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**Theses and Resolutions
of the VI. World Congress of the Communist
International.**

First Series.

C O N T E N T S

The International Situation and the Tasks of the Communist International.

Resolution on the Situation in the Soviet Union and in the C. P. S. U.

Decision in Regard to the Case of Trotsky, Saprionov and others.

Decision in the Case of Maslow and Ruth Fischer.

Resolution on the Case of Suzanne Girault and others.

Resolution on the Affiliation of the Communist Parties of Cuba, Korea, New Zealand and Paraguay, of the Irish Worker League, the Socialist Party of Ecuador and the Socialist Revolutionary Party of Colombia the Communist International.

Resolution on the Case of the Wynkoop Group.

**The International Situation and the Tasks
of the Communist International.**

INTRODUCTION.

1. After the first world imperialist war, the international labour movement passed through a series of historical phases of development, expressing various phases of the general crisis of capitalist system.

The first period, was the period of extremely acute crisis of the capitalist system, and of direct revolutionary action on the part of the proletariat. This period reached its apex of development in 1921 and culminated on the one hand in the victory of the U. S. S. R. over the forces of foreign intervention and internal counter-revolution and in the consolidation of the Communist International. On the other hand it ended with a series of severe defeats for the Western European proletariat and the beginning of the general capitalist offensive. The final link in the chain of events in this period was the defeat of the German proletariat in 1923.

This defeat marked the starting point of the second period, a period of gradual and partial stabilisation of the capitalist system, of the "restoration" process of capitalist economy, of the development and expansion of the capitalist offensive and of the continuation of the defensive battles fought by the proletarian army weakened by severe defeats. On the other hand this period was a period of rapid restoration in the U. S. S. R., of extremely important successes in the work of building up Socialism, and also of the growth of the political influence of the Communist Parties over the broad masses of the proletariat.

Finally came the third period which, in the main, is the period in which capitalist economy is exceeding the pre-war level and in which the economy of the U. S. S. R. is also almost simultaneously exceeding the pre-war level (the beginning of the so-called "reconstruction period", the further growth of the socialist forms of economy on the basis of a new tech-

nique). For the capitalist system, this is the period of rapid development of technique and accelerated growth of cartels and trusts, and in which tendencies of development towards State capitalism are observed. At the same time, it is a period of intense development of the contradictions of world capitalism, operating in forms determined by the whole of the preceding process of the crisis of capitalism (contraction of markets, the U. S. S. R., colonial movements, growth of the inherent contradiction of imperialism). This third period, in which the contradiction between the growth of the productive forces and the contraction of markets become particularly accentuated, is inevitable giving rise to a fresh series of imperialist wars: — among the imperialist States themselves; wars of the imperialist States against the U. S. S. R.; wars of national liberation against imperialism and imperialist intervention and to gigantic class battles. The intensification of all international antagonisms (antagonisms between the capitalist States and the U. S. S. R., the military occupation of Northern China — which is the beginning of the partition of China — the mutual struggles between the imperialists, etc.), the intensification of the internal antagonisms in capitalist countries (the swing to the Left of the masses of the working class, growing acuteness of the class struggle), and the wide development of colonial movements (China, India, and Syria), which are taking place in this period, will inevitably lead, — through the further development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilisation, — to capitalist stabilisation becoming still more precarious and to the severe intensification of the general crisis of capitalism.

I. THE TECHNIQUE AND ECONOMICS OF WORLD INDUSTRY.

2. There is not the slightest doubt that considerable progress has been made in the technique of industry in a number of capitalist countries. In some countries (United States, Germany), it has assumed the character of a technical revolution. The gigantic growth in the employment of internal combustion engines, electrification, the development of the chemical industry, the new methods of producing synthetic fuels and raw materials (benzine, artificial silk, etc.), the employment of light metals and the extensive development of automobile transport on the one hand and the new forms of organisation of labour, which is linked up with the extraordinarily rapid development of the endless chain system on the other, have revived the productive forces of capitalism. On this basis foreign trade is expanding and the export of capital is increasing to an extraordinary degree. The relative importance of the latter form of economic intercourse between countries has grown considerably compared with pre-war times.

3. In the sphere of economics there is to be observed an exceptionally rapid growth of capitalist monopoly, (cartels, trusts and banking consortiums) which are exercising increasing influence on agriculture. Simultaneously with the organisation of capital in cartels and trusts on a "national" scale, there is an increase in the growth of international finance capitalist combines. At the same time a growth is observed in State capitalist tendencies, both in the form of State capitalism proper (State electrical stations; municipal industrial and transport enterprises), as well as in the form of the merging of private enterprises with the organs of the State.

4. Meanwhile, the general crisis of capitalism is assuming new forms and is developing special and specific contradictions, which arise out of the radical structural changes that have taken place in the world economic system. The transference of the economic centre of capitalism from Europe to America and the growing efforts of Europe, now recovered and trustified, to liberate herself from the economic domination of the United States; the development of capitalism in colonial and semi-colonial countries; the disproportion between the rate of growth of the economic and military power of certain countries and the dimensions of their colonial possessions; the danger threatening the positions of the imperialists in the colonies, primarily in China; the development of the U. S. S. R., — the counter-balance to the world capitalist system which revolutionises the working class of all countries, and the toiling masses of the colonies, — all these contradictions cannot but lead in the final analysis, to another explosion.

5. The growing productive forces of capitalism come more and more into conflict with the restricted internal markets — which have contracted as a result of the state of ruin prevailing in a number of imperialist countries after the war, the growing pauperisation of the peasant masses in the colonies — as well as with the structure of post-war world industry, the inherent contradictions of which have greatly increased and become more complicated as a result of the new, fundamental, antagonism, that exists between the U. S. S. R. and the capitalist countries. The disturbance of the equilibrium between America and Europe finds most striking expression in the so-called "German problem" and in the decline of British imperialism. Germany, having rapidly achieved a higher level of development, — thanks to a considerable degree to American capital — and compelled to pay reparations and interest on loans, cannot find sufficient markets for the export of her commodities and the whole system of her relationships is maintained by means of repeated additions of American credits, which in their turn increase the competitive power of Germany in the world market.

The decline of British imperialism reveals itself directly as a continuous process of decline and stagnation of British industry which, notwithstanding all the attempts at rationalisation and the serious depression of the standard of living of the working class, is steadily losing its competitive power on the world market in the most important branches of exports. It reveals itself in the steady decline in the exports of British capital as well as in the fact that the British bourgeoisie has lost its predominant position both as world creditor and world banker. It reveals itself primarily in enormous, chronic unemployment. This economic decline, taken together with the growth of the Dominions and the growth of revolutionary movements in the colonies, is reflected in the tendency towards the break up of the British Empire.

6. The successes achieved in technique and organisation has helped to create chronic mass unemployment in the leading industrial countries. The unemployed army of to-day far exceeds in number the industrial reserve army of pre-war times, and is not absorbed completely even in periods of boom. In the United States, for example, where the greatest successes have been achieved in technique, we have, simultaneously with a powerful increase in production, a diminution in the amount of labour power employed by capital in industry. Even in those countries where great technical successes have been achieved, rationalisation, while causing an enormous expansion of production, results in the intensification of labour to the utmost, in a murderous speeding up of labour and to an unparalleled exhaustion of human labour power. The mechanisation of the labour process enables the capitalists to employ unskilled labour to a greater extent (women and child labour) and generally to substitute unskilled labour power for skilled labour power.

The attempts to alleviate these difficulties by forming European and international cartels merely reproduce on an expressed basis and in new forms (the introduction of the quota system, the struggle for enterprises not yet absorbed by cartels, etc.) the competitive struggle between Great Britain and the European Continental States as well as on the Continent of Europe itself, which is politically and economically broken up into fragments and covered with a network of tariff barriers.

Under such conditions, the problem of markets and spheres of investments becomes extraordinarily acute. Hence, the maturing of a new series of gigantic military conflicts, of wars of intervention against the U. S. S. R., and the intervention now proceeding at full pace in China. Therefore, the development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilisation inevitably leads, in the final analysis to the present "stabilisation" period growing into a period of gigantic cataclysms.

II. INTER-STATE RELATIONSHIPS AND THE PROBLEMS OF SO-CALLED "FOREIGN POLITICS".

7. The relations between capitalist States and the U. S. S. R.; the attitude of imperialism towards China and the relations between Europe, — principally Great Britain, — and the United States, represent in general, the basis of international relation-

ships in the present period. The growth of Germany and the re-grouping of States resulting from it, represents one of the principal factors in the change of inter-State relationships in Europe.

8. The transference of the world's economic centre to the United States of America and the increase in the latter's imperialist aggressiveness resulting therefrom, must be regarded as an important factor in the modern development of capitalism generally. As the permanent creditor of Europe, the United States represents the lever of Central European revival; at the same time, however, she is strengthening her own position in almost all parts of the globe. As a result of the squeezing out of British capital, South America is gradually becoming an enormous "sphere of influence" of the United States, who suppresses all resistance on the American Continent with blood and iron (Nicaragua, etc.); Canada and even Australia are more and more gravitating towards so-called "economic co-operation" in which the hegemony of the United States is assured beforehand. All over the world, the United States is developing extensive plans to secure possession of the most important sources of raw materials, to weaken Great Britain's position by destroying her monopoly in oil and rubber, and her raw cotton base in Egypt, the Sudan, etc. In Africa, the United States is developing extensive plans directed towards undermining the power of Great Britain in the cotton-growing industry; in China, in conflict with Japan and England, she holds the stronger position and while screening herself for the time being behind the principle of the "open door", she is, in fact, taking part in the partition of China. Thus, North American imperialism is more and more passing from the policy of so-called "peaceful penetration" to the policy of direct, military, colonial occupation.

9. The rapid expansion of the United States inevitably brings her interests into conflict with the interests of decaying, but still extremely powerful, British imperialism. The antagonisms between the Dollar Republic, with her rapid rate of development and relatively small colonial possessions, and the declining British colonial Empire, with its gigantic colonial monopoly, represents the pivot of international antagonisms in the present period, and it is precisely here that the complications of future struggles for a redistribution of the colonial (and not only of the colonial) world are maturing. Anglo-American "co-operation" has changed into fierce Anglo-American rivalry, which widens the prospects of a gigantic conflict of forces.

10. The influence of American capital in Europe made itself most strongly felt in the economic recovery of Germany. From a State which had sunk to the lowest depths of economic ruin, Germany has again risen to great heights with the aid of systematic credits from the United States. This also has caused the elevation of Germany's political role. The growth of monopolistic capitalism in Germany, on the one hand accelerates the process of breaking up the Versailles Treaty and on the other hand, causes Germany to adopt a more definitely "Western" (i. e. imperialistic and anti-Soviet) orientation. While in the days of her economic, political and national humiliation Germany sought an agreement with the proletarian State, the only State that was opposed to her imperialist enslavement, the tendencies of German neo-imperialism that have arisen are forcing the German bourgeoisie more and more towards an anti-Soviet position.

11. This fact must in its turn inevitably change the grouping of the European States. The prevalence of a whole series of internal European antagonisms (primarily Franco-Italian, in the Balkans and in North Africa), on the background of the general instability of relationships, leads to a continuous regrouping of the Powers. However, through the kaleidoscopic changes in the groupings there runs a fundamental tendency, the tendency of combating the Soviet Union. The innumerable treaties and agreements concluded between a number of minor and major States (Poland, Roumania, Italy, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the "Russian Border States", etc.) directed against the U. S. S. R. and concluded at the dictation of London and Paris, express this tendency to an increasingly marked degree. The change in Germany's attitude, to a certain extent, marks the completion of a definite stage of this process, which is a process of preparation by the counter-revolutionary imperialist bloc for a war against the U. S. S. R.

12. The struggle for markets and for spheres for the investment of capital is not only pregnant with wars against the U. S. S. R. and with wars among the imperialists themselves; it has already resulted in a great war of intervention for the partition of the enormous Chinese market. In China, where the imperialists are simultaneously confronted with an object of exploitation and a revolutionary movement, which is undermining the domination of capitalist principles, the establishment of general imperialist blocs is most highly probable. Therefore, simultaneously with a bloc of imperialist States against the U. S. S. R. we have a general counter-revolutionary, militarist intervention against the forces of the Chinese Revolution. At the same time, however, this joint struggle against the Chinese Revolution develops a profound antagonism of interests within the imperialist bloc, primarily an antagonism between the predatory and openly annexationist imperialism of Japan and the tremendous power of American imperialism, which, in the present stage of development, cloaks herself in the false toga of pacifism. Thus, the imperialist war actually being waged against the Chinese people may develop into a gigantic conflict between the imperialists.

III. THE STATE POWER OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE RE-GROUPING OF CLASS FORCES.

13. In the great majority of capitalist countries at the present time, the politics of the bourgeoisie are determined by two main tasks: first, further to increase "competitive power", i. e. further to develop capitalist rationalisation, and second, to prepare for war. From the social-class standpoint, bourgeois politics lead, on the one hand, to increased pressure upon the working class and to an increase in the rate of exploitation. On the other hand, they lead to the employment of "compensating" methods of economic and political corruption, of which Social Democracy is more and more becoming the conscious vehicle.

14. The centralisation of capital and the absorption, through the medium of the banking system, of large-landed property into the general finance capitalist organisations, help more and more to consolidate the combined forces of the big exploiters, whose organisations are becoming directly grafted on to the organs of State Power. While the system known as 'war' State capitalism, to a considerable degree, represented a system of "siege economics", which was "abolished" at the conclusion of the war, the growth of State capitalist tendencies on the other hand, which at the present time is based on the growth of productive forces and the rapid centralisation of industry, is objectively a pre-requisite for military economic mobilisation for future conflicts. The shifting in the weight of the productive forces in the direction of the chemical industry, which is of first-class importance in modern warfare, still further enhances the significance of this fact.

15. This evolution in the relationships between the State power and private capitalist organisations, the concentration of all the bourgeois forces in the bourgeois State, gives rise, in all capitalist countries, to a reactionary evolution of the whole of the so-called "bourgeois State system". This evolution, which is the characteristic expression of the present critical period of capitalism, finds expression politically in the general crisis of bourgeois democracy and of bourgeois parliamentarism, and leaves a specific impress upon all the economic conflicts between capital and labour, causing them to become extraordinarily acute.

Every strike of any magnitude brings the workers into conflict with trustified capitalist giants, which have become merged with the imperialist State power. Consequently, every such strike assumes a political, i. e. a general class character. The development of every such strike must, therefore, lead to its assuming an "anti-State" character. It is precisely this state of affairs that compels the bourgeoisie and its State to resort to complex methods of economically and politically corrupting definite sections of the working class itself and its political and industrial organisations. The grafting of the upper stratum of the reformist trade unions and "reformist parties" on to the employers' organisations and the bourgeois State, the appointment of workers to official positions in the State and in capitalist organisations, the theory and practice of "industrial de-

mocracy", "industrial peace", etc. — all these are preventative measures directed against the development of the class struggle.

16. Simultaneously, the imperialist States more and more develop weapons and methods of repression against the revolutionary detachments of the proletariat and particularly against the Communist Party, the only Party that organises and leads the revolutionary working class struggle against imperialist wars and growing exploitation. These measures are also part and parcel of the war preparations of the imperialist States. At the same time, however, they reflect the general acuteness of class antagonisms and particularly the intensification of all forms and methods of the class struggle, as expressed in the increasing application of Fascist methods of oppression by the bourgeoisie. These measures include: the Trade Union Act in Great Britain; Paul Boncour's military law, a number of so-called "Defence of the Realm Acts", for example in the Balkans, the acts of repression against the Communists in France; the wrecking of the trade unions and the terror against the Communists in Italy; terror in Japan; terror in Poland; the mass execution of Communists, revolutionary workers and the peasants in China and the acts of repression perpetrated against revolutionaries in the colonies generally; the attempt to dissolve the Red Front Fighters in Germany, etc., etc. In a number of countries where the Communist Parties are still legal, the bourgeoisie is striving with the aid of the Social Democrats to drive them underground. For that reason, to bring the masses to a state of fighting preparedness and strenuous struggle against any attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie to repeat such attacks become immediate tasks.

17. Simultaneously, the resistance of the working class — which has already recovered from the severe defeats of the preceding period — is growing and assuming extremely diverse forms. The development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilisation, rationalisation, growth of unemployment, the increasing pressure upon the standard of living of the working class, the ruination of the petty-bourgeoisie, etc., inevitably intensify the class struggle and widen its basis. The general process of the "working class swing to the Left" in European countries continues further; the influence of purely bourgeois parties upon the mass of the workers wanes; a section of the workers abandon these to join the Social Democrats, while another section joins the Communist Parties; there is a quickening in the process of more militant elements of the working class abandoning the Social Democrats and coming over to the Communist camp. Social Democracy is more and more relying upon the petty-bourgeoisie and is therefore transferring its social basis from the working class to the petty-bourgeoisie. The influence and authority of the Communist Parties among the working class are growing. Just as the beginning of the stabilisation period and the general capitalist offensive gave rise to great defensive battles, so the new period is marked by great mass struggles. These include primarily: — the strike wave in a number of countries (Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, etc.); the uprising of the Viennese proletariat; the demonstrations against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti; the movement in favour of the U.S.S.R., etc. Thus, notwithstanding the counter-measures taken by the bourgeoisie and Social Democracy, the reproduction of the contradictions of capitalist stabilisation and the growing acuteness of the class struggle cause an ideological differentiation and growth of the revolutionary forces in the ranks of the working class movement to the strengthening of the position of Communism in the international labour movement.

IV. CLASS STRUGGLE, SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, AND FASCISM.

18. Notwithstanding the growing acuteness of the class struggle, reformism in the European and American labour movement reveals symptoms of virility and political tenacity. The general social and economic basis of this fact is the slow rate of development of the crisis of capitalism, in the course of which some of the principal parts comprising the capitalist system are on the upgrade while others are undergoing a process of relatively slow decline. This is illustrated by the following facts: the growing consolidation of the positions of the United States as the world exploiter, creditor and usurer (the "prosperity" of the United States); the considerable colonial might of Great Britain, which is only gradually losing its positions

in the world market; the upward trend of German economy, etc. Connected with this primary process is the secondary process of the grafting together of the State apparatus and capitalist organisations with the upper stratum of the labour organisations, led by Social Democracy; the establishment of a new bureaucracy consisting of labour bureaucrats (State and municipal officials, officials of capitalist organisations, functionaries serving "joint" labour and capitalist organisations, so-called "representatives of the proletariat" in the Post Office, on Railway Boards and in banking organisations, where they speak in the name of trade unions, co-operative societies, etc., etc.).

19. This process of bourgeoisising the upper stratum of the labour bureaucracy is deliberately fostered and encouraged by Social Democracy. Social Democracy has passed from shame-faced defence of capitalism to open support, to capitalist construction: from mouthing phrases about the class struggle to the advocacy of "industrial peace"; from the slogan "defend the fatherland" to preparations for military operations against the U.S.S.R. (Kautsky); from verbal defence of colonies to the policy of directly supporting colonial oppression; from petty-bourgeois pacifism to the defecation of the League of Nations and from pseudo-Marxian revisionism to the liberalism of the British Labour Party.

20. Wholly corresponding to this ideological position is the practical activity of the Social Democrats and reformist trade union leaders, primarily, their campaign for the widespread introduction of "American" methods of corrupting the working class: the activities of the International Labour Office; the conferences between representatives of the General Council of the T.U.C. and the Labour Party with employers' organisations in England; the "National Economic Council" in France; the "Schlichtungswesen" (Arbitration Courts) in Germany; the Compulsory Arbitration Acts in some of the Scandinavian countries, the establishment of a joint organ of the "Chamber of Commerce" and "Chamber of Labour" in Austria, etc. The treacherous role of the Social Democrats and of the reformist trade union leaders during strikes and political crises, during conflicts and rebellions in the colonies, their justification of the employment of terror against the workers (the strike in Great Britain, the Vienna uprising, the metal workers' strike in Germany, shooting down of workers in Czechoslovakia and Poland, the rebellion in Indonesia, the revolution in China, the rebellions in Syria and Morocco, etc., etc.) is now supplemented by ferocious attacks upon the Communists and the revolutionary workers (the expulsion policy and the policy of splitting the unions, the co-operative societies and other mass organisations adopted in a number of countries).

21. At the present time this class splitting policy, so widely practised by the reformist leaders who, at the dictates of the bourgeoisie, expel the best revolutionary elements from the proletarian mass organisations, is an inseparable part of their policy of co-operating with the bourgeoisie for the purpose of disrupting from the outset the internal unity of the fighting ranks of the proletariat and in this way to weaken their resistance to capitalist attacks. This policy represents an essential link in the chain of social imperialist policy (the armaments policy, their anti-Soviet policy and their predatory policy in the colonies). To counteract these attempts on the part of the reformists to disintegrate the proletarian class front from within, the Communists must, particularly at the present moment, commence and develop a strenuous counter-offensive; the reformist policy of splitting the mass proletarian organisations (trade unions, co-operative societies, cultural and sport leagues, etc.) must be countered by a mass struggle for class unity.

A particularly shameful role in this reformist splitting campaign is played by the so-called "Left" Social Democratic leaders, who make verbal claims of being in favour of unity but who, in fact, unreservedly support the criminal splitting tactics of the Second International and of the Amsterdamers.

22. In the sphere of foreign politics, the upper stratum of the Social Democrats and of the trade unions in the imperialist countries consistently express the interests of the bourgeois State. Support for this State and its armed forces, its police, its expansionist strivings, its fundamental hostility towards the U.S.S.R.; the support of predatory treaties and agreements, of colonial policy, of occupations, annexations, protectorates and

mandates; support of the League of Nations and the malicious campaign conducted by the imperialist powers against the U. S. S. R.; Social Democracy's participation in the "pacifist" deception of the masses, in preparation for war against the proletarian republics and the reformist deception of colonial workers (Purcell in India, the II. International's resolution on the colonial question) — such, in the main, is the actual line of conduct of Social Democracy in the sphere of foreign politics.

23. Throughout the whole of the past period, Social Democracy has acted as the last reserve of the bourgeoisie, as a bourgeois "Labour" Party. Through the medium of Social Democracy the bourgeoisie paved the way for the stabilisation of capitalism (the series of Coalition Cabinets in Europe). The consolidation of capitalism rendered the functions of Social Democracy as a governing party in a certain measure superfluous. The ejection of Social Democrats from coalition governments and the formation of so-called "purely bourgeois" governments took the place of the so-called era of "democratic pacifism". By playing the role of opposition on the one hand, and the role of agitator and propagandist of so-called "realistic pacifism" and industrial peace", on the other hand, Social Democracy retained considerable strata of the working class under its influence, absorbed a section of the workers who had abandoned the bourgeois parties, acquired influence among that section of the petty-bourgeoisie that was swinging to the Left (the elections in France and in Germany) and have again entered Cabinets in Central Europe. It must be borne in mind, however, that these new coalition governments, in which Social Democrats are directly participating, cannot and will not be a mere repetition of previous combinations. This particularly applies to foreign politics generally and to war politics in particular. Social Democratic leadership will play an immeasurably more treacherous role in the present period than it did in all previous stages of development.

It is necessary also to bear in mind — particularly in view of the coalition policy practised by Social Democracy and the evolution of its official upper stratum — the possibility of a growth in the so-called "Left-wing" of Social Democracy (Austro-Marxism, Tranmaelism, the ideology of the British Independent Labour Party, Maximalism in Italy) which deceives the workers by methods more subtle and is therefore more dangerous to the cause of the proletarian revolution. Experience in critical periods (the revolution in Germany in 1923, the British Strike, the Vienna uprising), and also the attitude of Left-wing Social Democrats towards imperialist war preparations against the U. S. S. R., have glaringly revealed that the Left-wing Social Democratic leaders are the most dangerous enemies of Communism and of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was most strikingly demonstrated by the shameful conduct of Austrian Social Democracy, this "model party", the "Left" wing of the Second International, at the time of the sanguinary July battles of the Vienna proletariat. This utter bankruptcy of Bauer, Adler & Co., strikingly reveals that "Austro-Marxism", which is developing more and more a reactionary tendency — particularly after the suppression of the Vienna uprising — in practice constantly betrays the cause of labour in the most shameful manner and serves as the most dangerous instrument in the hands of the reformists for deceiving the revolutionary masses. Therefore, while taking into account the Leftward swing even among the workers in the ranks of Social Democracy and while striving to exercise increasing influence upon them, the Communists must resolutely expose the "Left-wing" Social Democratic leaders as the most dangerous channels through which bourgeois politics may penetrate into the working class, and to win over to their own side the masses of the workers who must inevitably abandon these Left-wing Social Democrats.

24. Simultaneously with co-opting Social Democracy, the bourgeoisie in critical moments and under certain conditions establishes a Fascist regime.

The characteristic feature of Fascism is that, as a consequence of the shock suffered by the capitalist economic system and of special objective and subjective circumstances, the bourgeoisie — in order to hinder the development of the revolution — utilises the discontent of the petty and middle, urban and rural bourgeoisie and even of certain strata of the declassed proletariat, for the purpose of creating a reactionary mass mo-

vement. Fascism resorts to methods of open violence in order to break the power of the labour organisations and those of the peasant poor, and to proceed to capture power. After capturing power, Fascism strives to establish political and organisational unity among all the governing classes of capitalist society (the bankers, the big industrialists and the agrarians) and to establish their undivided, open and consistent dictatorship. It places at the disposal of the governing classes armed forces specially trained for civil war and establishes a new type of State, openly based on violence, coercion and corruption, not only of the petty-bourgeois strata, but even of certain elements of the working class (office employees, ex-reformist leaders, who have become government officials, trade union officials, and officials of the Fascist Party, and also poor peasants and declassed proletarians recruited into the "Fascist militia").

Italian Fascism — which by various means (support of American capital, unexampled economic and social pressure upon the masses, certain forms of State capitalism), has managed, during the past few years, to alleviate the consequences of the internal political and economic crisis — has created the classical type of the Fascist system.

Fascist tendencies and the rudiments of the Fascist movement exist in a more or less developed form in nearly all countries. The ideology of class co-operation — the official ideology of Social Democracy — has many points of contact with Fascism. The employment of Fascist methods in the struggle against the revolutionary movement is observed in a rudimentary form in the practice of numerous Social Democratic Parties, as well as in that of the reformist trade union bureaucracy.

In the sphere of international relations, Fascism conducts a policy of violence and provocation. The Fascist dictatorships in Poland and in Italy more and more reveal aggressive tendencies, and represent to the proletariat of all countries a constant menace to peace — a threat of military adventures and war.

V. COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION.

25. The general crisis of the world capitalist system finds most striking expression at the present time in colonial and semi-colonial rebellions and revolutions. Resistance to the imperialist policy of the United States (Mexico and Nicaragua); the movement against the United States in South America; the colonial uprisings in Syria and Morocco; the continuous ferment in Egypt and Korea; the rebellion in Indonesia; the maturing revolutionary crisis in India; and finally, the great revolution in China, are all events and facts indicating the gigantic role the colonies and semi-colonies play in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

26. The most important of these facts, an event of world historical importance, is the great Chinese Revolution. It directly brings within its orbit tens of millions and indirectly, hundreds of millions of people. This is the first time that such a gigantic human mass has entered into the struggle against imperialism with such force. The close connection that exists between China, Indo-China and India, in its turn, enhances the significance of the Chinese Revolution to an enormous degree. Finally, the very progress of this revolution, its democratic character and its inevitable transformation into a proletarian revolution must demonstrate to the international proletariat the full significance of the international role the Chinese Revolution plays.

27. While being an anti-imperialist and national-liberation revolution, the Chinese Revolution is at the same time, in its objective content and in its present stage, a bourgeois-democratic revolution, which will inevitably grow into a proletarian revolution. In the process of its development, as the broad masses of the workers and peasants became mobilised, as the agrarian revolution actually developed and inflicted plebeian punishment upon the landlords, the gentry and the "tuhao", the national (Kuomintang) bourgeoisie, in a series of evolutions, finally deserted to the camp of the counter-revolution, entered into alliance with feudalism and compromised with the imperialist violators.

For that reason, the struggle against imperialism is inseparable from the struggle for land and against the rule of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. It is inseparable from the struggle against the landlords (gentry and tuhao) and the militarists and against their internecine wars, which result in the plunder of the masses of the people and in the strengthening of the positions of the imperialists. The liberation of China can be achieved only in the struggle against the Chinese bourgeoisie, in the struggle for the agrarian revolution, in the confiscation of the landlords' land, and in the liberation of the peasantry from the crushing burden of taxation. The liberation of China cannot be achieved without the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, without the confiscation of the land, without the nationalisation of foreign enterprises, banks, transport, etc.

These tasks can be fulfilled only by a victorious rebellion of the broad masses of the peasantry, marching under the leadership and under the hegemony of the revolutionary Chinese proletariat.

The present stage of the Chinese Revolution is characterised by the following features: notwithstanding internal rivalries, the bloc between the imperialists, the feudal elements and the bourgeoisie has inflicted a severe defeat upon the proletariat and the peasantry and has physically exterminated a considerable section of the ranks of the Communist Party. The labour movement has not yet wholly recovered from defeat. The development of the peasant movement in a number of districts continues. In those districts where peasant rebellions have been victorious, peasant organs of power have been established, and in some places peasant Soviets. The Communist Party is gaining in strength and becoming internally consolidated; its authority and influence among the broad masses of the workers and peasants are growing. Taken as a whole, making allowances for the lack of uniformity of development in various parts of the enormous territory of China, the present situation must be characterised as the stage of preparation of the mass forces for a fresh rise in the revolutionary movement.

28. In India a fresh wave of the national-revolutionary movement has arisen, characterised by the independent action of the proletariat (the textile strike in Bombay, the railway strike in Calcutta, the First of May Demonstrations, etc.). This new outbreak has its roots deep down in the general conditions of the country. The rate of industrialisation, which was greatly accelerated in the war and the post-war periods, has now slackened down. The policy of British imperialism retards the industrial development of India and leads to the pauperisation of the peasantry and to their divorce from the land. The attempt by means of petty agrarian reforms to create a thin stratum of well-to-do peasants which is to serve as a prop for the British Government and native feudalism — is accompanied by the still further pauperisation and increased exploitation of enormous masses of the peasantry. The cruel exploitation of the workers, which, in some places, still bears the forms of semi-slavery, is combined with the extreme intensification of labour. In the fight against this barbarous exploitation, the proletariat is liberating itself from the influence of the bourgeoisie and of the reformists, — notwithstanding the fact that the trade union apparatus is still in the hands of the latter. The peasant movement, disrupted in 1922 by the treachery of Gandhi and subjected to cruel suppression by the feudal reaction, is slowly but surely recovering. The liberal national bourgeoisie — the leading wing of the Swaraj Party — although compelled by the unyielding attitude of British imperialism to resume their qualified oppositional tactics, are as a matter of fact, notwithstanding all their anti-British demonstrations, seeking a compromise with imperialism at the expense of the masses of the toilers. On the other hand, the whole of the development of India impels the broad masses of the petty-bourgeoisie of town and country, and primarily the ruined and pauperised peasantry, along the path of revolution. Only under the leadership of the proletariat will the bloc of workers, peasants and the revolutionary sections of the intelligentsia be in a position to smash the bloc of imperialist landlords and compromising bourgeoisie, release the agrarian revolution and break the imperialist front in India. The unification of the Communist elements and groups into a strong Communist Party, the organisation of the masses of the proletariat in trade unions, a systematic struggle in the

trade unions for the complete exposure and expulsion of the social-treacherous leaders, — are the essential tasks of the working class of India and a necessary condition for the mass revolutionary struggle for Indian independence.

29. The revival of the Chinese Revolution and the inevitable intensification of the revolutionary situation in India may create an absolutely new world political situation and upset the relative stabilisation of the capitalist system. The development of conflicts among the imperialist States, their bloc against the U. S. S. R. and the profoundly acute struggle between imperialism and the colonial world, again and again confirm the correctness of the characterisation of the present epoch as, an "epoch of wars and revolution".

VI. THE TACTICAL LINE AND THE FUNDAMENTAL TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

30. The problem of combatting the approaching imperialist war, the defence of the U. S. S. R., the fight against the intervention in and the partition of China and the defence of the Chinese Revolution and colonial uprisings are the principal international tasks of the Communist movement at the present time. These tasks must be linked up with the everyday working class struggle against the capitalist offensive and directed towards the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

31. The fight against the danger of imperialist wars between capitalist States and imperialist wars against the U. S. S. R. must be conducted systematically from day to day. It will be impossible to conduct this fight without exposing pacifism, which, under present conditions, is an important instrument in the hands of the imperialists for their preparations for war and for concealing these preparations. It will be impossible to carry on this struggle without exposing the "League of Nations", which is the principal instrument of imperialist "pacifism". Finally, it will be impossible to carry on this struggle without exposing Social Democracy, which is helping imperialism to screen its war preparations with the flag of pacifism. Continuous exposure, by facts, of the work of the "League of Nations", constant support for the U. S. S. R. disarmament proposals and exposure of the "home" government on this question (together with interpellations in parliament backed by mass demonstrations in the streets, etc.); continuous publicity for facts about the armaments of imperialist States, about the chemical industry, about the war budgets, the secret and open treaties and plots of the imperialists, and about the role of imperialists in China; exposure of the falsehoods spread by Social Democratic "realist-pacifists" about ultra-imperialism and exposure of the role of the "League of Nations"; continuous publicity on the "results" of the first world war and of the secret military and diplomatic preparations made for it; to fight against pacifism in all its forms and to propagate Communist slogans — primarily the slogan of defeat of the "home" imperialist country and the conversion of imperialist war into civil war; work among the soldiers and sailors; the establishment of underground nuclei; work among the peasants — such are the fundamental tasks of the Communist Parties in this sphere.

32. An imperialist victory in the fight against the U. S. S. R. would mean much more than the defeat of the proletariat of the U. S. S. R.; it would inflict the severest defeat the international has ever suffered throughout the whole course of its existence. The labour movement would be thrown back for decades. The severest reaction would rage in Europe. If, as a result of the influence of the October Revolution and of the series of revolutions in Germany, Austria, and other countries, the working class managed to achieve a number of important gains, the defeat of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. would open up a new page of history inscribed with records of absolutely unexampled and ferocious counter-revolutionary terror. Hence, it is essential that attention be concentrated on the defence of the U. S. S. R. For that reason, alarm for the fate of the U. S. S. R., — against which the military forces of the imperialists are being collected, must stimulate systematic work in preparation for the conversion of war against the U. S. S. R., into civil war against imperialist governments, into war for the defence of the U. S. S. R.

33. The fight against imperialist war and the fight for the defence of the Chinese Revolution and of the U. S. S. R. call for the raising of the militant **international solidarity** of the working class. Experience has shown that the Communist Parties are not coping with their international tasks. The VII. Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. stated that, "hardly any of the Parties affiliated to the Communist International developed sufficient energy in the struggle for the support of the British strike and of the Chinese revolution". Subsequent experience has confirmed the fact that precisely the international tasks of the movement are insufficiently understood. In a number of cases, particularly in regard to the fight against intervention in China, the Sections of the Communist International displayed a lack of adequate mobilising ability. The Congress calls upon all Communist Parties to take determined measures to remove these shortcomings and urges the need for systematic work on these questions (wide publicity in the press, propaganda and agitation material, etc.), — it urges the need for far more energetic **international** and militant self-education of the Party members and education of the masses of the world proletariat.

34. Support of colonial movements, particularly on the part of the Communist Parties in the oppressing imperialist countries, represents one of the most important tasks of the present day. The fight against intervention in China; the fight against the suppression of the liberation movement in all colonies; work among the armed forces and determined support of rebellious colonial peoples, — such are the measures to be adopted for the immediate future. The Congress at the same time instructs the Executive Committee to devote more serious attention to the colonial movement and correspondingly, to reorganise and strengthen its own departments directing this work.

The Congress also lays special stress upon the necessity for the energetic organisation of a movement among the Negroes in the United States and in other countries (especially in South Africa). In this connection the Congress demands that all manifestations of so-called "white chauvinism" be resolutely and ruthlessly combatted.

35. In "advanced" capitalist countries, in which decisive battles for the proletarian dictatorship and Socialism will take place, the general tactical orientation of the Communist Parties must be towards preventing the labour organisations from "growing" into private or State capitalist organisations, towards preventing the trade unions from becoming "grafted" with the trusts, and against "industrial peace", compulsory arbitration, against the State power of the bourgeoisie and against the trusts. The Communist Parties must untiringly explain to the masses of the workers the close connection that exists between "industrial peace" and arbitration and the measures of repression exercised against the revolutionary vanguard of the proletarian movement and the preparation for imperialist war.

36. In view of the intensified trustification of industry, the tendencies towards State capitalism, the grafting of the apparatus of the reformist unions with the organisations of the State and the trusts, and in view of the new, thoroughly bourgeois and actively imperialist ideology of Social Democracy, the struggle against the "bourgeois Labour Party" must be intensified. This follows logically from the change in the relation of forces and from the changed position of Social Democracy, which is now entering into a more "mature", — from the point of view of imperialism — stage of development. The Congress therefore entirely approves the tactics outlined at the IX. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. The test to which these tactics were subjected during the elections in France and in the British movement has wholly confirmed their absolute correctness.

37. These tactics, while changing the form, do not in any way change the principal content of the tactics of the united front. The intensification of the struggle against Social Democracy transfers the weight of importance to the united front from below, but it does not relieve the Communists from the duty of drawing a distinction between the sincere, but mistaken Social Democratic workers, and the obsequious Social Democratic leaders cringing at the feet of imperialism. On the contrary, it makes it more obligatory for them to do so. Nor is the slogan, fight for the masses (including the masses following the lead of the bourgeois and the Social Democratic parties) repealed by this. It must become the object of attention in the work of the Communist International more than ever before.

To care for the everyday needs of the working class; to give strenuous support to even the most insignificant demands of the masses of the workers; to penetrate deeply into all mass proletarian organisations (trade unions, cultural organisations, sports organisations, etc.); to strengthen the positions of the Party in the factories and works and in large enterprises particularly; to work among the backward strata of the proletariat (agricultural labourers) and among the unemployed, and at the same time unflinchingly to link up the minor everyday demands with the fundamental slogans of the Party — all these must serve as the principal tasks of the Party. Only to the extent that these tasks are fulfilled will the winning over and mobilisation of the masses be really accomplished.

38. In regard to the trade union movement, the Congress resolutely calls upon all the Parties to exert the maximum of effort on this sector of the front. The very fact that in a number of countries the reformists are forcing the expulsion of Communists (and of Leftists generally) from the trade union organisations makes it necessary for the fight for Communist influence in the trade unions to be carried on at the present time with greater energy than ever. Unless they strengthen their positions in the trade unions, the Communists may become isolated from the mass of the industrially organised proletariat. For that reason, the Communists, by everyday, devoted and patient work in the trade unions, must win for themselves among the broad masses of the trade unionists authority as experienced and capable organisers, who fight not only for the proletarian dictatorship, but for all the everyday partial demands of the masses of workers; they must win authority as leaders of well-conducted strike struggles.

The Communist Parties, the revolutionary trade union opposition and the revolutionary trade unions can win the leadership in these struggles only in intense struggle against the Social Democratic and politically corrupt trade union bureaucracy. In order to achieve real success in winning over the masses, special attention must be devoted to the **careful preparation** of strikes (mass work, strengthening of trade union fractions, etc.) to the **capable leadership** of strikes (establishment of strike committees and utilisation of factory councils) and explaining to the masses the political causes and conditions for the success or failure of every industrial conflict and strike.

Where a united front exists between the bourgeois State, the employers' organisations and the reformist trade union bureaucracy, jointly striving to suppress the strike movement by means of compulsory arbitration, the fundamental task is to stimulate the energy and the initiative of the masses and, if circumstances are favourable, to conduct the strike struggle even in opposition to the will of the reformist trade union bureaucracy.

While precaution should be taken against being provoked by the reformists into acts calculated to secure the expulsion of the Communists and to split the trade union movement, and while taking all measures to paralyse unexpected blows from the reformists, every effort must be made to combat tactics of capitulation (unity "at any price", abstaining from defending expelled comrades, failure to fight strenuously against compulsory arbitration, unreserved obedience to the bureaucratic trade union apparatus, toning down of criticism of the reformist leadership, etc.). To organise the unorganised, to win over the reformist trade unions, to organise the expelled where conditions are suitable (in countries where the trade union movement is split), to break away local organisations we have captured and get them to affiliate to revolutionary industrial organisations, — these are the tasks of the day. Under no circumstances must the Communists lose the initiative in the struggle for national and international trade union unity. They must conduct a determined struggle against the splitting policy of the Amsterdam International and of its national sections. In view of the intensified struggle between Communism and reformism, it is extremely important to develop the work of the Communist trade union fractions, of the trade union opposition and of the revolutionary trade unions and to increase in every way the work and activities of the Red International of Labour Unions.

The Communist Parties must support the work of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and of the Latin-American Trade Union Secretariat, in so far as the latter stand on the

basis of the class struggle and conduct a revolutionary fight against imperialism for the independence of the colonies and semi-colonies.

39. The growth of the importance of the youth in industry, due to capitalist rationalisation, and the growing danger of war make it more than ever necessary to intensify work among the youth.

The Congress instructs the Young Communist International to examine the question of the tactics and the methods of work of the Young Communist International, with a view to embracing larger sections of the working youth, to adopting more varied methods of recruiting, to securing a more lively and active response to their economic, educational and theoretical requirements, while at the same time preserving the militant political features of the Young Communist Leagues.

In view of the more important part now being played by the youth in industry, it is necessary to intensify the work of the trade union youth sections. In those places where young workers are not eligible for membership in trade unions it is necessary to proceed to organise, under the leadership of the Young Communist Leagues, special youth societies, the object of which shall be to fight for the economic needs of the proletarian youth. To conduct the industrial struggle; to participate in the leadership of strikes and, in special cases, independently to conduct strikes; to work in the trade unions; to fight for the right of young workers to membership of the trade unions; to see that the Young Communist Leagues penetrate into every organisation to which young workers belong (trade unions, sport organisations, etc.); to develop anti-militarist work; to give a sharp turn to methods and tactics in the direction of mass work, — such must be the principal tasks of the Young Communist International. Unless it undertakes and fulfils these tasks the Young Communist International will never be able to organise a real mass struggle against imperialism and war. The Congress is of the opinion that a change over to mass work is essential. It calls upon all the Sections of the Communist International and upon the E. C. C. I. to render more systematic aid to the Communist youth organisations and exercise more systematic guidance over them. The Communist Party, as well as the Young Communist League, must devote greater attention to work among workers' children and to the activities of Communist Childrens Leagues.

The Congress at the same time instructs the E. C. C. I. to carry out, through the medium of the International Women's Secretariat, measures for intensifying the work among industrial working women and among women toilers generally, and in doing so to utilise the experiences of the so-called working women's "delegate meetings".

40. In the conditions of growing danger of imperialist wars, the work of the Communist Parties in the rural districts and among the very broad masses of the toilers generally, acquires special significance. On the basis of the results of the elections in France and Germany, the Congress resolves that work among the agricultural labourers and small peasants must be intensified. The Congress draws special attention to the necessity for intensifying work among the peasantry and places on record that this work has been neglected by the majority of the Communist Parties. The Congress instructs the E. C. C. I. to take measures to stimulate the work among the peasantry, particularly in agrarian countries (Roumania, the Balkans, Poland, etc.), as well as in France, Germany, etc. The Congress instructs the E. C. C. I. to take urgent measures to stimulate the work of the International Peasants' Council and calls upon every Section to support this work.

41. The Congress instructs the E. C. C. I. to take measures to assist the organisations conducting the struggle for liberation in capitalist countries and in the colonies, which mobilise the broad masses of the toilers in defence of the Chinese Revolution and of the U. S. S. R., which aid the victims of White Terror, etc. It is necessary to intensify and improve the work of the Communists in organisations like the "Group d'Unite", "The League for the Struggle Against Imperialism", "Friends of the U. S. S. R. Society", the "I. C. W. P. A.", "W. I. R.", etc., etc. The Communist Parties must render every support to these organisations, help in the circulation of their publications, render support to their local branches, etc.

42. The increasing repressions and growing acuteness of the class struggle, and particularly the prospects of war, impose upon the Communist Parties the task of discussing and drawing up plans for the timely establishment of an underground apparatus, which shall guarantee continuity of leadership in future battles, unity of the Communist line of policy and unity of Communist action.

VII. A RETROSPECT OF WORK DONE, ACHIEVEMENTS, MISTAKES, AND THE TASKS OF THE INDIVIDUAL SECTIONS.

43. The Congress places on record a number of important achievements in the work of the Comintern. Among these are to be included: the growth of the influence of Communism, which for the first time has extended its influence to the countries of South America, Africa, Australia, and a number of oriental countries (the strengthening of the Communist position in Japan, and the spread of Communism in China); the expansion and deepening of the influence of the Comintern in the imperialist countries — notwithstanding the partial stabilisation of capitalism and the relative strength of Social Democracy (Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain); the growth of underground parties marching forward in spite of incredible police and fascist terror (Italy, Poland, on the one hand, and China, Japan on the other), — in China, this terror bears the character of unparalleled mass butchery. Finally, the growth of the Bolshevik Parties, accumulation of experience, internal consolidation, overcoming of internal strife, recovery from the recent "opposition" crisis and the overcoming of the Trotskyist opposition in the Communist International.

At the same time it must be stated that all the Sections of the Communist International suffer from a number of general defects. These are: the as yet weak development of militant international solidarity; a certain amount of provincialism, manifesting itself in a lack of ability properly to appreciate to full significance of particularly big questions; weakness of work in the trade unions; lack of ability organisationally to consolidate the growth of political influence and to secure stability of membership of the Parties; inadequate attention on the part of a number of Parties to the work among the peasantry and among oppressed national minorities; a certain element of bureaucracy in the Party apparatus and methods of work (inadequate contact with the masses, weak initiative in recruiting members, lack of animation in the work of the subordinate nuclei, and a tendency to impose the work mainly upon Party functionaries); relatively low political and theoretical level of the Party cadres; weak contact with big industrial enterprises, while the reorganisation of the Parties on the basis of factory nuclei is far from being completed etc.

44. The Communist Party of Great Britain, whose past activity was judged by the VII. Enlarged Plenum, now stands confronted by new tasks. The sharp turn to the Right on the part of the leaders of the General Council of the T. U. C. and of the Labour Party; "Mondism"; the process of transformation which the Labour Party is undergoing into a Social-Liberal party on the continental Social Democratic model (the introduction of a corresponding political discipline, the growing centralisation of the apparatus, etc.); the expulsion of Communists and revolutionary workers generally from the trade unions, and the policy of splitting the trade unions inaugurated by the reformists (for example in Scotland) — while on the other hand the rank and file of the workers are displaying more and more Leftist temper, — has confronted the Communist Party with the task of maintaining a much more definitely class position and of conducting a more determined struggle against the Labour Party. The Communist Party of Great Britain, while displaying ability to approach the trade unions and capability in conducting work in a number of separate practical spheres, failed, however, immediately to appreciate the new circumstances and at its last Congress committed a serious mistake in advancing as the principal slogan: a Labour Government controlled by the Executive of the Labour Party. In connection with the new situation in Great Britain the IX. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. passed a resolution on tactics which implied a definite change in the whole work of the Party. Experience has shown that this tactical line corresponds to the new and special situation in

Great Britain and in the British labour movement. Complete class independence of the Communist Party; ruthless struggle against the Labour Party; energetic exposure of "industrial peace" with the Fascist chemical King, Mond; expansion and the organisational consolidation of the Minority Movement; to lead the strike movement; to conduct an active struggle against the foreign policy of the Government and of the Labour Party; to fight against intervention in China and against preparations for war against the U. S. S. R.; to support the Indian Revolution — these are the fundamental tasks of the Communist Party at the present time. At the same time the Party must take all measures possible to increase its membership, to develop its work in the factories, to strengthen the Party apparatus, to establish closer contact with the masses in the factories and workshops, to abandon the narrowness from which it suffers somewhat in its ideological and political outlook, etc. The Congress of the Communist International instructs the Party to initiate a wide discussion on the tactical change in the Party policy and on the methods of carrying out the new tactics.

45. A correct appreciation of the political line and of the work of the Communist Party of France was given at the VI. and particularly at the IX. Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. The latter found that a tactical change was necessary in the policy of the Communist Party of France in connection with the parliamentary elections. At the same time the Plenum emphasised the necessity for changing the relationships then existing between the Communist Party of France and the Socialist Party of France and for completely eradicating from its ranks the old parliamentary traditions and the tendency to link up the policy of the Communist Party with that of the "Left" wing petty-bourgeois parties. The results of the elections proved that the line laid down for the French Party by the IX. Plenum was correct. In the course of the election campaign, however, a number of mistakes and defects were revealed in the activities of the Party (election work was too superficial; this work was not linked up with the immediate struggles of the proletariat; weakness of the average membership of the Party; inadequate work among the farm labourers and peasants). Hence, the principal tasks that now confront the French Party are the following: to intensify the work among the masses of the industrial proletariat (particularly in the factories); increased recruiting of new members; radical improvement of trade union work; greater activity in the leadership of strikes and of the immediate struggles of the proletariat generally; to organise the unorganised; to establish wider trade union democracy in the C. G. T. U., in all links of the organisation, and the proper organisation of the work of Communists in the trade unions. The Party must intensify its anti-militarist work, its colonial work and work among the foreign workers. In internal Party life the Party must primarily put up strong resistance to Right wing tendencies which are offering more or less open resistance to the new political line of the Party (parliamentary deviations, survivals of anarcho-sindicalist tendencies, tendencies towards restoring the territorial bases of organisation). At the same time the Party must overcome "left" tendencies (excessive prominence of the Party in the trade unions, the overbearing, "commanding" attitude of Communists in the trade unions, repudiation of the united front tactics, etc.). In the sphere of organisation, the Party must take measures to widen its base in the big enterprises, to strengthen the Party nuclei in big enterprises, to stimulate their political life and to recruit new members for the Party.

46. Notwithstanding the exceptional terror directed against it, the Communist Party of Italy has managed to preserve its illegal organisation and to continue its propaganda and agitational work as the only Party genuinely fighting for the overthrow of Fascism and the capitalist regime. It has managed to extend considerable influence over the most active elements of the working class, who enabled the General Confederation of Labour to continue in existence after it was betrayed by the reformist leaders. However, the Party made the mistake in not changing the methods of its organisational work in proper time in order to preserve intact its revolutionary fighting capacity amidst conditions of Fascist reaction and Fascist exceptional laws. Consequently, organisational tasks now acquire exceptional significance for the Italian Party, (the creation of fresh cadres, the restoration of strong mass organisations, the adoption of new methods of agitational work, etc.).

In internal Party life, the Party has overcome the "Bordiga" ideology, which formerly predominated in its ranks, and has succeeded in securing a large measure of unity in ideology and political views. These successes enable the Party energetically to resume its former struggle against Right wing deviations (abandonment of the fight for the leadership of the proletariat), for under present conditions, these tendencies represent a very serious danger to the Party. At the same time, the Italian Communist Party must strongly combat all tendencies towards repudiating or curtailing the possibilities of extensive work for winning the masses who are at present under the influence of non-Communist, but anti-Fascist tendencies, or of the masses which Fascism is striving to influence. The Congress instructs the Italian comrades to utilise to a far greater degree than they have done hitherto all the opportunities that present themselves for work in the Fascist mass organisations, and for creating independent mass organisations for the purpose of expanding the influence of the Party.

47. The 3¼ million votes obtained by the Communist Party of Germany at the last elections reveal on the one hand the considerable growth of Communist influence among the masses of the workers and on the other hand the great disproportion that exists between the political influence of the Party and its organisational strength (stationary membership: 3¼ million votes, but only 125,000 paying members). The successes achieved in the trade union movement totally fail to correspond to the magnitude of the tasks that confront the Party in this sphere of work. A great achievement is the organisation of the Red Front Fighters, which is developing on a mass basis. The complete liquidation of ultra-Left deviations, the collapse of the so-called "Lenin Bund" and the self-exposure of its Social Democrats core, also represent a great victory for the German Communist Party. The Communist Party of Germany is one of the best units of the international proletarian revolutionary army, but it has against itself the best organised Social Democratic Party, which still has extremely strong roots in the country, — thus creating favourable soil for Right wing deviations even in the Communist movement itself. For that reason, consistent struggle against Right deviations (the slogan of control of production in the present stage of development; opposition to the decisions of the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U.; compromising attitude towards Left wing Social Democrats, etc); un-failing liquidation of tendencies conciliatory towards these deviations, while at the same time utilising for responsible Party work all the best Party workers who stand for the decisions of the Comintern and for the Essen Congress of the Communist Party of Germany; to steer a determined course for the consolidation of the Party; to consolidate all the forces of the existing leadership and strengthen its collective character, — while maintaining the absolute subordination of the minority to the majority, — all these are the tasks of the day. These tasks also include: the creation of new proletarian cadres; increasing the activity of the Party masses; raising the cultural, political and theoretical level of the active Party members; to improve the press and increase its circulation; to improve trade union work and the leadership of industrial conflicts.

48. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia continues to make progress in the direction of becoming a real mass Party of the proletariat. Nevertheless, it suffers from serious shortcomings: viz. a certain amount of opportunistic passivity in the leadership and inadequate ability to mobilise the masses and to organise mass resistance (for example the protest against the prohibition of the Spartakiad); the excessively legalist lines on which it conducts its practical work; inadequate attention to the peasant and national question and also extreme tardiness in removing defects in trade union work (lack of a sufficiently distinct Communist line, exclusiveness of Red Trade Unions; weak ties in reformist unions with cases in which the Communists, ideologically, follow in the wake of the reformists, etc.). At the same time, strong emphasis must be laid on the need — while conducting a strenuous fight against the Government and while protecting the legal positions of the Party — for preparing for underground conditions of working and fighting.

49. The Communist Party of Poland (underground), working amidst conditions of Fascist terror, has not only preserved its position, but has grown in membership and still more in political influence, and is becoming a serious political factor in the country, particularly in the industrial centres. Having

completely rectified the grave opportunistic errors committed during the Pilsudski coup d'Etat, the Party now has a correct political line. However, very serious danger exists in the internal struggle within the Party which is totally unjustified in view of the absence of any really important political disagreements. In view of the special importance that attaches to the Polish Party, and the grave responsibility that rests upon it in the event of war, the Congress strongly demands the complete cessation of fractional struggle and gives the E. C. C. I. special instructions to take in the name of the Congress all the necessary measures towards this end.

50. The Communist Parties in the Balkan countries are at the present time confronted by extremely important tasks. These tasks emerge from the instability of the internal political situation in all the Balkan countries, the steady intensification of the agrarian crisis in these countries, the growing complexity of national problems and also from the fact that the Balkans represent one of the most dangerous hotbeds for the breeding of fresh wars.

Recently, nearly all the Communist Parties in the Balkans experienced serious internal crises called forth by the political errors, Right-wing deviations in certain leading groups and by intense factional strife, all of which in turn were called forth by the severe defeats and the extreme complexity of the objective situation. At the present time, however, nearly all the Communist Parties in the Balkans are well on the way towards liquidating these internal crises and notwithstanding the reign of terror introduced by the respective Balkan Governments, are nearly all consolidating, restoring and expanding their contacts with the masses of the workers and peasants in the respective countries.

The Congress strongly emphasises the necessity for a correct line of policy for the Balkan Communist Parties in the national question, and the need for extensive agitational and organisational work among the masses of the peasantry.

Now that the Communist Party of Roumania has gone a long way towards overcoming the serious internal crisis which until very recently paralysed its work, the Congress strongly stresses the political and organisational tasks that now confront it in view of the fact that the Roumanian bourgeoisie and feudal classes are striving to excel all others in their preparations for an attack upon the U. S. S. R.

All the Balkan Parties must, far better than they have done hitherto, co-ordinate and combine their work under the general political slogan of: A Workers' and Peasants' Balkan Federation.

51. In regard to the Scandinavian countries, the Congress takes note of the intensification of class antagonisms in these countries, of a further sharp swing to the Right of Social-Democracy — and in Norway, the complete capitulation of the Centre (Transmaelism) to Social Democracy and a direct transition to the side of Ministerial Socialism. At the same time, the masses of the workers are swinging to the Left, and are, to an increasing extent, adopting the slogans of the Communist Party (the printers' strike and the protest strike against the anti-strike laws, in Sweden; the builders' strike against compulsory arbitration and the establishment of Workers' Self-defence Corps by the land and forest workers as a protection against black-legs, in Norway). The swing to the Left of the masses manifests itself in the movement in favour of agreements between the Scandinavian and Soviet trade unions and in the Norwegian-Finnish-Russian Conference that took place in Copenhagen, which demonstrated the desire of the masses for international trade union unity. Notwithstanding these successes, the Communist Parties in all the Scandinavian countries must, more strenuously than hitherto, strive to consolidate organisationally their political and ideological influence upon the masses of the toilers and particularly to expand and consolidate the swing to the Left of the proletariat by proper organisational measures.

52. The Workers (Communist) Party of America has displayed more lively activity and has taken advantage of the symptoms of crisis in American industry and the growth of unemployment (caused by the extremely rapid rise in the organic composition of capital and the development of the technique of production). A number of stubborn and fierce class battles (primarily the miners' strike) found in the Communist Party a stalwart leader. The campaign against the execution of

Sacco and Vanzetti was also conducted under the leadership of the Party, within which is observed a slackening of the long standing fractional struggle. While recording successes, however, references must be made to a number of Right mistakes committed in connection with the Socialist Party; to the fact that the Party has not with sufficient energy conducted work for the organisation of the unorganised and for the organisation of the Negro movement, and to the fact that it fails to carry on a sufficiently impressionable struggle against the predatory policy of the United States in Latin America. These mistakes, however, cannot be ascribed exclusively to the majority leadership.

On the question of organising a Labour Party, the Congress resolves: that the Party concentrates on the work in the trade unions, on organising the unorganised, etc., and in this way lay the basis for the practical realisation of the slogan of a broad Labour Party, organised from below. The most important task confronting the Party is to put an end to the factional strife, — which is not based on any serious differences on principles, — and at the same time to increase the recruiting of workers into the Party and to give a definite stimulus to the promotion of workers to leading posts in the Party.

53. The Communist Party of Japan, with its underground apparatus, has made its first entry into the electoral struggle. Notwithstanding the terror, it carries on mass agitational work, publishes an illegal organ, carries through mass campaigns, (for example the campaign of protest against the dissolution of the three mass organisations: Rodo Nominto, the Hyogikai — Left-wing trade union Federation — and the youth organisation). The principal task confronting the Party which is overcoming its internal ideological waverings, is to proceed along the path of converting itself into a mass Party. In order to achieve this, persistent work must be carried on among the masses of the proletariat and in the trade unions and the fight must be conducted for trade union unity. Work must also be carried on among the masses of the peasantry, particularly on the basis of the tenant-farmer movement. Notwithstanding the difficult conditions under which the Party has to work (the law inflicting the death penalty for "dangerous thoughts") and the numerical weakness of the Party, it must exert every effort to defend the Chinese Revolution and to fight against the predatory policy of Japanese imperialism.

54. The Communist Party of China has suffered a series of severe defeats due to a number of grave opportunist errors committed in the past: viz. lack of independence from and failure freely to criticise the Kuomintang; the failure to understand that the revolution was passing from one stage to another and the necessity for timely preparations for resistance, and finally, its retarding of the agrarian revolution. Under the blows of defeat the Party has heroically rectified its mistakes and has declared ruthless war on opportunism. Its leaders, however, committed a mistake of another kind in failing to put up sufficient resistance to obvious putschist and adventurist moods, which led to the unsuccessful uprisings in Hunan, Hupeh and other places. On the other hand, several comrades dropped into opportunist errors: they began to advance the slogan of a National Assembly. The Congress considers it to be absolutely wrong to regard the Canton uprising as a putsch. The Canton uprising was an heroic rear-guard action of the Chinese proletariat in the preceding period of the revolution, and notwithstanding the grave errors committed by the leaders in the course of the rising, it marks the beginning of the new Soviet phase of revolution. The principal tasks confronting the Party in the present situation, in the trough of two waves of the Revolution, are to fight for the masses; to carry on mass work among the workers and peasants; to restore their organisations and to take advantage of all discontent with the landowners, the bourgeoisie, the militarists and the foreign imperialists for the purpose of developing the revolutionary struggle. To achieve this, it is necessary to strengthen the Party itself in every way. The slogan of mass uprising now becomes a propaganda slogan; and only to the extent that the masses are really prepared and the conditions for a fresh revolutionary tide mature, will it again become the slogan of immediate practice on a higher plane, under the banner of the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry based on Soviets.

55. In the Latin American countries the principal task of the Communists is to organise and consolidate Communist Parties.

In some countries, (Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay) Communist Parties have been in existence for several years, and consequently, the task that now confronts them is to strengthen themselves ideologically and organisationally and to transform themselves into genuine mass parties. In several other countries, independent Communist Parties, organised as proletarian parties, do not yet exist. The Congress instructs the E. C. C. I. to devote more attention to the Latin-American countries generally and to draft a "programme of action" for the parties in these countries (which among other questions should include the extremely important agrarian peasant question and the question of combating United States Imperialism). The E. C. C. I. must secure the definite organisation of these Parties; see that proper relations are established between them and the non-Party organisations (trade unions, peasant unions); that they carry on proper work among the masses; that they consolidate and broaden the trade unions, unify and centralise them, etc.

56. The Congress notes a growth of Communist influence in South Africa. The Congress imposes the obligation upon all Communists there to take up as their central tasks the organisation of the toiling Negro masses, the strengthening of Negro trade unions and the fight against "white chauvinism". The fight against foreign imperialism in all its forms; the advocacy of complete and absolute equality for Negroes; strenuous struggle against all exceptional laws against Negroes; determined support for the fight against driving the peasants from the land; to organise the peasants for the struggle for the agrarian revolution, while at the same time strengthening the Communist groups and Parties — such must be the fundamental tasks of the Communists in these countries.

57. The Congress notes with special satisfaction that in the U. S. S. R., the land of the proletarian dictatorship, the Party of the proletariat, the C. P. S. U. (b), after overcoming the Social Democratic Trotskyist deviations in its ranks and after overcoming a number of the objective economic difficulties arising in the reconstruction period, has achieved important successes in the work of building up Socialism in the U. S. S. R. and has proceeded now to take up the work for the socialist reorganisation of peasant economy. Work for the building up of Socialism in the U. S. S. R. must henceforth develop on the basis of the industrialisation of the country as a whole and on the basis of intensified Socialist construction in the countryside (Soviet farms, collective farms and the organisation of individual farms into mass co-operative farms). Simultaneously with this work, the Leninist slogan concerning reliance upon the rural poor, alliance with the middle peasants and struggle against the kulak (rich farmer) must be systematically carried out.

The Congress places on record that the C. P. S. U. (b), has taken timely note of the elements of bureaucracy and conservatism in certain links of the State, economic, trade union, and even the Party apparatus and that it is conducting a strong campaign against these tendencies. The development of self-criticism; the intensification of the struggle against bureaucracy; the rallying of the forces and unfolding the activities of the working class — which commands the hegemony in the whole revolutionary development of the U. S. S. R., — represent the most important tasks of the Party. The Congress expresses the conviction that the Party will not only emerge victoriously from the economic difficulties arising from the general backwardness of the country, but — with the aid of the whole of the international proletariat — will also emerge victoriously from the external conflicts, for which the ruling groups in imperialist States are systematically preparing.

VIII. THE FIGHT FOR THE LENINIST LINE AND THE UNITY OF THE COMINTERN.

58. On the background of grave difficulties of the stabilisation period in the capitalist countries and of the difficulties of the reconstruction period in the U. S. S. R., oppositional groups arose in the Communist International which strove to organise themselves on an international scale. Their various wings and shades (from extreme Right wing to extreme "Left" wing) found their most complete expression in the criticism of the dictatorship in the U. S. S. R., which slanderously ascribed a more or less petty-bourgeois character to this dictatorship and undermined the mobilising capacity of the international proletariat.

In the various national sections of the Comintern, these views were linked up with extreme Right (the Souvarine group in France) and with extreme "Left" views (Korsch and Maslow in Germany). All these tendencies, inspired and united by Trotskyism, formed a united bloc, but began rapidly to break up after the defeat of the Trotskyist opposition in the C. P. S. U. The principal nucleus of this bloc in Western Europe, the so-called "Lenin-Bund", which was based on the platform of Trotskyism and which organised itself into an independent Party, exposed itself as an open agent of Social Democracy. In fact, a considerable section of this group passed directly into the Social Democratic party, the open and bitter opponent of the theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

59. On the basis of the partial stabilisation of capitalism and directly owing to the influence of Social Democracy, the principal line of deviation from the correct political position observed within the Communist Parties is to be found at the present time towards the Right. This manifests itself in survivals of "legalism", in an excessive obedience to the law; in "khvostism" in relation to the strike movement (dragging at the tail of the movement) in an incorrect attitude towards Social Democracy (for example the resistance that was offered to the decisions of the IX. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. in France), in inadequate reaction to international events, etc. In view of the existence of relatively strong Social Democratic Parties, these Right deviations are particularly dangerous and the fight against them must be put into the forefront. This implies a systematic struggle against a conciliatory attitude towards Right wing tendencies within the Communist Parties. However, side by side with this, there are "Left" deviations, which find their expression in a tendency to reject the tactics of the united front and the failure to understand the enormous importance of trade union work, in a policy of revolutionary phrases, and — in China, in putschist tendencies.

60. The Congress instructs all the Parties to combat these deviations and to combat them primarily by means of persuasion. The Congress places on record that the decisions of the VII. Enlarged Plenum concerning the raising of the theoretical level of the membership and the promotion of new Party workers, etc., has not been carried out in a number of important countries. The Congress is of the opinion that in view of the extreme complexity of the international situation and the possibility of sharp changes in the historical situation, all measures must be taken to raise the theoretical level of the Communist Parties generally, and of their principal cadres in particular. In view of the necessity to consolidate the central leadership of the Communist International and to guarantee the closest contact with the Parties, the Congress resolves that authoritative representatives of the most important Parties be appointed in the capacity of permanent workers in the leading organs of the Communist International.

61. The Congress instructs the E. C. C. I. to employ all measures necessary to preserve the unity of the Communist International and of its Sections. Only on the basis of good team work and on the condition that differences are removed primarily by methods of internal Party democracy, will it be possible to overcome the enormous difficulties of the present time and to fulfil the great tasks of the immediate future.

The serious mistakes observed in the internal life of our Parties at the present time (the tendency towards bureaucracy, drop in Party membership in several countries, political inactivity of the subordinate organisations, etc.), can be overcome only by raising the level of political life in the Communist Parties in all their organisational links on the basis of wider internal democracy. This does not imply that discipline is to be relaxed; on the contrary, it implies the general tightening up of iron, internal discipline, the absolute subordination of the minority to the majority, the absolute subordination of the minor organisations, as well as all other Party organisations (parliamentary fractions, fractions in the trade unions, the press, etc.) to the leading Party centres and of all Sections of the Comintern to the Executive Committee of the Comintern. The tightening up of proletarian discipline in the Parties; the consolidation of the Parties; the elimination of factional strife, etc., are an absolute condition for the victorious proletarian struggle against all the forces imperialism is mobilising.

Resolution on the Situation in the Soviet Union and in the C. P. S. U.

The VI. World Congress of the Communist International notes with extreme satisfaction the enormous progress made in the four years since the V. World Congress in the U. S. S. R., the only fatherland of the proletariat led by the Communist Party. Total production of industry has exceeded the pre-war level and the rate of the increase exceeds that of the capitalist countries. The economy of the country as a whole is developing rapidly, but the development of the socialist sector is even more rapid than that of the economy of the country as a whole. Big industry and electrification are making big strides. Large enterprises like the Volkhov and Dnieper schemes, and the Siberian-Turkestan Railway and the erection of large new factories demonstrate the creative power of the victorious proletariat and are evidence of the great successes achieved in the work of building up socialism.

Unlike that in capitalist countries in Europe, the reconstruction of industry in the U. S. S. R. has been accomplished without the aid of foreign loans, it has been accomplished exclusively by means of the country's own resources, while at the same time having to maintain a strenuous resistance to the constant outside pressure of capitalist environment.

The conditions of the proletariat have greatly improved. The 7-hour day and a 6-hour day for miners working underground is being introduced. Real wages have doubled since 1923 and now considerably exceed the pre-war level, (quite apart from the grants made for social services). The conditions of the working rural population, i. e. of the small and middle peasants to whom the revolution gave land, whom it freed from indebtedness and who now enjoy the full support of the proletarian dictatorship in their efforts to develop their homesteads, have also considerably improved.

Raising the standard of peasant farming is closely linked up with developing the organisation of the peasantry on a co-operative basis and especially with the development of collective forms of agriculture, which has already commenced, with encouraging the existing and creating new Soviet farms, and on the other hand with a still more intensified struggle against capitalist elements in the countryside, i. e. against the kulaks.

The proletarian state power has succeeded in restricting within narrow limits the upstarts of capitalism that unavoidably spring up in town and country as a result of N. E. P. and has exposed and crushed the counter-revolutionary sabotage of a section of the higher technical experts who were financed by the ex-owners and hostile governments. The hopes of the capitalists and of the Social Democrats that the New Economic Policy would lay the foundation for a return of capitalism have been definitely crushed. The capitalist elements are not developing to the detriment of the socialist sector. The very opposite is the case: the significance and the relative strength of the socialist sector in the economy of the country are steadily increasing and it is spreading its influence more and more over the private economic sector.

The VI. Congress declares that the successes achieved in socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. help to strengthen the position of the international working class in its struggles — led by the vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Party — against international capitalism; they help to revolutionise the broad working masses in the capitalist and colonial countries and to transform the U. S. S. R. even to a greater extent than ever before into a stronghold of the world revolution and the C. P. S. U. into the Leninist vanguard, from whose colossal experience all Sections of the Communist International are able to obtain their ideological and practical training.

Fully and completely endorsing the decisions of the XV. Congress of the C. P. S. U. the VI. Congress of the Comintern declares in unison with it that:

“Notwithstanding the leading and constantly growing role of the socialist economic core of the country, the in-

crease in the productive forces of the U. S. S. R. is unavoidably accompanied by a partial growth of class antagonisms. The capitalist sections in the towns and villages establish contact with certain bureaucratic elements in the government and economic apparatus, strive to increase their resistance to the onslaught of the working class and to influence certain strata of the office employees, intellectuals, backward artisans, peasants and workers against the proletarian dictatorship... The working class, led by the C. P. S. U., has counter-acted this hostile influence and growing activity of the capitalist elements by still further consolidating the regime of the proletarian dictatorship and by stimulating the activity and initiative and raising the cultural level of the proletarian masses.” (Resolution of the XV. Congress of the C. P. S. U. on the report of the C. C.)

The capitalist environment and growing pressure of world capitalism on the stronghold of all the workers — the U. S. S. R., a pressure which stimulates the activity of the urban and rural capitalist elements against the proletarian dictatorship, and the difficulties connected with the work of socialist construction, such as were manifested in the recent grain collection, renders it necessary that the proletarian State shall conduct an active policy directed towards the transformation of social relationship into collectivist relationships. These difficulties can be overcome only by strenuously combating the capitalist economic elements, by strengthening the alliance with the basic peasant masses (the middle peasants), by strenuous struggle against the kulak and by securing that the rural poor shall serve as a genuine and durable bulwark of the proletariat.

The VI. Congress of the Comintern notes the growing authority and influence of the C. P. S. U. among the working classes of the U. S. S. R. and throughout the whole world. The Congress notes an increase in the proletarian section of the membership of the C. P. S. U., a development and strengthening of proletarian democracy, and a growth of the profound confidence the working class of the U. S. S. R. displays towards its glorious, Leninist Party, the C. P. S. U.

The VI. Congress of the Comintern declares that thanks to its consistent Communist policy the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has succeeded in consolidating the proletarian dictatorship and in proceeding successfully with the building up of Socialism. By their unstinted support for the correct policy of the C. P. S. U. all the Sections of the Communist International assist the latter in the work of building up socialism.

Endorsing the decisions of the XV. Congress of the C. P. S. U. and reaffirming the decision of the IX. Plenum re the expulsion of the Opposition from the C. P. S. U., the Congress condemns the counter-revolutionary Menshevik activities carried on by the ex-opposition after their expulsion.

The Congress calls upon the C. P. S. U. to continue strenuously to combat the already numerically insignificant Trotskyist tendency, and calls upon all other Parties of the Communist International ideologically and organisationally to combat and to prevent every attempt to establish a Trotskyist opposition in their ranks.

The dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. is not menaced by degeneration, as is slanderously alleged by the ex-opposition, but by the armed attack of the world bourgeoisie, whose rule is being more and more threatened by the success of the State of the proletarian dictatorship. The VI. Congress of the Comintern therefore calls upon the proletariat of all countries and upon the oppressed and exploited of the world to exert all their efforts to frustrate the attack that is being prepared on the Soviet Union, the only proletarian fatherland.

The toilers of the whole world must do all in their power to defend and protect the U. S. S. R., which is the first victoriously won position of the world proletariat and a sure base for development of the proletarian world revolution.

Resolution on the Admittance of the Communist Parties of Cuba, Korea, New Zealand and Paraguay, of the Irish Workers League, the Socialist Party of Ecuador and the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Colombia into the Communist International.

The growth of influence of the Communist International in the colonies and semi-colonies has found organisational expression in the rise of new Communist Parties and in the affiliation of revolutionary workers' Parties to the International.

The VI. World Congress welcomes the formation and affiliation of these new Sections to the Communist International as further proof of the confidence the workers and peasant masses and the oppressed peoples have in the Communist International and in its leadership in the struggle against colonial oppression, and as a confirmation of the truly world character of its work.

The VI. World Congress therefore endorses the decisions taken by the Executive Committee in the period between the V. and the VI. World Congress concerning the admission as sections of the C. I.,

**of the Communist Party of Korea,
of the Communist Party of Cuba,
of the Irish Workers League,**

and furthermore resolves to admit to affiliation to the Communist International the Communist Party of New Zealand and the Communist Party of Paraguay.

The decision to affiliate to the C. I. taken by the last Congress of the Socialist Party of Ecuador and endorsed by a referendum of the organisations throughout the country and a similar decision taken unanimously by the last Congress of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of Colombia, demonstrate the determination of the mass of the workers of these two countries to fight under the banner of the Communist International, as the only leader of the international revolutionary movement.

The VI. World Congress also welcomes their decision to affiliate to the C. I. as an expression of the revolutionary enthusiasm of the oppressed masses of these countries in the fight under the banner of the Communist International, which alone is able to help and guide them in their striving towards liberation, and as an expression of the firm determination of these mass parties to become genuine Bolshevist parties. The VI. World Congress accepts the Socialist Party of Ecuador and the Socialist Revolutionary Party of Colombia as Sections of the C. I., but, in view of the fact that neither of these mass parties are as yet genuine Communist Parties in their organisational structure and in ideology, the Congress instructs the Executive Committee to give these Parties the necessary direction, advice and help to enable them to become genuine Communist Parties by changing their form of and consolidating their organisation, by raising their ideological level and by increasing their class consciousness. At the same time the mass character of these parties must be preserved and even strengthened.

By admitting these seven new Sections the Communist International is able to establish closer contact with additional millions of workers and peasants in countries exploited and oppressed by the brigands of imperialism.

By co-ordinating the struggle of these workers and peasants with that of the proletariat in the imperialist home countries, with that of the workers and peasants and the emancipated nations in the U. S. S. R. and of the millions of colonial slaves, the Communist International develops and organises on an ever increasing scale the revolutionary solidarity of all the oppressed, which is the necessary pre-condition for their victory over the bourgeoisie and imperialists the world over

Decision in the Case of Trotsky, Sapránov etc.

Having examined the declaration of Trotsky, Sapránov and other members of the Opposition expelled from the C. P. S. U. and now applying for reinstatement, the VI. World Congress of the C. I. resolves:

1. The World Congress fully approves the decision of the XV. Party Congress of the C. P. S. U. and the resolution of the IX. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. concerning the incompatibility of adherence to the Trotskyist Opposition and the propaganda of its views with the membership of the Bolshevik Party. In its views on questions of the programme, policy and organisation the Trotskyist group has sunk to the position of Menshevism and objectively has become an organ of struggle against the Soviet Power. Therefore, their expulsion from the C. P. S. U. was proper and inevitable.

2. The declaration submitted by the expelled members to the World Congress is fresh proof that Trotsky and the handful of his followers who, unlike the overwhelming majority of

the former opposition, refuse to submit to the conditions laid down by the XV. Party Congress, are continuing their struggle, their disruptive work and their slanderous campaign against the C. P. S. U. and the proletarian dictatorship. The Congress considers it superfluous to discuss with the enemies of the C. I. the counter-revolutionary political content of the Trotskyist platform, after the mass of the membership of all the Communist Parties has repeatedly and resolutely rejected their point of view.

3. The VI. World Congress endorses the decision of the XV. Party Congress of the C. P. S. U. on the expulsion of the Trotskyists. It is of the opinion that the measures taken subsequently against the leaders of the opposition were dictated entirely by revolutionary necessity and rejects the application of Trotsky, Radek, Sapránov and the other expelled members for reinstatement in the Party.

Decision in the Case of Maslow and Ruth Fischer.

After having examined the communication received from Maslow and Ruth Fischer, dated August 23, 1928, the VI. World Congress resolves:

1. The World Congress endorses all the decisions passed by meetings of the Plenum and of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. and also by the Communist Party of Germany concerning the Maslow-Ruth Fischer Trotskyist group.

2. The whole of the counter-revolutionary, splitting activities of the leaders of this group preclude all confidence in the sincerity of their declarations, and show that they are neither willing nor able to become Bolshevik fighters in the ranks of the Communist Party of Germany.

3. The World Congress therefore resolves to reject the application for reinstatement made by Maslow and Ruth Fischer and to pass on to next business.

4. At the same time the World Congress approves the declarations made by the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany that the way back to the C. P. of Germany shall be kept open for all workers expelled from the Party on account of their adherence to the Trotskyist groups, providing that they break with Maslow, Ruth Fischer and the other renegades of Communism and will unreservedly submit to all the decisions of the Communist Party of Germany and of the Communist International.

Resolution on the Case of Suzanne Girault and Others.

Suzanne Girault, expelled from the Communist Party of France for her profoundly anti-Communist conduct and for her factional activities, together with a small group that published the Opposition organ "Leninist Unity", has made application, jointly with a number of her political friends, for re-instatement in the Party.

In view of the fact that Suzanne Girault and her political friends continue stubbornly to adhere to their former oppositional political platform, refuse to admit their errors and deviations and to condemn the international factional struggle

carried on by the Opposition, and particularly in view of their refusal to admit the correctness of the decisions of the VIII. and IX. Plenums of the E. C. C. I. and of the XV. Congress of the C. P. S. U., which have been endorsed by the present Congress, the VI Congress rejects the application for reinstatement submitted by Suzanne Girault and her fellow members of the "Leninist Unity" group.

The VI. World Congress also rejects the application of the Treint group as well as that of the "Class War" group, which continue to adhere to the platform of Trotskyism.

Resolution on the Case of the Wynkoop Group.

The VI. World Congress of the Communist International has read the telegram and letter sent by the organisation calling itself "Communist Party of Holland, Central Committee", i. e., the so-called Wynkoop group in Holland.

In these documents, "assurances" are given of "loyalty" to the Programme and policy of the Comintern, and the World Congress is requested

"to find ways and means for restoring the Dutch section of the Comintern also in Holland, on the basis of the unconditional application of international Communist tactics".

These documents represent a clumsy attempt to deceive the Dutch workers. The "Wynkoop group" has no right whatever to describe itself as a Communist Party; it has nothing in common with Communism or with the Communist International.

In the course of several years the Communist International repeatedly examined the policy of the leaders of this group. This policy has always been replete with gross opportunist deviations even in regard to very important political questions like the colonial and trade union questions. Moreover, the leaders of the Wynkoop group repeatedly violated the decisions of the International, and finally placed themselves outside the ranks of the Communist world organisation by a number of

open breaches of discipline. Since that time they have opposed their sectarian schismatic organisation to the Dutch section of the Communist International. There is no need for "restoring" the Dutch section of the Communist International, it exists as the Communist Party of Holland (section of the Communist International). There is only one way by which the revolutionary workers of Holland still outside our ranks can participate in the struggle of the Communist World Party and that is by joining the Dutch section of the Communist International, by unconditionally recognising national and international discipline and by conscientiously carrying out the decisions passed by the Congresses of the Party and of the Communist International. The criminal splitting tactics of the Wynkoop group not only hinder the revolutionisation of the Dutch proletariat but also damage the revolutionary movement of our heroic Indonesian comrades who in their struggle against Dutch Imperialism stand in need of a strong and united Communist Party in Holland.

The VI. World Congress of the Communist International therefore calls upon all revolutionary Dutch workers not yet in our ranks to join the Communist Party of Holland, the section of the Communist International.

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