. R. A. should be pointed out as that of an organisation which works in the rear of the proletarian army, which is always present in the fights of the working class, in the advance as well as in the retreat.

The I. R. A. surrounds the revolutionary fighters with an atmosphere of comradely feelings, and thus sustains their courage and their readiness to go on with the fight.

## Resolution on the International Workers' Relief.

Every great proletarian need — if it does not lead to a direct revolutionary uprising — is exploited by the capitalist class in order to aggravate the political and economic conditions of all the workers of the country in question.

It makes no difference whether the need arises from natural catastrophes (the Japanese Earthquake of 1923) or whether it is the result of economic crises and upheavals (Austria 1921 — Germany 1923).

During the period of imperialism, with its highly-developed industry and its armies of proletarians, every great need affects millions of workers. Neither the trade unions nor the working class of a country possess sufficient means to cope with such a need. Effective aid can be rendered only by mobilising the economic and financial strength of the workers of all countries. It is the task of the International Workers' Relief to plan and carry out this mobilisation during the days of great proletarian need, and to organise aid activities on a large scale, which involve the workers of all countries, all parties and all trade unions.

International Workers' Relief is a non-political, non-party, proletarian aid organisation, which embraces workers and groups of workers of the most varied party and trade union tendencies, and which distributes assistance among the necessary working masses, regardless of their political or trade union affiliation. (1921, on the occasion of the famine among the Russian peasants and workers; 1923, the Japanese workers and

## Resolution on the Russian Question.

As a result of the victorious October revolution of the working class, the Communist Party of Russia began to organise the socialist society. The decisive factor in this world important event was that the R. C. P. was strictly organised, that its fighting ranks were made up of revolutionaries who had grown up in the struggle against the opportunism of the Second International, and that it conducted revolutionary proletarian tactics under the leadership of Comrade Lenin. Thanks to this, the R. C. P. became the fundamental force in the establishment of the Comintern, and to this day it is one of the chief factors determining the success of the international communist movement. The success and the failures of the R. C. P. and particularly the formation of separate factions or groups in its ranks, must have serious effect upon the revolutionary movement in other countries throughout the world.

The Russian Communist Party carries out its work of creating the socialist society in a State (U. S. S. R.) surrounded on all sides by capitalist States, and at a time when the Communist Parties of other countries are only beginning to enter upon the stage of the fight for power.

The Fifth Congress of the Comintern takes the further development and strengthening of the I. R. A. as essential, and an appeal is made to all the communist parties and organisations affiliated to the Comintern to comply with the following decision:

1. Communist parties must in every way support the I. R. A. and promote the forming of organisations, sections, and branches of I. R. A. in their respective countries, while urging their members to take active part and to pledge and pay regular contributions to the I. R. A.

2. The Party press must devote the greatest attention to the agitation and propaganda for aid to revolutionary fighters.

3. The Fifth Congress confirms the decision of the Executive of the Comintern in regard to proclaiming the 18th of March (the day of the Paris Commune) as the day of I. R. A., and calls upon all the Communist Parties and organisations affiliated to the Comintern to do their share for the successful carrying out of this day and of all other campaign days of the revolutionary movement. Attention to the I. R. A. must be given in all party campaigns.

The Congress, in summing up the work accomplished by the I. R. A., records with particular satisfaction the particularly fruitful activity of the I. R. A. in the Soviet Union.

peasants after the earthquake catastrophe; 1923 and 1924, the German workers).

The workers of all countries and of all tendencies are interested in the further development and growth of the International Workers' Relief.

The Fifth Congress of the Communist International stigmatises before the working class of the whole world, the attempt of the United Social Democratic Party of Germany to cast aspersions on and to split the International Workers' Relief, the organisation of true international proletarian solidarity, which renders brotherly aid to millions of German Social Democratic workers during times of need and during strikes. The Congress of the Communist International records with satisfaction that, in spite of these treacherous attempts, the effort to collect all workers' organisations into a great proletarian aid organisation, the International Workers' Relief, was successful, and that more and more workers, workers' groups, and workers' organisations are affiliating to the International Workers' Relief.

The Fifth Congress of the Communist International directs an urgent appeal to all the workers and workers' organisations of the world which are not yet affiliated with the International Workers' Relief, to join the International Workers' Relief determinedly and unanimously, and imposes the duty on all its parties and organisations to support International Workers' Relief energetically in all its activities.

The New Economic Policy, which at the present time represents the foundation of the economic work of the R. C. P., while relying on the inevitable growth of the socialist principles, at the same time allows the possibility for the development of bourgeois relations, and consequently of bourgeois influences on the State apparatus and on individual members of the Party. In successfully to combat the bourgeois environment and to render these bourgeois influences harmless, and to ensure the advancement of the U. S. S. R. on the road to communism, it is absolutely essential for the R. C. P. to maintain revolutionary steadfastness and internal compactness of the R. C. P., which have developed out of the theory and practice of Leninism.

In view of all these facts, the Communist International attaches particular importance to the internal situation in the Russian Communist Party.

The discussion which took place in the autumn of last year within the R. C. P., and the opposition that was formed against the majority of the Central Committee of the R. C. P., has confronted the Congress with the necessity of attentively studying this question, regardless of the fact that the R. C. P. itself, at

its XIIIth Convention, unanimously denounced the opposition as the result of petty bourgeois influences, and the Party emerged from the discussion stronger and more solid than ever.

The representatives of the opposition in the R. C. P., in spite of the invitation by the Comintern to present their point of view and to substantiate it before the Congress, and regardless of the consent of the R. P. C. delegation to the granting of this opportunity, sought a formal pretext to waive this opportunity.

On the other hand, the Congress obtained no proof that the opposition has recognised its errors and has rallied entirely to the standpoint of the XIIIth Convention of the R. C. P. Such a state of affairs creates a danger of a recrudescence of the discussion in the R. C. P. At the same time the Congress observes that the opposition in the R. P. C. groups obtained the support of groups within other Communist Parties (the Polish, certain elements in the German and French Parties etc.) which

## Resolution of the Thirteenth Party Conference of the Russian Communist Party, confirmed by the Thirteenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, on the Results of the Discussion and on the Petty-Bourgeois Deviation in the Party.

### I. Origin of the Discussion.

As early as the September (1923) plenary session of the Central Committee, and even still earlier, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of our Party, long before the "opposition" had come forward, raised the question of the necessity of intensifying party work and strengthening workers' democracy within the party.

On the one hand the revival of industry which put an end to the process of the de-classation of the proletariat, the cultural development of the working class and the increase of their activities, had created more favourable conditions for the introduction of the principles of internal party democracy; and on the other hand, the summer industrial conflicts, — although they had not assumed menacing proportions, and were, in fact, smaller than in any previous year, — indicated that in certain localities the contact between the party organisations and the non-party working class masses was not as strong as it should be.

The Central Committee of the Party realised that the transition to the new policy must be carefully thought out, and only put into effect after serious and proper preparations had been made. Accordingly, in September 1923, the Central Committee of the party proceeded to undertake the requisite preparatory work.

It was at this time that the old opposition groups and groupings, whose policy had more than once been condemned by the party, considered the moment suitable for an attack upon the Central Committee of the Party. Calculating that the question of internal party democracy would arouse the acute interest of all the members of the party, the opposition groups decided to exploit this slogan for fractional purposes. After the September resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the R. C. P., there appeared the letter of Comrade Trotzky, followed by the letter of the 46. These documents gave an absolutely incorrect and ultra-fractional explanation of the economic situation within the country and of the internal condition of the party, foretold a profound economic crisis within the republic, and an internal crisis within the party, and accused the Central Committee of the party of injudicious leadership.

The harm done by the fractional announcements of Comrade Trotzky and the 46 was aggravated by the fact that these letters were immediately made the possession of large number of party members, were widely broad-casted in the districts and among the Moscow students, and were distributed over the whole of the U. S. S. R.

The October joint session of the Plenums of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission, at which representatives of ten of the largest party organisations participated, suitably condemned the conduct of Comrade Trotzky and the 46 as a fractional act; at the same time, the joint plenums which appeared on the day the All-Union Party Conference was

represented the expression of the right (opportunist) digression in those parties, just as the opposition in the R. C. P., and which were condemned by the V. Congress of the Comintern.

The Congress, having heard the special report on the position of the U. S. S. R. and of the R. C. P., and having studied all the materials relating to these questions in the various sections, hereby resolves:

a) To endorse the resolutions of the XIIIth Party Conference and the XIIIth Party Congress of the R. C. P. denouncing the platform of petty bourgeois digression and its actions as a menace to the unity of the Party and consequently to the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R.

b) To add the resolutions of the XIIIth Party Conference and the XIIIth Party Congress to the present resolution, and to publish the same as the decision of the V. Congress of the Communist International.

of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission unanimously approved the initiative taken by the Political Bureau on the subject of intensifying internal party work and strengthening workers' democracy. The joint plenums of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission resolved not to allow the conflicts provoked by Comrade Trotzky and the 46 to go beyond the Central Committee and not to publish the letters of Comrade Trotzky and the 46, nor the reply of the Political Bureau and the resolution of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission, which condemned the "opposition" by a majority of 102 against 2, with 10 abstentions.

Nevertheless, Comrade Trotzky and his 46 followers refused to submit to the decision of so authoritative a party organisation and continued their systematic attack upon the Central Committee of the party, at first within the wide circles of the Moscow organisation, and subsequently throughout the whole of the U. S. S. R.

The Political Bureau, guiding itself by the decisions of the joint plenums, proceeded to draw up a resolution on the subjects of the internal party position and workers' democracy. In spite of the fractional action of Comrade Trotzky, the majority of the Political Bureau considered it essential to come to an agreement with him. After protracted efforts by the majority of the Political Bureau, a resolution on internal party structure was adopted by the Political Bureau and the Presidium of the Central Control Commission and published on December 5, 1923.

One of the most disputed questions which arose during the drawing up of the resolution of the Political Bureau and the Presidium of the Central Control Commission, was the question of factions. When the resolution of the Political Bureau and the Presidium of the Central Control Commission was being drawn up, Comrade Trotzky did not object at first to the prohibition of factions, but, nevertheless, insisted that freedom of grouping should not be prohibited. A unanimous text was however successfully arrived at, which, on the subject of factions, based itself on the decision of the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party.

The "opposition", however, continued their fractional fight. While the majority of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission, bound by their own decision not to publish certain documents, loyally adhered to this decision, the "opposition" continued to give wide publicity to their fractional documents. Two days after the publication of the resolution adopted unanimously by the Political Bureau and the Presidium of the Central Control Commission, Comrade Trotzky came forward with his famous letter entitled "A New Course" which was in fact a fractional manifesto directed against the Central Committee. The articles of Comrade Trotzky, which were published immediately after, and his pamphlet ("A New Course")



opened, still further emphasised the fractional nature of his action.

From the moment the fractional manifesto of Comrade Trotsky appeared, the light became still more acute. The "opposition" started an attack upon the Central Committee which was unparalleled in the history of our party, within the military nuclei and the higher educational nuclei in Moscow, sowing an attitude of mistrust towards the Central Committee of our party. The "opposition" sent its representatives throughout Russia. The struggle assumed forms of unparalleled acuteness. The kernel of the "opposition" was formed of members of the old group of "democratic centralism" who had fought against the policy of the party for a number of years. With this kernel there associated themselves a number of former members of the Central Committee who, at the suggestion of Comrade Lenin, were not re-elected at the Tenth Congress of the R. C. P. (Preobrazhensky, Smirnov, and Serebryakov). This opposition bloc was headed by Comrade Trotsky, so that at first they enjoyed a certain amount of authority.

## II. The Meaning of the "Opposition".

The most important grounds of difference between the great majority of our party and the present "opposition", as was revealed in the course of the discussion, are summarised in the following six points:

1. The "opposition", headed by Comrade Trotsky, demanded the break-up of the party apparatus, and attempted to shift the struggle against the bureaucracy in the state apparatus to a struggle against "bureaucracy" within the party apparatus. This wholesale criticism and the attempt directly to discredit the party apparatus, could in practice only lead to the emancipation of the state apparatus from the influence of the party and to the severance of the state organs from the party. The tendency to sever the organs of state from the influence of the party was displayed by Comrade Trotsky even before the Twelfth Congress of the R. C. P. In the present discussion this tendency assumed a different form.

2. The "opposition" attempted to set up the young members of the party in opposition to the fundamental cadres of the party and the Central Committee. Instead of teaching the youth that the party must come into line with its main proletarian body, the worker communists working at the bench, the "opposition", headed by Comrade Trotsky, attempted to prove that the young students were the "barometer" of the party.

3. Comrade Trotsky made vague and indefinite references to the degeneration of the fundamental cadres of our party, thereby attempting to break the authority of the Central Committee, which between congresses is the sole representative of the whole party. Comrade Trotsky not only attempted to set himself up against the rest of the Central Committee, he even made accusations which could not but alarm the working class and call forth emphatic protest from the ranks of the party.

4. The "opposition" displayed their worst bankruptcy in questions of economics; they were absolutely unable to support the accusations they made against the Central Committee of the party and did not even attempt to bring forward, in opposition to the policy of the party, any systematic proposals on economic questions.

Two tendencies were to be observed in the criticism of the economic policy of the party of the "opposition". One section of the "opposition" indulges in abundant "left" phrases directed against Nep in general, and makes declarations which could only have meaning, if these comrades propose to abolish Nep entirely and return to military communism. On the other hand, the second and much more influential section of the "opposition" rebukes the Central Committee for not going sufficiently far towards meeting foreign capitalism, for not making sufficient concessions to the imperialist powers, etc. This section of the "opposition" (Radek) came forward with direct proposals to revise the conditions which the party laid down in connection with the Genoa Conference and to make greater economic concessions to international imperialism with the object of increasing business connections with foreign capitalism. The party rejects both these errors without the slightest hesitation.

5. The "opposition" in all its shades of opinion revealed an absolutely non-bolshevik attitude towards the importance of party discipline. The utterances of a number of representatives of the "opposition" amount to a crying breach of party discipline and recall the times when Comrade Lenin was obliged to fight

"intellectual anarchism" in questions of organisation and to defend the principle of proletarian discipline within the party.

6. The "opposition" committed an open infringement of the resolution of the Tenth Congress of the R. C. P., which forbade the formation of fractions within the Party. The bolshevik view of the party as a monolithic whole, is replaced by the view that the party is the sum of every possible tendency and fraction. These tendencies, fractions, and groupings, according to the "new" views of the "opposition", are to enjoy equal rights within the party, and the Central Committee is to be not so much the leader of the party as a simple register of, and intermediary between the various tendencies and groupings. This attitude towards the party has nothing in common with Leninism. The fractional efforts of the "opposition" cannot but become a menace to the unity of the state apparatus. The fractional actions of the "opposition" have revived the hopes of a split within the ranks of the Russian Communist Party among all the enemies of the party, including the West-European bourgeoisie. These fractional actions have again faced the party with the question, in all its acuteness, as to whether the R. C. P., which holds the power of government in its hands, can permit the formation of fractional groupings within the party.

Having reviewed these differences, and thoroughly analysed the character of the actions of the representatives of the "opposition", the All-Union Party Conference arrives at the conclusion that under the form of the present "opposition" we are faced not only with an attempt to revise bolshevism, not only with a direct departure from Leninism, but also with a clear expression of a petty-bourgeois deviation. There is not the slightest doubt that this "opposition" objectively reflects the pressure exerted by the petty-bourgeoisie upon the proletarian party and upon proletarian policy. The principles of internal party democracy are already being widely interpreted outside the party as a weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and an extension of the political rights of the new bourgeoisie.

Because of the fact that the Russian Communist Party, which embodies the dictatorship of the proletariat enjoys a monopoly of legality within the country, it is inevitable that less stubborn groups of communists should sometimes surrender themselves to non-proletarian influences. The party as a whole must realise these dangers and jealously preserve the proletarian policy of the party.

This petty-bourgeois deviation must be systematically and energetically fought by the whole of our party.

## III. Advantageous Results of the Discussion.

The growth of the activity and the improvements of the cultural level of wide sections of non-party workers and partly of the toiling peasants is a new factor which, if our party pursues a correct policy, may be of great advantage to the cause of the revolution. In order to be equal to the situation and in order to be able to lead the mass sections of the workers and of poor peasants who are beginning to take active part in the building up of socialism, the party itself must at all costs enliven and make its own party life more active. In this sense the discussion, in spite of the petty-bourgeois deviations of the "opposition", has brought important advantages to the party.

The petty-bourgeois errors of the "opposition" were rapidly and resolutely corrected by the party. As soon as the dispute within the party began, one large proletarian organisation of the R. C. P. after another sharply criticised the petty-bourgeois waverings of the "opposition" and supported the policy of the Central Committee. The first to do so, as was always the case when debates on principle arose in the party, was the senior bolshevik workers' organisation — the Petrograd organisation of the R. C. P. Scores of the largest proletarian organisations in the Union associated themselves with the letter of the Petrograd organisation. The resolution of the Moscow Provincial Conference was adopted by a huge majority of votes, expressing an equally decided condemnation of the "opposition". By the time the All-Union Party Conference met, the whole party, in an absolutely overwhelming majority, condemned the petty-bourgeois deviation.

As a result of the discussion, the fundamental body of the party became still more consolidated. Workers' nuclei throughout the whole Union did not hesitate for a moment, but at once resolutely rejected the errors of the "opposition". The Party youth, witnessing for the first time an acute dispute within the

party, was able to see by actual example what bolshevism really meant. The young communists who were most closely connected with factory and workshop life, supported the fundamental policy of the party without hesitation. The wavering of the section of the young communist students in the higher educational institutions is a passing phenomenon. When the necessary explanatory work has been accomplished by the party, these waverings will soon disappear.

The activity and consciousness of all the members of the party have been raised. Important economic and party questions have been put in a new way and their solution will be worked out by the party in the near future.

The anxiety of the whole party to preserve the unity of the party was very clearly emphasised. The slightest indication of a possible split aroused, and still arouses, the most energetic protest among the masses of the party members. The party will politically annihilate anybody who attempts to disturb the unity of the party ranks. Party unity is more secure than it has ever been before.

## 4. Practical Conclusions.

Having taken the whole state of affairs within the party into consideration, the All-Union Party Conference regards it as necessary:

1. At all costs to enlarge the proletarian body in the party numerically and increase its importance in the whole policy of the party. During the course of the coming year the recruiting of workers from the bench as members of the party must be intensified, no less than 100,000 new out-and-out proletarian members being drawn into the ranks of the R. C. P. For this purpose entrance into the party must be made as easy as possible for workers. At the same time, during this period the acceptance of non-proletarian elements into the party must be definitely stopped. Systematic propaganda must be carried on within the party with the purpose of lining up the party with its fundamental working class body.

2. In order to strengthen contact between the party and non-party elements, we must see to it that, not only in theory but in fact, non-party workers put forward strong representations in all soviets and all soviet bodies. The Central Committee of the party must take the greatest care that this decision is carried into effect and must strictly call to order all local organisations which disregard this decision.

3. The party organisations must carry on a very energetic explanatory work among those nuclei which showed any tendency whatever to waver on the question of party policy during the past discussions. Explanation, explanation, and yet again explanation — that is the main task facing the fundamental body of the party.

4. Special attention must be devoted to explanatory work among the youth. If material resources are inadequate, the Party should prefer to have a smaller contingent of students, but the material condition of the students should, on the other hand, be bettered and the quality of the work within the higher educational institutions improved. Special measures must be taken to insure that the work among the youth should be correctly controlled by the party. The party should not indulge in flattering the youth, but on the other hand it must not permit the system of reproofs and bureaucratic guardianship. Patient explanation of the principles of Leninism alone can achieve our aim.

5. One of the most important tasks is to place upon the required level the study of the history of the R. C. P. and especially of the main facts regarding the struggle of bolshevism against menshevism, and the position taken up by the various fractions and tendencies during the course of the struggle, especially those eclectic fractions who endeavoured to "reconcile" bolshevism and menshevism. The Central Committee of the party must take measures for properly organising the publication of suitable text books on the history of the R. C. P. and also to make the teaching of party history compulsory in all party schools, higher educational institutions, study circles, etc.

6. Following the example of the larger proletarian organisations, classes for the study of Leninism must be set up in all our organisations, the collected works of Lenin being taken as a basis, and the correct leadership of these classes secured.

7. It is necessary to strengthen the staff of the central organ of the party ("Pravda") so that it should be able syste-

matically to explain the principles of bolshevism and to carry on a campaign against all deviations.

8. The present discussion should be transferred from the pages of "Pravda" to a special "Discussion Sheet" run in connection with "Pravda".

9. Freedom of discussion within the party must in no case be interpreted as meaning freedom to break party discipline. The Central Committee of the Party and all central party bodies must take immediate and severe measures to maintain iron bolshevik discipline everywhere where attempts are made to shake it.

10. Resolute measures must be taken, even to the extent of excluding those responsible from the party, against all attempts to spread unjustified rumours, to distribute documents, the distribution of which has been forbidden, and against similar methods employed by unprincipled groups affected by a petty-bourgeois influence.

11. Information concerning the activities of the Central Committee and internal party life in general must be better organised. For this purpose the stenographic reports of the plenary meetings of the Central Committee should be distributed to all members and candidates of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission as well as to the regional committees and provincial committees. Adequate space should be given to the section devoted to party life in "Pravda", "Izvestia of the Central Committee", and other newspapers, both in the centre and in the provinces. A special information department of the Central Committee of the party should be set up.

12. Special attention should be devoted to the correct and proper organisation of party work in the army. The party must punish with the utmost severity all attempts to carry on fractional "work" in the Red Army.

13. The conference regards it as desirable once more to associate itself completely and unreservedly with the decision of the Tenth Congress of the R. C. P. prohibiting fractional grouping. The conference deems it necessary to propose that the Thirteenth Congress of the R. C. P. should confirm this decision in the name of the supreme organ of the party.

14. The Conference suggests that the Central Committee should publish the hitherto unpublished Point 7 of the Resolution on Unity adopted at the suggestion of Comrade Lenin at the Tenth Congress of the R. C. P., which empowers a joint session of the Central Committee and the Central Executive Committee by a two-thirds vote, to transfer any member of the Central Committee guilty of a breach of party discipline or "permitting fractionalism" from membership of the party to candidature, and even to exclude him from the party entirely.

15. The conference cannot pass over in silence the resolution of the last Moscow Provincial Conference which drew the attention of the party to the fact that a fractional grouping had sprung up in Moscow which was disturbing the unity of the party. The conference thinks that the Central Committee of the party and the Central Control Commission should take immediate and energetic measures, even to the extent of exclusion from the party, against all those who are attempting to create a split in the ranks of the party within the chief political centre of the U. S. S. R.

Regarding the All-Russian discussion of the questions hitherto considered as closed, the conference calls upon all party organisations to proceed to practical work. The essential prerequisite for the further success of the proletarian revolution is the unshakeable unity of the R. C. P., the party leading the proletarian dictatorship. The unity of the party is the fundamental possession of the proletarian vanguard. The unity of the R. C. P. must be protected like the apple of one's eye. The All-Union Conference is convinced that the Central Committee of the Party, around which, as the progress of the discussion has shown, the whole party has once again rallied, will firmly preserve its unity.

In confirming the resolution on the results of the discussion, the Central Committee earnestly draws the attention of all the local organisations in which the discussion assumed an acute form to the necessity for putting an end to the acute situation as quickly as possible and of securing complete unity within the ranks, which is all the more necessary now that Comrade Lenin has passed from our midst.



## Polish Resolution.

Having examined the material before it and having heard the discussion on the situation in the Polish Communist Party, the Congress declares:

1. The Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party, led in its political activity by the Warski-Kostrzewa-Walecki group, has shown itself unfit to put into practice the lines and decisions of the Communist International in spite of its revolutionary phraseology. The policy adopted by this group, which was detrimental to the revolutionary fighting capacity of the Party, was based on the opportunistic traditions and habits of the leading group in the Central Committee which forced its viewpoint on the Party.

2. Making use of their exceptional position with respect to the illegal Party and being the only people who kept it in touch with the questions of international policy, these comrades misled the Party in connection with the tactical and organisation lines of the Communist International, with the object of making the Party a tool of the right elements in the Communist International, and especially in the Russian and German Communist Parties. They were guilty of concealing to the Party the true state of affairs in the Russian Communist Party and their activity on behalf of the opposition, although they were fully aware of the enormous importance of this question for the international labour movement.

In view of the catastrophic situation within the Polish Communist Party and the unpardonable attitude of the leading comrades in this affair, the Congress deems it necessary:

## The Swedish Question.

1. The differences within the Communist Party of Sweden arise originally from the fact that the right wing of the Central Committee only partially carried out or entirely rejected certain decisions of the Communist International, whereas the left wing of the party, and the Communist Youth League, with full conviction and unconditionally, supported the instructions of the Communist International. The principal point of difference is with reference to centralism within the Communist International. After the general decisions of the present World Congress, which more than ever emphasise the importance of the tasks of the further development of the Communist International into a unified World Party, the Swedish Party must not only behave unreservedly in the matter of these decisions, but must co-operate with all its strength in fulfilling these tasks.

2. In connection with the circumstances arising from the fact that Comrade Höglund's publicly expressed opinions about the Central organs of the Communist Party of Sweden served to render the fight more difficult of the Norwegian communists against the disguised social traitors (Lian and Co.), or of the Danish communists (in the military question) against the open social traitors, Stauning and Co., — we earnestly declare that Swedish Party must solidly and unstintingly support in every way possible the fight of the Scandinavian brother parties against their opponents.

3. During the last few months, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sweden has too often squandered its energy on disputed questions of secondary importance (possession of certain editorial positions, etc.), which were merely symptoms of the actual political differences. It is an untenable position when the Central Committee, for a long period, must stand on its formal rights against the opinion of the most important party organisations, such as the chief city organisation.

It is a matter of course that all really important differences between the right and the left wings must be settled in the immediate future at the Party Congress. But because a number of party organisations of the Communist Party of Sweden (including supporters of both tendencies) are of the opinion that the Party Congress, — which was convoked for July 20 by the majority of the Central Committee, without discussion with the Executive, for the express purpose of discussing the questions of internal conflict, — would interfere with the approaching election campaign of the party, it therefore should not take place until after the parliamentary elections.

1. For the Executive Committee of the Communist International to address to the Polish Communist Party an open letter pointing out the mistake committed by the Party and the path which the Party must follow in the interests of unity in its ranks.

2. That an emergency conference of the Polish Communist Party be convened for the purpose of laying down lines for the political activity of the Party in the spirit of the decisions of the Communist International, of making decisions on the immediate tasks of the Polish Communist Party and of renewing the composition of the Central Committee.

3. In lieu of the Political Bureau and the Organisation Bureau, to form a bureau consisting of five comrades from the Central Committee, and to instruct these comrades to convene an emergency conference and to guide the Party during the period preceding the conference.

4. The Congress deems it expedient to annul the paragraph of the statutes of the Communist Party of Poland which entitles the members of the Central Committee to a decisive vote at the conference.

5. For the Executive Committee of the Communist International to appoint a representative in the Polish Communist Party.

6. To rescind the decisions of the Central Committee against the four comrades who signed the discussion theses.

The new election of delegates to the Party Congress should be held on the basis of an objectively determined division into election districts and without any special limitations of the various party organisations' right to vote. Moreover, the whole membership must take a stand on the decisions of the Fifth World Congress before the elections.

4. The Party Congress will be confronted with the task of unconditionally establishing party unity through its own authority, and to reunite the two wings in loyal co-operation. Every demand to exclude the representatives of one fraction from the Central Committee by the representatives of the other, for the purpose of attaining "unified party leadership" will be decisively rejected by the Comintern.

Until the Party Congress, the Central Committee must concentrate its chief attention on the fight against the bourgeois and social democracy. Disciplinary punishments and resignations are now entirely inadmissible. In order to avoid any intensification of the internal situation of the party and injury of the unity of the communist election front, it is advisable for the Central Committee of the Party not to change the list of candidates which has been put up by the districts. If the Central Committee, however, for specially important reasons made a change, this must be in agreement with the Executive. It is understood, of course, that the communist parliamentary fraction is subordinate to the Central Committee of the Party in all its activity.

5. The slogan of the bolshevisation of the communist parties, which was adopted by the World Congress, imposes upon the Swedish Party the duty of increasing its activity in all fields of communist work, and above all, to carry out immediately the following tasks:

a) More intensive struggle against Social Democracy, not only in the press, in parliament, and in meetings, but also at the mass demonstrations and protracted mass actions, which must be organised more than ever before, on the initiative of the Communist Party in connection with the actual questions of conflict. The farsighted application of the united front tactics presupposes such mass-mobilisation.

b) Energetic and unified participation of the communists in all labour conflicts, and systematic activity in the ranks of the trade unions, in order to unite the opposition elements in a bloc against the reformist leaders.

c) Organisational development of the Party, above all by the formation of Factory Nuclei as the basis of the entire

party organisation according to the instructions of the Executive and the Congress.

d) Establishment of real comradesly and close co-operation with the Youth League and support of its work.

e) Development of a clear propaganda directed against pacifism within and without its own ranks. Struggle against all remnants of petty-bourgeois ideology and non-communist deviations in the Party.

f) Systematic enlightenment of the party membership about the fundamentals of Leninism.

For the purpose of carrying out these immediate Party tasks, the Executive is sending a representative to the Communist Party of Sweden, who is to work in co-operation with the Party to carry out this resolution and to prepare for the Party Congress. In addition, the Central Committee of the Party is immediately to prepare a concrete programme of action. The Executive is to be regularly informed about all measures for carrying out the programme of action.

In addition, an open letter from the Executive will be sent

## Resolution on the Norwegian Question.

The anti-communist attitude of the present leaders of the Norwegian Labour Party has prevented this Party from affiliating with the Communist International. The Fifth Congress is aware of the fact that in this Party there are honest revolu-

tionary proletarian elements who wish and must adhere to the Comintern.

The Fifth World Congress instructs the Executive to do everything possible to win the real proletarian, revolutionary elements of this Party for the Communist International.

Comrade Remmele, as the authorised representative of the Executive, is charged with the duty of assisting in all political decisions until the Party Congress. Meetings of the Central Committee may take place only in the presence of the representative of the Executive.

In the districts where because of former differences, the delegates to the Party Congress were not recognised by the majority of the Central Committee as possessing a decisive vote, the Executive is to do everything possible in a comradesly manner and in co-operation with the Central Committee, to settle the differences beforehand. All districts are to send delegates with full voting rights to the Party Congress.

## Iceland Resolution.

Capitalism started its development in Iceland with the twentieth century. Trade and fishing, involving about half the population, are already being managed on a large capitalist scale. Due to the uncertain conditions of fishing and the decreased market prices, the lot of the fishermen will become very hard. A small proportion of the population are artisans. The rest depend on agriculture for their living. About 60% of the peasants are independent. The co-operative movement among the peasants is quite strong. A peasant party, which is closely connected with the co-operative movement and which enjoys great influence, is being sponsored by the large and middle peasants.

The labour movement of Iceland relies principally for support on that part of the proletariat which is engaged in fishing. There is only one labour party, which is built upon the collective membership of the trade unions. The largest unions affiliated are the following: the Seamen's Union; the Fishermen's and Port Workers' Union; and the Union of Women Workers. In addition there are two political organisations affiliated to the party: a social-democratic and a communist or — as the report of the Fifth World Congress calls it — a "semi-communist" party.

The Party has a total membership of about 4,000. The Executive Committee is composed of 5 social-democrats, and 4 representatives of the opposition sympathetic to communism. The party issues a small daily paper in Reykjavik and in addition two weekly papers in the provinces. Although the Party received 25% of all the votes at the last elections, it only secured one seat in Parliament out of 42.

In order to preserve party unity, since the opposition controls 4 seats on the Central Committee, an agreement was reached according to which the two groups are not allowed

## Resolution on the Opening of the Marx-Engels Institute.

The Fifth Congress of the Comintern welcomes the decision of the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Russia, which expresses the necessity of publishing as soon as possible a complete edition of the works and letters of Marx and Engels, with historical critical commentaries. Such an edition is the only memorial worthy of the founders of scientific communism, and the only one which can serve as the basis for a thorough study of the history, theory, and practice of revolutionary Marxism.

The Congress deems it necessary, in addition to this complete international edition, to publish separate editions of selec-

tionary proletarian elements who wish and must adhere to the Comintern.

to attack one another publicly. The editor of the daily paper, an opposition man, was forced to leave his position, but was appointed as an agitator for the party.

There is a communist youth movement in Iceland affiliated with the Young Communist International. The youth league works with the opposition and supports the latter in its struggle to capture the whole party.

In order to develop a real revolutionary labour movement in Iceland, the following is necessary:

The opposition resolutely takes up the fight against the reformist, semi-bourgeois or social-democratic leaders, not by any means to split the trade unions, but to guarantee a real unified revolutionary leadership of the whole Icelandic labour movement and to develop a communist party.

The already existing organisation of the opposition must organise itself on a firm communist basis, and demand within the whole party full freedom for agitation, propaganda and criticism on behalf of the communists.

The opposition must form factory nuclei in all important industrial localities.

Within the trade union and co-operative movements, communist fractions must be formed unconditionally, which are under the control of the leadership of the opposition. (The opposition must oppose all tendencies which aim at a split of the trade unions.)

A close co-operation must be established immediately with the Scandinavian Communist Party Federation. Instead of the close relations of the present leaders of the whole party with the Danish social traitors and their party, the opposition must work within the party for contact with the Scandinavian Party Federation.

works of Marx and Engels under the supervision of the Comintern, for the proletariat of the various countries. In addition to the most important works of Marx and Engels, which are of international significance, each one of these editions must contain copies of their writings which are of particular interest for the proletariat of the countries in question.

The Congress requests all the parties belonging to the Comintern, as well as the individual members, to assist the Marx-Engels Institute and the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union as much as possible in collecting material about the life and activities of Marx and Engels. The active



co-operation of all the communist parties will be essential to accomplish such an important task, as the publication of a complete edition of the works and correspondence of Marx and

Engels, and to prepare all materials necessary for writing the scientific biography in connection with the history of the socialist and of the labour movement in the nineteenth century.

## Souvarine Resolution.

Having heard several comrades of the French delegation and Comrade Boris Souvarine;

Having also carefully examined all the material bearing on the breaches of discipline with which Comrade Souvarine is charged:

The Commission declares unanimously:

1. That comrade Souvarine has been guilty of very serious breaches of discipline:

a) Declaration in the Communist Bulletin.  
b) Letter to the subscribers of the Communist Bulletin containing attacks on the Managing Committee of the Party.  
c) Publication outside and without the knowledge of the responsible Party organs of Comrade Trotsky's pamphlet "The New Course" with a preface directed against the Party and the Communist International.

2. That these actions show that Souvarine is imbued with a petty-bourgeois spirit which puts personal considerations before the interests of the Party.

3. That such conduct on the part of a comrade engaged in specially responsible Party work has wrought great havoc within the French Communist Party and has jeopardised Party discipline.

4. That the explanations made by Comrade Souvarine have not mitigated in the least the seriousness of the breaches of discipline committed repeatedly by Comrade Souvarine, and that these explanations were imbued with the same petty-bourgeois spirit which characterised Comrade Souvarine's attitude during

the incidents which have caused such perturbation within the Party.

Therefore, the Commission proposes to the Executive Committee of the Communist International:

1. To accede to the demand for Souvarine's expulsion placed before the Fifth Congress of the Communist International by the Delegation of the French Communist Party.

2. To leave it to the French Section of the Communist International to propose to the Sixth Congress of the C. I. to re-admit Souvarine into the Party, provided his conduct in the meantime be loyal towards the Party and towards the Communist International.

To the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International.

In the course of its work, the Souvarine Commission has come to the conclusion that communist discipline is far from being fully understood and applied in the ranks of the French Communist Party. The Commission deems it absolutely necessary that the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International intervene energetically in the form of an open letter to the members of the Party, in order to make them realize the true meaning of Party discipline and to urge them to enforce its strict application by suppressing energetically all serious breaches of discipline and all attempts by any member of the Party whatever to carry on an independent policy.

(Theses and Resolutions to be continued.)

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## Hands off China!

To the Workers of Europe and America! To the Toilers of the Oppressed Countries in the East!

The British Government, now the Government of the Labour Party at the head of which stands one of the leaders of the Second International, J. Ramsay MacDonald, is preparing for armed intervention in South China for the purpose of overthrowing the government of the Chinese nationalist party, the Kuomintang.

The British Consul General of the Labour Government has handed a note to the People's Government of South China, couched in the usual imperialistic terms, threatening to fire on the Chinese population if the nationalist government of China defends itself against the rebel merchants, a revolt organised and supplied with arms from the British corps of HongKong. This revolt is headed by a wealthy Chinese merchant who is the agent of the Shanghai HongKong Bank of the British shipowners.

Comrades, before the very eyes of the whole world, in the face of the world revolutionary labour movement the MacDonald Government is preparing to destroy the base of the national liberation movement of the long-suffering Chinese people. The aged leader of the revolutionary party of China which in 1911 overthrew the despotic Manchu dynasty, Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who is the present head of the South China Government rightly says that the imperialists have occupied China to take the place of the overthrown feudal despotism. The imperialism of the pacific-democratic government of MacDonald serves not only the interests of British financiers in China but also the interests of the Chinese counter-revolution which has been tyrannising over the masses of the Chinese people for decades.

Comrades, American imperialism is undertaking an attack on North China simultaneously with the British attack on the South. The French Government of Herriot has also sent cruisers from Indo-China to the Chinese ports of Tientsin and Shanghai. The smaller imperialist States are joining the Great Imperialist

Powers. A world imperialist conspiracy is being organised against the toiling masses of China which is being carried out by the attack on the South of China by the MacDonald Government.

Hardly has the ink of the agreement of the London Conference dried, an agreement which has been hailed as the commencement of an era of peace and disarmament, than the governments of these advocates of pacifism and democracy send their battleships to shoot down the toiling population of China.

Workers of Great Britain, you must not, you cannot allow the British imperialists in your name to shoot down Chinese revolutionaries as they did recently in Hankow and on the Yantse Kiang when British naval officers shot down the leaders of the Railwaymen's Union and the Boatmen's Union. You must not permit a government bearing the name of a labour government to aid the feudal reaction and the merchant capitalist counter-revolution for the purpose of securing easier profits for the British bankers and British colonisers.

British workers, you must call upon your trade union Congress now in session to intervene and prevent the impending butchery in China. You must put up a powerful protest against armed intervention in South China and turn aside the hand of the imperialists who are directing the muzzles of their guns upon the centre of the national liberation movement in China.

Long live the national revolutionary movement in China!  
Down with the imperialism of MacDonald, Herriot and Coolidge!

Moscow 4th September 1924.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.