

**THE
TWENTY-ONE
CONDITIONS
&
PRINCIPLES OF
PARTY
ORGANIZATION**

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Twenty-one Conditions for Admission to the Communist International¹

The First Congress of the Communist International did not draw up precise conditions for the admission of parties into the Third International. When the First Congress was convened, only communist *trends* and *groups* existed in most countries.

It is in a different situation that the Second World Congress of the Communist International is meeting. In most countries, Communist *parties* and *organizations*, not merely trends, now exist.

Parties and groups only recently affiliated to the Second International are more and more frequently applying for membership in the Third International, though they have not become really Communist. The Second International has definitely been smashed. Aware that the Second International is beyond hope, the intermediate parties and groups of the “Center” are trying to lean on the Communist International, which is steadily gaining in strength. At the same time, however, they hope to retain a degree of “autonomy” that will enable them to pursue their previous opportunist or “Centrist” policies. The Communist International is, to a certain extent, becoming the vogue.

1 The “Twenty-one Conditions” of the Communist International were adopted at the Second Congress of the CI in 1920. For an organization to enter into the CI, it had to meet all of these conditions. Theses 1-19 were drafted by Lenin, while 20 and 21 were developed by commission during the Congress.

The desire of certain leading "Center" groups to join the Third International provides oblique confirmation that it has won the sympathy of the vast majority of class conscious workers throughout the world, and is becoming a more powerful force with each day.

In certain circumstances, the Communist International may be faced with the danger of dilution by the influx of wavering and irresolute groups that have not as yet broken with their Second International ideology.

Besides, some of the big parties (Italy, Sweden), in which the majority have adopted the communist standpoint, still contain a strong reformist and social-pacifist wing that is only waiting for an opportune moment to raise its head again, begin active sabotage of the proletarian revolution, and thereby help the bourgeoisie and the Second International.

No Communist should forget the lessons of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The Hungarian proletariat paid dearly for the Hungarian Communists having united with the reformists.

In view of all this, the Second World Congress deems it necessary to lay down absolutely precise terms for the admission of new parties, and also to set forth the obligations incurred by the parties already affiliated.

The Second Congress of the Communist International resolves that the following are the terms of Comintern membership:

1. Day-by-day propaganda and agitation must be genuinely communist in character. All press organs belonging to the parties must be edited by reliable Communists who have given proof of their devotion to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be discussed merely as a stock phrase to be learned by rote; it should be popularized in such a way that the practical facts systematically dealt with in our press day by day will drive home to every rank-and-file working man and working

woman, every soldier and peasant, that it is indispensable to them. Third International supporters should use all media to which they have access—the press, public meetings, trade unions, and co-operative societies—to expose systematically and relentlessly, not only the bourgeoisie but also its accomplices—the reformists of every shade.

2. Any organization that wishes to join the Communist International must consistently and systematically dismiss reformists and “Centrists” from positions of any responsibility in the working-class movement (party organizations, editorial boards, trade unions, parliamentary groups, co-operative societies, municipal councils, etc.), replacing them by reliable Communists. The fact that in some cases rank-and-file workers may at first have to replace “experienced” leaders should be no deterrent.

3. In countries where a state of siege or emergency legislation makes it impossible for Communists to conduct their activities legally, it is absolutely essential that legal and illegal work should be combined. In almost all the countries of Europe and America, the class struggle is entering the phase of civil war. In these conditions, Communists can place no trust in bourgeois legality. They must everywhere build up a parallel illegal organization, which, at the decisive moment, will be in a position to help the Party fulfill its duty to the revolution.

4. Persistent and systematic propaganda and agitation must be conducted in the armed forces, and Communist cells formed in every military unit. In the main Communists will have to do this work illegally; failure to engage in it would be tantamount to a betrayal of their revolutionary duty and incompatible with membership in the Third International.

5. Regular and systematic agitation is indispensable in the countryside. The working class cannot consolidate its victory without support from at least a section

of the farm laborers and poor peasants, and without neutralizing, through its policy, part of the rest of the rural population. In the present period communist activity in the countryside is of primary importance. It should be conducted, in the main, through revolutionary worker-Communists who have contacts with the rural areas. To forgo this work or entrust it to unreliable semi-reformist elements is tantamount to renouncing the proletarian revolution.

6. It is the duty of any party wishing to belong to the Third International to expose, not only avowed social-patriotism, but also the falsehood and hypocrisy of social-pacifism. It must systematically demonstrate to the workers that, without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international arbitration courts, no talk about a reduction of armaments, no "democratic" reorganization of the League of Nations will save mankind from new imperialist wars.

7. It is the duty of parties wishing to belong to the Communist International to recognize the need for a complete and absolute break with reformism and "Centrist" policy, and to conduct propaganda among the party membership for that break. Without this, a consistent communist policy is impossible.

The Communist International demands imperatively and uncompromisingly that this break be effected at the earliest possible date. It cannot tolerate a situation in which avowed reformists, such as Turati, Modigliani and others, are entitled to consider themselves members of the Third International. Such a state of affairs would lead to the Third International strongly resembling the defunct Second International.

8. Parties in countries whose bourgeoisie possess colonies and oppress other nations must pursue a most well-defined and clear-cut policy in respect of colonies and oppressed nations. Any party wishing to join the Third International must ruthlessly expose the colonial

machinations of the imperialists of its “own” country, must support—in deed, not merely in word—every colonial liberation movement, demand the expulsion of its compatriot imperialists from the colonies, inculcate in the hearts of the workers of its own country an attitude of true brotherhood with the working population of the colonies and the oppressed nations, and conduct systematic agitation among the armed forces against all oppression of the colonial peoples.

9. It is the duty of any party wishing to join the Communist International to conduct systematic and unflagging communist work in the trade unions, co-operative societies and other mass workers’ organizations. Communist cells should be formed in the trade unions, and, by their sustained and unflagging work, win the unions over to the communist cause. In every phase of their day-by-day activity these cells must unmask the treachery of the social-patriots and the vacillation of the “Centrists”. The cells must be completely subordinate to the party as a whole.

10. It is the duty of any party belonging to the Communist International to wage a determined struggle against the Amsterdam “International” of yellow trade unions.² Its indefatigable propaganda should show the

2 *The Amsterdam “International”* of yellow trade unions (the International Federation of Trade Unions) was established by reformist trade union leaders of a number of countries, at a conference held in Amsterdam on July 26-August 2, 1919. The trade union organizations of 14 countries merged to form this federation, viz., Britain, France, Germany, the USA, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Luxemburg, Norway, Sweden, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland and Spain. The reactionary trade union leaders of Britain and France were predominant in the Amsterdam International of trade unions, whose entire activities were connected with the policies of the opportunist parties of the Second International. The Amsterdam International came out in favor of the proletariat’s collaboration

organized workers the need to break with the yellow Amsterdam International. It must give every support to the emerging international federation of Red trade unions³ which are associated with the Communist International.

11. It is the duty of parties wishing to join the Third International to re-examine the composition of their parliamentary groups, eliminate unreliable elements and effectively subordinate these groups to the Party Central Committees. They must demand that every Communist proletarian should subordinate all his activities to the interests of truly revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

with the bourgeoisie, and rejected revolutionary forms of the proletariat's struggle. The leaders of the Amsterdam International pursued a policy of splitting the working-class movement, excluded Left-wing trade unions from the organization, and rejected all proposals by the Red International of Labour Unions for joint action against capital, the threat of war, reaction and fascism, and to establish world-wide trade union unity. The leaders of the Amsterdam International supported the anti-Soviet policy of the ruling circles of the imperialist states. During the Second World War the Amsterdam International's activities ceased.

- 3 *The Red International of Labour Unions (the Profintern)*—an international organization of revolutionary trade unions. It was organized in 1921, and existed till the end of 1937. It amalgamated trade union centers which had not entered the reformist Amsterdam International of trade unions, national revolutionary trade union centers, as well as opposition groups and trends within the reformist trade unions in a number of capitalist countries. The Red Trade Union International waged a struggle for unity in the trade union movement, on the basis of a revolutionary struggle, in defense of the demands of the working class, against capital and fascism, against the danger of imperialist war, and for solidarity with the working class of Soviet Russia.

12. The periodical and non-periodical press, and all publishing enterprises, must likewise be fully subordinate to the Party Central Committee, whether the party as a whole is legal or illegal at the time. Publishing enterprises should not be allowed to abuse their autonomy and pursue any policies that are not in full accord with that of the Party.

13. Parties belonging to the Communist International must be organized on the principle of democratic centralism. In this period of acute civil war, the Communist parties can perform their duty only if they are organized in a most centralized manner, are marked by an iron discipline bordering on military discipline, and have strong and authoritative party centers invested with wide powers and enjoying the unanimous confidence of the membership.

14. Communist parties in countries where Communists can conduct their work legally must carry out periodic membership purges (re-registrations) with the aim of systematically ridding the party of petty-bourgeois elements that inevitably percolate into them.

15. It is the duty of any party wishing to join the Communist International selflessly to help any Soviet republic in its struggle against counter-revolutionary forces. Communist parties must conduct incessant propaganda urging the workers to refuse to transport war materials destined for the enemies of the Soviet republics; they must conduct legal or illegal propaganda in the armed forces dispatched to strangle the workers' republics, etc.

16. It is the duty of parties which have still kept their old Social-Democratic programmes to revise them as speedily as possible and draw up new communist programmes in conformity with the specific conditions in their respective countries, and in the spirit of (Communist International decisions. As a rule, the programmes of all parties belonging to the Communist International

must be approved by a regular Congress of the Communist International or by its Executive Committee. In the event of the Executive Committee withholding approval, the party is entitled to appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.

17. All decisions of the Communist International's congresses and of its Executive Committee are binding on all affiliated parties. Operating in conditions of acute civil war, the Communist International must be far more centralized than the Second International was. It stands to reason, however, that in every aspect of their work the Communist International and its Executive Committee must take into account the diversity of conditions in which the respective parties have to fight and work, and adopt decisions binding on all parties only on matters in which such decisions are possible.

18. In view of the foregoing, parties wishing to join the Communist International must change their name. Any party seeking affiliation must call itself the Communist Party of the country in question (Section of the Third, Communist International). The question of a party's name is not merely a formality, but a matter of major political importance. The Communist International has declared a resolute war on the bourgeois world and all yellow Social-Democratic parties. The difference between the Communist parties and the old and official "Social-Democratic", or "socialist", parties, which have betrayed the banner of the working class, must be made absolutely clear to every rank-and-file worker.

19. After the conclusion of the proceedings of the Second World Congress of the Communist International, any party wishing to join the Communist International must at the earliest date convene an extraordinary congress for official acceptance of the above obligations on behalf of the entire party.

20. Those parties that now wish to enter the Communist International but have not yet radically altered their previous tactics must, before they join the Communist International, see to it that no less than two thirds of the central committee and of all their most important central institutions consist of comrades who even before the Second Congress of the Communist International spoke out unambiguously in public in favor of the entry of the party into the Communist International. Exceptions may be permitted with the agreement of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International also has the right to make exceptions in relation to the representatives of the centrist tendency mentioned in thesis 7.

21. Those party members who fundamentally reject the conditions and Theses laid down by the Communist International are to be expelled from the party. The same will apply particularly to delegates to the special party congress.

Principles of Party Organization⁴

I. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

1. The organization of the Party must be adapted to the conditions and to the goal of its activity. The Communist Party must be the *vanguard, the advanced post of the Proletariat*, through all the phases of revolutionary class struggle and during the subsequent transition period towards the realization of Socialism, *i.e.*, the first stage of the Communist society.

2. There can be no absolutely infallible and unalterable form of organization for the Communist Parties. The conditions of the proletarian class struggle are subject to changes in a continuous process of evolution, and in accordance with these changes, the organization of the proletarian vanguard must be constantly seeking for the corresponding forms. The peculiar conditions of every individual country likewise determine the special adaptation of the forms of organization of the respective Parties.

But this differentiation has definite limits. Regardless of all peculiarities, the quality of the conditions of the proletarian class struggle in the various countries, and through the various phases of the proletarian revolution, is of fundamental importance to the international Communist movement, creating a common basis for the organization of the Communist Parties in all countries.

4 Adopted by the Third Congress of the Communist International in 1921. This thesis on organization of Communist Parties was drafted under the guidance of Lenin.

Upon this basis, it is necessary to develop the organization of the Communist Parties, but not to seek to establish any new model parties instead of the existing ones and to aim at any absolutely correct form of organization and ideal constitutions.

3. Most Communist Parties, and consequently the Communist International as the united party of the revolutionary proletariat of the world, have this common feature in their conditions of struggle, that they still have to fight against the dominant bourgeoisie. To conquer the bourgeoisie, and to wrest the power from its hands is, for all of them, until further developments, the determining and guiding main goal. *Accordingly, the determining factor in the organizing activity of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries must be the upbuilding of such organizations, as will make the victory of the proletarian revolution over the possessing classes, both possible and secure.*

4. Leadership is a necessary condition for any common action, but most of all, it is indispensable in the greatest fight in the world's history. The organization of the Communist Party is the organization of Communist leadership in the proletarian revolution.

To be a good leader, the Party itself must have good leadership. Accordingly, the principal task of our organizational work must be: education, organization and training of efficient Communist Parties under capable directing organs to the leading place in the proletarian revolutionary movement.

5. The leadership in the revolutionary class struggle presupposes the organic combination of the greatest possible striking force and of the greatest adaptability on the part of the Communist Party and its leading organs to the everchanging conditions of the struggle. Furthermore, successful leadership requires, absolutely,

the closest association with the proletarian masses. With out such association, the leadership will not lead the masses, but at best, will follow behind the masses.

The organic unity in the Communist Party organization must be attained through democratic centralization.

II. ON DEMOCRATIC CENTRALIZATION

6. Democratic centralization in the Communist Party organization must be a real synthesis, *a fusion of centralism and proletarian democracy*. This fusion can be achieved only on the basis of constant common activity, constant common struggle of the entire Party organization. Centralization in the Communist Party organization does not mean formal and mechanical centralization, but a centralization of Communist activities, that is to say, the formation of a strong leadership, ready for war and at the same time capable of adaptability. A formal or mechanical centralization is the centralization of the 'power' in the hands of an industrial bureaucracy, dominating over the rest of the membership, or over the masses of the revolutionary proletariat standing outside the organization. Only the enemies of the Communists can assert that the Communist Party, conducting the proletarian class struggle and centralizing the Communist leadership, is trying rule over the revolutionary proletariat. Such an assertion is a lie. Neither is any rivalry for power, nor any contest for supremacy within the Party at all compatible with the fundamental principles of democratic centralism adopted by the Communist International.

In the organization of the old, non-revolutionary labor movement, there has developed an all-pervading dualism of the same nature as that of the bourgeois state, namely, the dualism between the bureaucracy and the 'people'. Under this baneful influence of bour-

geois environment, there has developed a separation of functions, a substitution of barren, formal democracy for the living association of common endeavor and the splitting up of the organization into active functionaries and passive masses. Even the revolutionary labor movement inevitably inherits this tendency to dualism and formalism to a certain extent from the bourgeois environment.

The Communist Party must, fundamentally, overcome these contrasts by systematic and persevering political and organizing work and by constant improvement and revision.

7. In transforming a Socialist mass party into a Communist Party, the Party must not confine itself to merely concentrating the authority in the hands of its central leadership while leaving the old order unchanged. Centralization should not merely exist on paper, but be actually carried out, and this is possible of achievement only when the members at large will feel this authority as a fundamentally efficient instrument in their common activity and struggle. Otherwise, it will appear to the masses as a bureaucracy within the Party and, therefore, likely to stimulate opposition to all centralization, to all leadership, to all stringent discipline. Anarchism is the opposite pole of bureaucracy.

Merely formal democracy in the organization cannot remove either bureaucratic or anarchical tendencies, which have found fertile soil on the basis of just that democracy. Therefore, the centralization of the organization, *i.e.*, the aim to create a strong leadership, cannot be successful if its achievement is sought on the basis of formal democracy. The necessary preliminary conditions are the development and maintenance of living associations and mutual relations within the Party between the directing organs and members, as well as between the Party and the masses of the proletariat outside the Party.

III. ON THE DUTIES OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITY

8. The Communist Party must be a training school for revolutionary Marxism. The organic ties between the different parts of the organization and the membership become joined through the daily common work in the Party activities.

Regular participation, on the part of most of the members in the daily work of the parties, is lacking even today in lawful Communist Parties. That is the chief fault of these parties, forming the basis of constant insecurity in their development.

9. In the first stages of its Communist transformation, every workmen's party is in danger of being content with having accepted a Communist program, with having substituted the old doctrine in its propaganda by Communist teaching, and having replaced the official belonging to the hostile camp by Communist officials. The acceptance of the Communist program is only the expression of the will to become a Communist. If the Communist activity is lacking, and the passivity of the mass members still remains, then the Party does not fulfill even the least part of the pledge it had taken upon itself in accepting the Communist program. *For the first condition of an earnest carrying out of the program is the participation of all the members in the constant daily work of the Party.*

The art of Communist organization lies in the ability of making a use of each and every one for the proletarian class struggle; of distributing the Party work amongst all the Party members and of constantly attracting, through its members, ever wider masses of the proletariat to the revolutionary movement. Further, it must hold the direction of the whole movement in its

hands not by virtue of its might, but by its authority, energy, greater experience, greater all-round knowledge and capabilities.

10. A Communist Party must strive to have only really active members, and to demand from every rank and file Party worker, that he should place his whole strength and time, in so far as he can himself dispose of it under existing conditions, at the disposal of his Party and devote his best forces to these services.

Membership in the Communist Party entails naturally, besides Communist convictions, formal registration, first as a candidate, then as a member; likewise, the regular payment of the established fees, the subscription to the Party paper, etc. But the most important is the participation of each member in the daily work of the Party.

11. For the purpose of carrying out the Party work, every member, must as a rule, be also a member of a working smaller group, a committee, a commission, a broad group, fraction or nucleus. Only in this way can the Party work be properly distributed, directed and carried on.

Attendance at the general meeting of the members of the local organization, of course, goes without saying; it is not wise to try, under conditions of legal existence, to replace these periodical meetings under lawful conditions by meetings of local representatives. All the members must be bound to attend these meetings regularly. But that is in no way sufficient. The very preparation of these meetings presupposes work in smaller groups or through comrades detailed for the purpose, effectively utilizing as well as the preparations of the general workers' meetings, demonstrations and mass action of the working class. The numerous tasks connected with these activities, can be carefully studied only in smaller groups, and carried out intensively. Without such a constant daily work of the entire membership, divided

among the great mass of smaller groups of workers, even the most laborious endeavors to take part in the class struggle of the proletariat will lead only to weak and futile attempts to influence these struggles, but not to the necessary consolidation of all the vital revolutionary forces of the proletariat into a single united capable Communist Party.

12. Communist nuclei must be formed for the daily work in the different branches of the Party activities; for timely agitation, for Party study, for newspaper work, for the distribution of literary matter, for information service, for constant service, etc.

The Communist nuclei are the kernel groups for the daily Communist work in the factories and workshops, in the trade unions, in the proletarian associations, in military units, etc.; wherever there are at least several members or candidates for membership in the Communist Party. If there are a greater number of Party members in the same factory or in the same union, etc., then the nucleus is enlarged into a fraction and its work is directed to the kernel group.

Should it be necessary to form a wider opposition fraction or to take part in existing one, then the Communists should try to take the leadership in it through special nucleus. Whether a Communist nucleus is to come out in the open, as far as its own surroundings are concerned, or even before the general public, will depend on the special conditions of the case after a serious study of the dangers and the advantages thereof.

13. The introduction of general obligatory work in the Party and the organization of these small working groups is an especially difficult task for Communist mass parties. It cannot be carried out all at once; it demands unwearing perseverance, mature consideration and much energy.

It is especially important that *this new form of organization* should be carried out from the very beginning with care and mature consideration. It would be an easy matter to divide all the members in each organization, according to a formal scheme, into small nuclei and groups and to call these latter at once to the general daily Party work. Such a beginning would be worse than no beginning at all; it would only call forth discontent and aversion among the Party members towards these important innovations.

It is recommended that the Party should take counsel with several capable organizers who are also convinced and inspired communists, and thoroughly acquainted with the state of the movement in the various centers of the country, and work out a detailed foundation for the introduction of these innovations. After that trained organizers or organizing committees must take up the work on the spot, elect the first leaders of the groups and conduct the first steps of the work. All the organizations, working groups, nuclei and individual members must then receive concrete, precisely defined tasks presented in such a way as to at once appear to them to be useful, desirable and capable of execution. Wherever it may be necessary they must be shown by practical demonstrations in what way these tasks are to be carried out. They must be warned, at the same time, of the false steps especially to be avoided.

14. This work of re-organization must be carried out in practice step by step. In the beginning too many nuclei or groups of workers should not be formed in the local organization. It must first be proved in small cases that the nuclei, formed in separated important factories and trade unions, are functioning properly and that the necessary groups of workers have been formed also in the other chief branches of the Party activities and have, in some degree, become consolidated (for

instance, in the information, communication, women's movement, or agitation department, newspaper work, unemployment movement, etc.). Before the new organization apparatus will have acquired a certain practice, the old frames of the organization should not be heedlessly broken up. At the same time this fundamental task of the Communist organization work must be carried out everywhere with the greatest energy. This places great demands not only on a legalized Party, but also on every unlegalized Party.

Until widespread network of Communist nuclei, fractions and groups of workers will be at work at all central points of the proletarian class struggle, until every member of the Party will be doing his share of the daily revolutionary work and this will have become natural and habitual for the members, the Party can allow itself no rest in its strenuous labors for the carrying out of this task.

15. This fundamental organizational task imposes upon the leading Party organs the obligation of constantly directing and exercising a systematic influence over the Party work. This requires manifold exertion on the part of those comrades who are active in the leadership of their organization of the Party. Those in charge of Communist activity must not only see to it that comrades –men and women– should be engaged in Party work in general, they must help and direct such work systematically and with practical knowledge of the business with a precise orientation in regard to special conditions. They must also endeavor to find out any mistake committed in their own activities on the basis of experience, constantly improving the methods of work and not forgetting for a moment the object of the struggle.

16. Our whole Party work, consists either of direct struggles on theoretical or practical grounds or of preparation for the struggle. The specialization of this

work has been very defective up to now. There are quite important branches in which the activity of the Party has been only occasional. For the lawful parties have done little in the matter of combating against secret service men. The instructing of our Party comrades has been carried on as a rule, only casually, as a secondary matter and so superficially that the greater part of the most important resolutions of the Party, even the Party program and the resolutions of the Communist International have remained unknown to the large strata of the membership. The instruction work must be carried on methodically and unceasingly through the whole system of the Party organization in all the working committees of the Parties in order to obtain an ever-higher degree of specialization.

17. To the duties of the Communist activity belongs also that of submitting reports. This is the duty of all the organizations and organs of the Party as well as every individual member. There must be general reports made covering short periods of time. Special reports must be made on the work of special committees of the party. It is essential to make the work of reporting so systematic that its should become an established procedure as the best tradition of the Communist movement.

18. The Party must hand in its quarterly report to the leading body of the Communist International. Each organization in the Party has to hand in its report to the next leading committee (for instance, monthly report of the local branches to the corresponding Party committee).

Each nucleus, fraction and group of workers must send its report to the Party organ under whose leadership it is placed. The individual members must hand in their reports to the nucleus or group of workers,

(respectively to the leader) to which he belongs, and on the carrying out of some special charge to the Party organ from which the order was received.

The report must always be made on the first opportunity. It is to be made by word of mouth, unless the Party or the person who had given the order, demands written report. The reports must be concise and to the point. The receiver of the report is responsible for having such communication as cannot be published without harm kept in safe custody and that important reports be sent in without delay to the corresponding Party organ.

19. All these reports must naturally be limited to the account of what the reporter has done himself. They must contain also information on such circumstances which may have come to light during the course of the work and which have a certain significance for our struggle, particularly such considerations as may give rise to a modification or improvement of our future work; also proposals for improvement necessity for which may have made itself felt during the work, must be included in the report.

In all Communist nuclei, fractions and groups of workers, all reports, both those which have been handed into them and those that they have to send, must be thoroughly discussed. Such discussions must become a regular habit.

Care must be taken in the nuclei and groups of workers that individual Party members or groups of members be regularly charged with observing and reporting on hostile organizations, especially with regard to the petty-bourgeois workers organizations and chiefly the organization of the "socialist" parties.

IV. ON PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION

20. Our chief general duty to the open revolutionary struggle is to carry on revolutionary propaganda and agitation. This work and its organization is still, in the main, being conducted in the old formal manner, by means of casual speeches at the mass meetings and without special care for the concrete revolutionary substance of the speeches and writings.

Communist propaganda and agitation must be made to take root in the very midst of the workers, out of their common interests and aspirations, and especially out of their common struggle.

The most important point to remember is— *that Communist propaganda must be of a revolutionary character*. Therefore, the Communist watchword (slogans) and the whole Communist attitude towards concrete questions must receive our special attention and consideration.

In order to achieve that correct attitude, not only the professional propagandists and agitators, but also all other Party members must be carefully instructed.

21. The principal forms of Communist propaganda are:

- (i) Individual verbal propaganda.
- (ii) Participation in the industrial and political labor movement.
- (iii) Propaganda through the Party Press and distribution of literature.

Every member of a legal and illegal Party is to participate regularly in one or the other of these forms of propaganda.

Individual propaganda must take the form of systematic house to house canvassing by special groups of workers. Not a single house within the area of Party influence must be omitted from this canvassing. In larger towns a special organized outdoor campaign with

posters and distribution of leaflets usually produce satisfactory results. In addition, the fraction should carry on a regular personal agitation in the workshops accompanied by a distribution of literature.

In countries whose population contains national minorities, it is the duty of the Party to devote the necessary attention to propaganda and agitation among the proletarian strata of these minorities. *The propaganda and agitation must, of course, be conducted in the languages of the respective national minorities, for which purpose the Party must create the necessary special organs.*

22. In those capitalist countries where a large majority of the proletariat has not yet reached revolutionary consciousness, the Communist agitation must be constantly on the lookout for new forms of propaganda in order to meet these backward workers half-way and thus facilitate their entry into the revolutionary ranks. The Communist propaganda with its watchwords (slogans) must bring out the budding, unconscious, incomplete, vacillating and semi-bourgeois revolutionary tendencies which are struggling for supremacy with the bourgeois traditions and conceptions in the minds of the workers.

At the same time, Communist propaganda must not rest content with the limited and confused demands or aspirations of the proletarian masses. These demands and expectations contain revolutionary germs and are a means of bringing the proletariat under the influence of Communist propaganda.

23. Communist agitation among the proletarian masses must be conducted in such a way that our Communist organization appears as the courageous, intelligent; energetic and ever-faithful leader of their own labor movement.

In order to achieve this, the Communists must take part in all the elementary struggles and movements of the workers, and must defend the workers' cause in all conflicts between them and the capitalists over hours and conditions of labor, wages, etc. The Communists must also pay great attention to the concrete questions of working class life. They must help the workers to come to a right understanding of these questions. They must draw their attention to the most flagrant abuses and must help them to formulate their demands in a practical and concise form. In this way they will awaken in the workers the spirit of solidarity, the consciousness of community of interests among all the workers of the country as a united working class, which in its turn is a section of the world army of proletarians.

It is only through an every day performance of such elementary duties and participation in all the struggles of the proletariat that the Communist Party can develop into a real Communist Party. It is only by adopting such methods that it will be distinguished from the propagandists of the hackneyed, so-called pure socialist propaganda, consisting of recruiting new members and talking about reforms and the use of parliamentary possibilities or rather impossibilities. The self-sacrificing and conscious participation of all the Party members in the daily struggles and controversies of the exploited with the exploiters is essentially necessary not only for the conquest, but in a still higher degree for the carrying out of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is only through leading the working masses in the petty warfare against the onslaughts of capitalism that the Communist Party will be able to become the vanguard of the working class, acquiring the capacity for systematic leadership of the proletariat in its struggle for supremacy over the bourgeoisie.

24. Communists must be mobilized in full force, especially in times of strikes, lockouts, and other mass dismissals of workers in order to take part in the workers' movement.

It would be a great mistake for Communist to treat with contempt the present struggles of workers for slight improvements in their working conditions, even to maintain a passive attitude to them on the plea of the Communist program, and the need of armed revolutionary struggle for final aims. No matter how small and modest the demands of the workers may be, for which they are ready and willing to fight today with the capitalist, the Communists must never make the smallness of the demands an excuse, at the same time, for non-participation in the struggle. Our agitational activity should not lay itself bare to the accusation of stirring up and inciting the workers to nonsensical strikes and other inconsiderate actions. *The Communists must try to acquire the reputation among the struggling masses of being courageous and effective participator in their struggles.*

25. The Communist cells (or fractions) within the trade union movement have proved themselves in practice rather helpless before some of the most ordinary questions of everyday life. It is easy, but not fruitful, to keep on preaching the general principles of Communism and then fall into the negative attitude of commonplace syndicalism when faced with concrete questions. Such practices only play into the hands of the Yellow Amsterdam International.

Communists should, on the contrary, be guided in their actions by a careful study of every aspect of the question.

For instance, instead of contenting themselves with resisting theoretically and on principle all working agreements (over wages and working conditions), they should rather take the lead in the struggle over the spe-

cific nature of the tariffs (wage agreements) recommended by the Amsterdam leaders. It is, of course, necessary to condemn and resist any kind of impediment to the revolutionary preparedness of the proletariat and it is a well-known fact that it is the aim of the capitalists and their Amsterdam myrmidons to tie the hand of the workers by all manners of working agreements. Therefore, it behooves the Communist to open the eyes of the workers to the nature of the aims. This the Communists can best attain by advocating agreements which would not hamper the workers.

The same should be done in connection with the unemployment, sickness and other benefits of the; trade union organizations. The creation of fighting funds and the granting of strike pay are measures which in themselves are to be commended.

Therefore the opposition on principle against such activities would be ill-advised. But Communist should point out to the workers that the manner of collection of these funds and their use, as advocated by the Amsterdam leaders, is against all the interests of the working class. In connection with the sickness benefit etc., Communists should insist on the abolition of the contributory system, and of all binding conditions in connection with all volunteer funds. If some of the trade union members are still anxious to secure sickness benefit by paying contributions, it would not do for us to simply prohibit such payments for fear of not being understood by them. It will be necessary to win over such workers from their small bourgeois conceptions by an intensive personal propaganda.

26. In the struggle against Social-Democratic and petty-bourgeois trade union leaders, as well as against the leaders of various labor parties, one cannot hope to achieve much by persuasion. The struggle against them should be conducted in the most energetic fashion and, the best way to do this is, by depriving them of their fol-

lowing, showing up to the workers the true character of these treacherous socialist leaders who are only playing into the hands of capitalism. The Communists should endeavor to unmask these so-called leaders, and subsequently, attack them in the most energetic fashion.

It is by no means sufficient to call Amsterdam leaders (*i. e.*, leaders of the reformist trade unions) yellow. Their yellowness must be proved by continual, and practical illustrations. Their activities in the trade unions, in the International Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, in the bourgeois ministries and administration, their treacherous speeches at conferences and parliaments, the exhortations contained in many of their written messages and in the Press, and above all, their vacillations and hesitating attitude in all struggles even for the most modest rise in wages, offer constant opportunities for exposing the treacherous behavior of the Amsterdam leaders in simpleworded speeches and resolutions.

The fraction must conduct their practical vanguard movement in a systematic fashion. The Communists must not at all allow the excuses of the minor trade union officials who, notwithstanding good intentions, often take refuge, through sheer weakness, behind statutes, union decisions and instructions from their superiors to hamper their march forward. On the contrary, they must insist on getting satisfaction from the minor officials in the matter of removal of all real or imaginary obstacles, but in the way of the workers by the bureaucratic machine.

27. The fractions must carefully prepare the participation of the Communists in conferences and meetings of the trade union organizations. For instance, they must elaborate proposals, select lecturers and counsels and put up candidates for elections, capable, experienced and energetic comrades. The Communist organizations must, through their fractions, also make careful

preparations in connection with all workers' meetings, election meetings, demonstration, political festivals and such like arranged by the hostile organizations. *Whenever Communists convene their own worker's meetings, they must arrange to have considerable groups of Communists distributed among the audience and they must make all the preparations for the assurance of satisfactory propaganda result.*

28. Communists must also learn how to draw unorganized and backward workers permanently into the ranks of Party. With the help of our fractions, we must induce the workers to join the trade unions and to read our Party organs. Other organizations, as for instance educational boards, study circles, sporting clubs, dramatic societies, co-operative societies, consumer's associations, war victims' organizations, etc., may be used as intermediaries between us and the workers. Where the Communist Party is working illegally, such workers association may be formed outside the Party through the initiative of Party members and with the consent, and under the control, of the leading Party organs (unions of sympathizers).

Communist youth and women's organizations may also be helpful in rousing the interests of many politically indifferent proletarians, and in drawing them eventually inside the Communist Party through the intermediary of their educational courses, reading circles, excursions, festivals, sunday rambles, etc., distributing of leaflets, increasing the circulation of the Party organ, etc. Through participation in the general movement, the workers will free themselves from their small bourgeois inclinations.

29. In order to win the semi-proletarian sections of the workers, as sympathizers of the revolutionary proletariat, the Communists must make use of their special antagonism to the landowners, the capitalists and the capitalist state in order to win those intermediary

groups from their mistrust of the proletariat. This may require prolonged negotiations with them, or intelligent sympathy with their needs, free help and advice in any difficulties, also opportunities to improve their education, etc., all of which will give them confidence in the Communist movement. The Communists must also endeavor to counteract the pernicious influence of hostile organizations which occupy authoritative positions in the respective districts, or may have influence over the petty-bourgeois working peasants, over those who work in the home industries and other semi-proletarian classes. These are known by the exploited, from their own bitter experience, to be the representatives and embodiment of the entire criminal capitalist system, and must be unmasked. All every day occurrences, which bring the state bureaucracy into conflict with the ideals of petty-bourgeois democracy and jurisdiction, must be made use of in a judicious and energetic manner in the course of Communist agitation. Each local country organization must carefully apportion, among its members, the duties of house to house canvassing in order to spread Communist propaganda in all the villages, farmsteads and isolated dwellings in their district.

30. The methods of propaganda in the armies and navies of capitalist states must be adaptable to the peculiar conditions in each country. Antimilitarist agitation of a pacifist nature is extremely detrimental and only assist the bourgeoisie in its efforts to disarm the proletariat. The proletariat rejects on principle, and combats with the utmost energy, every kind of military institution of the bourgeois state, and of the bourgeois class in general. Nevertheless, it utilizes these institutions (army, rifle-clubs, citizens' guard organization, etc.) for the purpose of giving the workers military training for the revolutionary battles to come. Intensive agitation must therefore be directed, not against the

military training of the youth and workers. Every possibility of providing the workers with weapons, should most eagerly be taken advantage of.

The class antagonisms revealing themselves as they do in the materially favored positions of the officers, as against the bad treatment and social insecurity of life of the common soldiers, must be made very clear to the soldiers. Besides, the agitation must bring home the fact to the rank and file that its future is inextricably bound up with the fate of the exploited classes. In a more advanced period of incipient revolutionary fermentation, agitation for the democratic election of all commanders by the privates and sailors and for the formation of soldiers' councils may prove very advantageous in undermining the foundations of capitalist rule.

The closest attention and the greatest care are always required when agitating the picked troops used by the bourgeoisie in the class war, and especially against its volunteer bands.

Moreover the social composition and corrupt conduct of these troops and bands make it possible; every favorable moment for agitation should be made use of for creating disruption. Wherever it possesses a distinct bourgeois class character, as for example in the officer corps, it must be unmasked before the entire population and made so despicable and repulsive, that they will be disrupted from within by virtue of their very isolation.

V. THE ORGANIZATION OF POLITICAL STRUGGLE

31. For the Communist Party, there can be no period in which its Party organization cannot exercise political activity. For the purpose of utilizing every political and economic situation, as well as the changes in these situations, organizational strategy and tactics must be developed. No matter how weak the Party may be, it

can nevertheless take advantage of exciting political events or of extensive strikes affecting the entire economic system by radical propaganda systematically and efficiently organized. Once a Party has decided to thus make use of a particular situation, it must concentrate the energy of all its members and Party in this campaign.

Furthermore, all the connections which the Party possesses through the work of its nuclei and its workers' groups, must be used for organizing mass meetings in the centers of political importance and following up a strike. The speakers for the Party must do their utmost to convince the audience that only Communism can bring the struggle to a successful conclusion. Special commissions must prepare these meetings very thoroughly. If the Party cannot, for some reasons, hold meetings of its own, suitable comrades should address the strikers at the general meetings organized by the strikers or any other sections of the struggling proletariat.

Wherever there is a possibility of inducing the majority, or a large part of any meeting, to support our demand, these must be well-formulated and properly argued in motions and resolutions being passed, attempts must be made to have similar resolution or motions adopted in ever-increasing numbers, at any rate supported by strong minorities at all the meetings held on the same question at the same place or in other localities. In this way we shall be able to consolidate the working masses in the movement, put them under our moral influence, and have them recognized our leadership.

After all such meetings the committees, which participated in the organizational preparations and utilized its opportunities, must hold a conference to make a report to be submitted to the leading committees of the Party and draw the proper conclusion from the experi-

ence or possible mistakes, made for the future. In accordance with each particular situation, the practical demands of the workers involved, must be made public by means of posters and handbills or leaflets distributed among the workers proving to them by means of their own demands how the Communist policies are in agreement with and applicable to the situation. Specially organized groups are required for the proper distribution of posters, the choice of suitable spots, as well as the proper time for such pasting. The distributing of handbills should be carried out in and before the factories and in the halls where the workers concerned want to gather, also at important points in the town, employment offices and stations. Such distribution of leaflets should be accompanied by attractive discussions and slogans, readily permeating all the ranks of the working masses. Detailed leaflets should, if possible, be distributed only in halls, factories, dwellings or other places where proper attention to the printed matter may be expected.

Such propaganda must be supported by parallel activity at all the trade unions and factory meetings held during the conflict and at such meetings, whether organized by our comrades or only favored by us, suitable speakers and debators must seize the opportunity of convincing the masses of our point of view. Our Party newspapers must place, at the disposal of such a special movement, greater part of their space as well as their best arguments. In fact, the active Party organizations must, for the time being, be made to serve the general purpose of such a movement whereby our comrades may work with unabated energy.

32. Demonstrations require very mobile and self-sacrificing leadership closely intent upon the aim of a particular action, and able to discern, at any given moment, whether a demonstration has reached its highest possible effectiveness, or whether during that par-

ticular situation, a further intensification is possible by inducing an extension of the movement into an action of the masses by means of demonstration, strikes and eventually general strikes. The demonstrations, in favor of peace during the war, have taught us that even after dispersal of such demonstrations, a really proletarian fighting Party must neither deviate, nor stand still, no matter how small or illegal it may be, if the question at issue is of real importance, and is bound to become of ever greater interest for the large masses. Street demonstrations attain greatest effectiveness when their organization is based on the large factories. When efficient preparations by our nuclei and groups, by means of verbal and handbill propaganda, has succeeded in bringing about a certain unity of thought and action in a particular situation, the managing committee must call the confidential Party members in the factories and the leaders of the nuclei and groups to a conference, to discuss and fix the time and business of the meeting on the day planned, as well as the determination of slogans, the prospects of intensification and the moment of cessation and dispersal of the demonstration. The backbone of the demonstration must be formed by a well-instructed and experienced group of diligent officials, mingling among the masses from the moment of departure from the factories up to the time of the dispersal of demonstration. Responsible Party workers must be systematically distributed among the masses, for the purpose of enabling the officials to maintain active contact with each other and keeping them provided with the requisite political instructions. Such a mobile, politically organized leadership of a demonstration permits most effectively of constant renewal and eventual intensification into greater mass actions.

33. Communist Parties already possessing internal firmness, a tried corps of officials and a considerable number of adherents among the masses, must exert

every effort to completely overcome the influence of the treacherous socialist leaders of the working class by means of extensive campaign, and to rally the majority of the working masses to the Communist banner. Campaigns must be organized in various ways depending upon whether the situation favor actual fighting, in which case they become active and put themselves at the head of the proletarian movement, or whether it is a period of temporary stagnation.

The make-up of the Party is also one of the determining factors for selection of the organizational methods for such actions.

For example, the methods of publishing a so-called "open letter" was used in order to win over the socially decisive sections of the proletariat in Germany to a greater extent than had been possible in other countries. In order to unmask the treacherous socialist leaders, the Communist Party of Germany addressed itself to the other mass organizations of the proletariat at a moment of increasing desolation and intensification of class conflicts, for the purpose of demanding from them, before the eyes of the proletariat, whether they, with their alleged powerful organizations, were prepared to take up the struggle in co-operation with the Communist Party, against the obvious destitution of the proletariat and for the slightest demands even for a pitiful-piece of bread.

Wherever the Communist Party initiates a similar campaign, it must make complete organizational preparations for the purpose of making such an action reach among the broad masses of the working class.

All the factory groups and trade union officials of the Party must bring the demand made by the Party, representing the embodiment of the most vital demands of the proletariat to a discussion at their next factory and trade union meetings, as well as at all public meetings, after having thoroughly prepared for such meetings. For

the purpose of taking advantage of the temper of the masses, leaflets, handbills and posters must be distributed everywhere and effectively at all places where our nuclei or groups intend to make an attempt to influence the masses to support our demands. Our Party Press must engage in constant elucidation of the problems of the movement during the entire period of such a campaign, by means of short, or detailed daily articles, treating the various phases of the question from every possible point of view. The organization must continually supply the Press with the material for such articles and pay close attention so that the editors do not let up in their exertions for the furtherance of the Party Campaign. The parliamentary groups and municipal representatives of the Party must also work systematically for the promotion of such struggles. They must bring the movement into discussion according to the direction of the Party leadership of the various parliamentary bodies by means of resolutions or motions. These representatives must consider themselves, as conscious members of the struggling masses, their exponents in the camp of the class enemy, and as the responsible officials and Party workers.

In case the united, organizationally consolidated activities of all the forces of the Party succeed, within a few weeks, in including the adoption of large and ever increasing numbers of resolutions supporting our demands, it will be the serious organizational task of our Party to consolidate the masses thus shown to be in favor of our demands. In the event of the movement having assumed a particular trade union character, it must be attempted, above all, to increase our organizational influence in the trade unions.

To this end, our groups in the trade unions must proceed to well-prepared direct action against the local trade union leaders in order either to overcome their influence, or else to compel them to wage an organized

struggle on the basis of the demand of our Party. Wherever factory councils, industrial committees or similar institution exist, our groups must exert influence through plenary meetings of these industrial committees or factory councils also to decide in favor of supporting the struggle. If a number of local organizations have thus been influenced to support the movement for the bare living interests of the proletariat under Communist leadership, they must be called together to general conferences, which should also be attended by the special delegates of the factory meetings at which favorable resolutions were adopted.

VI. THE NEW LEADERSHIP

The new leadership consolidated under Communist influence in this manner, gains new power by means of such concentration of the active groups of the organized workers, and this power must be utilized to give an impetus to the leadership of the socialist parties and trade unions or else to fully unmask it.

In those industrial regions where our Party possesses its best organizations and has obtained the greatest support for its demands, they must succeed by means of organized pressure on the local trade unions and industrial councils, in uniting all the evident economic isolated struggles in these regions as well as the developing movement of other groups, into one coordinated struggle.

This movement must then draw up elementary demands entirely apart from the particular craft interests, and then attempt to obtain the fulfillment of these demands by utilizing the united forces of all organizations in the district. In such movement the Communist Party will then prove to be the leader of the proletarians prepared for struggle, whereas the trade union bureaucracy and the socialist party who would oppose such a

united, organized struggle, would then be exposed in their true colors, not only politically, but also from a practical organizational point of view.

34. During acute political and economic crisis causing, as they do, new movements, the Communist Party should attempt to gain control of the masses. It may be better to forego any specific demands and rather appeal directly to the members of the socialist parties and the trade unions pointing out how distress and oppression have driven them into the unavoidable fights with their employers in spite of the attempts of their bureaucratic leaders to avoid a decisive struggle. The organs of the Party particularly the daily newspapers, must emphasize day by day, that the Communists are ready to take the lead in the impending and actual struggle of the distressed workers, that their fighting organization is ready to lend a helping hand, wherever possible, to all the oppressed in the given acute situation. It must be pointed out daily that without these struggles there is no possibility of increasing tolerable living conditions for the workers in spite of the efforts of the old organizations to avoid and to obstruct these struggles. The Communist fractions, within the trade unions and industrial organizations, must lay stress continually upon the self-sacrificing readiness of the Communist and make it clear to their fellow workers that the fight is not to be avoided. The main task, however, is to unify and consolidate all the struggles and movements arising out of the situation. The various nuclei and fractions of the industries and crafts which have been drawn into the struggles must not only maintain the closest ties among themselves, but also assume the leadership of all the movements that may break out, through the district committees as well as through the central committees, furnishing promptly such officials and responsible workers as will be able to lead a movement, hand in hand, with those engaged in the struggle, to broaden and

deepen that struggle and make it widespread. It is the main duty of the organization, everywhere, to point out and emphasize the common character of all the various struggles, in order to foster the idea of the general solution of the question by political means, if necessary. As the struggles become more intensified and general in character, it becomes necessary to create uniform organs for the leadership of the struggles. Wherever the bureaucratic strike leaders have failed, the Communists must come in at once and ensure a determined organization of action –the common preliminary organization– which can be achieved under capable militant leadership, by persistent advocacy at the meeting of the fractions and industrial councils as well as mass meetings of the industries concerned.

When the movement becomes widespread, and owing to the onslaughts of the employers' organizations and government interference, it assumes a political character, preliminary propaganda and organization work must be started for the elections of workers' councils which may become possible and even necessary.

It is here that all Party organs should emphasize the idea that only by *forging their own weapons of the struggle can the working class achieve its own emancipation*. In this propaganda not the slightest consideration should be shown to the trade union bureaucracy or to the old socialist parties.

35. The Communist Parties which have already grown strong and particularly the big mass parties, must be equipped for mass action. All political demonstrations and economic mass movements, as well as local actions must always tend to organize the experiences of those movements in order to bring about a close union with the wide masses. The experience gained by all great movements must be discussed at broad conferences of the leading officials and responsible Party workers, with the trusted (trade union) repre-

sentatives of large and middle industries and in this manner the network of communication will be constantly increased and strengthened and the trusted representatives of industries will become increasingly permeated with the fighting spirit. The ties of mutual confidence between the leading officials and responsible Party workers, with the shop delegates, are the best guarantee that there will be no premature political mass action, in keeping with the circumstances and the actual strength of the Party.

Without building closest ties between the Party organizations and the proletarian masses employed in the big mass actions, a really revolutionary movement cannot be developed. The untimely collapse of the undoubtedly revolutionary upheaval in Italy last year, which found its strong expression in the seizing of factories, was certainly due, to a great extent, to the treachery of the trade unionist bureaucracy, unreliability of the political party leaders, but partly also to the total lack of intimacies of organization between the Party and the industries through politically informed shop delegates interested in the welfare of the Party. Also the English coal-miners' strike of the present year (1921) has undoubtedly suffered through this lack to an extraordinary degree.

VII. ON THE PARTY PRESS

36. The Communist Press must be developed by the Party with indefatigable energy. No paper may be recognized as a Communist organ if it does not submit to the directions of the Party.

The Party must pay more attention to having good papers than to having many of them. Every Communist Party must have a good, and if possible, daily central organ.

37. A Communist newspaper must never be a capitalist undertaking as are the bourgeois, frequently also the socialist papers. Our paper must be independent of all the capitalist credit institutions. A skillful organization of the advertisement, which render possible the existence of our paper for lawful mass parties, must never lead to its being dependent on the large advertisers. On the contrary its attitude on all proletarian social questions will create the greater respect for it in all our mass Parties.

Our papers must not serve for the satisfaction of the desire for sensation or as a pastime for the general public. They must not yield to the criticism of the petty-bourgeois writers or journalist experts in the striving to become "respectable".

38. *The Communist paper must in the first place take care of the interest of the oppressed and fighting workers.* It must be our best agitator and the leading propagator of the proletarian revolution.

It will be the object of our paper to collect all the valuable experience from the activity of the party members and to demonstrate the same to our comrades as a guide for the continual revision and improvement of Communist working methods; in this way it will be the best organizer of our revolutionary work.

It is only by this all-embracing organizational work of the Communist paper and particularly our principal paper, that with this definite object in view, we will be able to establish democratic centralism and lead to the efficient distribution of work in the Communist Party, thus enable it to perform its historic mission.

39. The Communist paper must strive to become a *Communist undertaking, i.e.,* it must be a proletarian fighting organization, a working community of the revolutionary workers, of all writers who regularly contribute to the paper, editors, type-setters, printers, and distributors, those who collect local material and discuss

the same in the paper, those who are daily active in propagating it, etc. A number of practical measures are required to turn the paper into a real fighting organ and a strong working community of the Communists.

A Communist should be in closest connection with his paper when he has to work and make sacrifices for it. It is his daily weapon which must be newly hardened and sharpened every day in order to be fit for use. Heavy material and financial sacrifice will continually be required for the existence of the Communist paper. The means for its development and inner improvement will constantly have to be supplied from the ranks of Party members, until it will have reached a position of such firm organization and such a wide circulation among a legal mass Party, that it will itself become a strong support of the Communist movement.

It is not sufficient to be an active canvasser and propagator for the paper; it is necessary to be contributor to it as well.

Every occurrence of any social or economic interest happening in the workshop –from an accident to a general workers' meeting, from the ill-treatment of an apprentice to the financial report of the concern– must be immediately reported to the paper. The trade union fraction must communicate all important decisions and resolutions of its meetings and secretariats, as well as any characteristic actions of our enemies. Public life in the street, and at the meetings, will often give an opportunity to the attentive Party member to exercise social criticism on details which, published in our paper, will demonstrate, even to indifferent readers, how already we follow the daily needs of life.

Such communications from the life of workers and working-class organizations must be handled by the board of editors with particular care and affection; they must be used as short notices that will help to convey the feeling of an intimate connection existing between

our paper and workers' lives; or they may be used as practical examples from the daily life of workers that help to explain the doctrine of Communism. Wherever possible, the board of editors should have fixed hours at a convenient time of the day, when they would be ready to see any worker coming to them and listen to his wishes, or complain on the troubles of life, which they sought to note and use for the enlightenment of the Party.

Under the capitalist system, it will, of course, be impossible for our papers to become a perfect Communist workers' community. However, even under most difficult conditions it might be possible to obtain a certain success in the organization of such a revolutionary paper. This has been proved by the 'Pravda' of our Russian comrades during the period of 1912-13. It actually represented a permanent and active organization of the conscious revolutionary workers of the most important Russian centers. The comrades used their collective forces for editing, publishing, distributing the paper, and many of them doing that alongside with their work and sparing the money required from their earnings. The newspaper in its turn furnished them with the best things they desired, with what they needed for the moment and what they can still use today in their work and struggle. Such a newspaper should really and truly be called by the Party members and by other revolutionary workers, "our newspaper".

40. The proper element for the militant Communist Press is direct participation in the campaigns conducted by the Party. If the activity of the Party at a given time happens to be concentrated upon definite campaign, it is the duty of the organ to place all its departments, not the editorial pages alone, at the service of this particular campaign). The editorial board

must draw material and sources to feed this campaign, which must be incorporated throughout the paper both in substance and in form.

41. The matter of canvassing subscriptions for "Our newspaper" must be made into a system. The first thing is to make use of every occasion stirring up workers and of every situation in which the political and social consciousness of the worker has been aroused by some special occurrence. Thus, following each big strike movement or lockout, during which the paper openly and energetically defended the interests of the workers, a canvassing activity should be organized and carried on among the participants. Subscription lists and subscription orders for the paper should be distributed, not only in the industries where the Communists are engaged and among the trade union fractions of those industries that had taken part in the strikes, but also whenever possible, subscription orders should be distributed from house to house by special groups or workers doing propaganda for the paper.

Likewise following each election campaign that aroused the workers, special groups, appointed for the purpose, should visit the houses of workers carrying on systematic propaganda for the workers' newspaper.

At times of latent political and economic crises, manifesting themselves in the rise of prices, unemployment and other hardship affecting great numbers of workers, all possible efforts should be exerted to win over the professionally organized workers of the various industries and organize them into working groups for carrying on systematic house to house propaganda for newspaper. Experience has shown that the most appropriate time for canvassing work is the last week of each month. Any local group, that would allow even one of these last week of the month to pass by without making use of it for propaganda work for the newspaper, will be committing a grave omission with regard to the spread

of the Communist movement. The working group conducting propaganda for the newspaper must not leave out any public meeting or any demonstration without being there at the opening, during the intervals, and at the close with the subscription list for the paper. The same duties are imposed upon every trade union fraction at each separate meeting of the union, as well as upon the group and fraction at shop meetings.

42. Every Party member must constantly defend our paper against all its opponents and carry on energetic campaign against the capitalist Press. He must expose and brand-mark the venality, the falsehoods, the suppression of information and all the double-dealings of the Press.

The social-democratic and independent Press must be overcome by constant and aggressive criticism, without falling into petty factional polemicizing, but by persistent unmasking of their treacherous attitude in veiling the most flagrant class conflicts day by day. The trade union and other fractions must seek by organized means to wean away the members of trade unions and other workers' organizations from the misleading and crippling influence of these social-democratic papers. Also the canvassing by means of house to house campaign for our Press, notably among industrial workers, must be judiciously directed against the social-democratic Press.

VIII. ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY ORGANISM

43. The Party organization, spreading out and fortifying itself, must not be organized upon a scheme of mere geographical divisions, but in accordance with the real economic, political and transport conditions of the given district. The center of gravity is to be placed in the main cities, and the centers of large industries.

In the building up of a new Party, there usually manifests itself a tendency to have the Party organization spread out at once all over the country. Thus, disregarding the fact that the number of workers at the disposal of the Party is very limited, these few workers are scattered in all directions. This weakens the recruiting ability and the growth of the Party. In such cases we saw an extensive system of Party offices springing up, but the Party itself did not succeed in gaining foothold even in the most important industrial cities.

44. In order to get the Party activity centralized to the highest possible degree, it is not advisable to have the Party leadership divided into a hierarchy with a number of groups, subordinate to one another. The thing to be aimed at is that every large city, forming an economic, political or transportation center, should spread out and form a net of organizations within a wide area of the surroundings of the given locality and the economic political districts adjoining it. The Party committee of the large center should form the head of the general body of the Party and conduct the organizational activity of the district, directing its policy in close connection with the membership of the locality.

The organizers of such a district, elected by the district conference and confirmed by the Central Committee of the Party, are obliged to take active part in the Party life of the local organization. The Party committee of the district must be constantly reinforced by members from among the Party workers of the place, so that there should be close relationship between that committee and the large masses of the district. As the organization keeps developing, efforts should be made to the effect that leading committee of the district should, at the same time, be the leading political body of the place. Thus the Party committee of the district,

together with the Central Committee, should play the part of the real leading organ in the general Party organization.

The boundary lines of the Party districts are not naturally limited by the area of the place, The determining factor should be that the district committee be in a position to direct the activities of all the local organizations, within the district, in a uniform manner. As soon as this becomes impossible the district must be divided and new Party districts formed.

It is also necessary, in the large countries to have certain intermediate organizations serving as connecting links between the Central Committee and the local. Under certain conditions it may be advisable to give to some of these intermediary organizations, as for example, an organization in a large city with a strong membership, a leading part, but as a general rule this should be avoided, as leading to decentralization.

45. The large intermediary organizations are formed out of local Party organizations: country groups or of small cities and of districts, of the various parts of the large city.

Any local Party organization that has grown to such an extent that it is existing as legal organization, it can no longer conduct general meetings of all its membership, must be divided.

In any Party organization the members must be grouped for daily Party activities. In large organizations it may be advisable to combine various groups into collective bodies. As a rule such members should be included in one group at their place of work or elsewhere and have occasion to meet one another in their daily activity. The object of such a collective group is to distribute Party activity among the various small or working groups, to receive reports from various officials and to train candidates for membership.

46. The Party as a whole is to be under the guidance of the Communist International. The instructions and resolutions of the Executive of the International, on methods affecting the affiliated parties, are to be directed firstly, either (1) to their Central Committee of the Party, (2) through this Committee to some special committee or (3) to the members of the Party at large.

The instructions and resolutions of the International are binding upon the Party, and naturally also upon every Party member.

47. The Central Committee of the Party is elected at a Party Congress and is responsible to it. The Central Committee selects out of its own midst a smaller body consisting of two sub-committees for political activity. Both these sub-committees are responsible for the political and current work of the Party. These sub-committees or bureau arrange for the regular joint sessions of the Central Committee of the Party where decisions of immediate importance are to be passed. In order to study the general and political situation and gain a clear idea of the state of affairs in the Party, it is necessary to have various localities represented on the Central Committee whenever decisions are to be passed affecting the life of the entire Party. For the same reason differences of opinion regarding tactics should not be suppressed by the Central Committee if they are of a serious nature. On the contrary, these opinions should get representation upon the Central Committee. But the smaller bureau (Polit-Bureau) should be conducted along uniform lines, and in order to carry on a firm and sure policy, it must be able to rely upon its own authority as well as upon a considerable majority of the Central Committee.

Carried on such a basis, the Central Committee of the Party, especially in cases of legal parties, will be able in the shortest time, to form a firm foundation for discipline requiring the unconditional confidence of the

Party membership and at the same time manifesting vacillations and deviations that make their appearance done away with. Such abnormalities in the Party may be removed before reaching the stage where they should have to be brought up before a Party Congress for a decision.

48. Every leading Party committee must have its work divided among its members in order to achieve efficiency in the various branches of work. This may necessitate the formation of various special committees, as for example, committees for propaganda, for editorial work, for the trade union campaign, for communications, etc. Every special committee is subordinated either to the Central Committee, or to the District Committee.

The control over the activity, as well as the composition of all committees, should be in the hands of the given district committees, and, in the last instance, in the hands of the Party Central Committee. It may become advisable from time to time to change the occupation and office of those people attached for various Party work such as, editors, organizers, propagandists, etc., provided that this does not interfere too much with the Party work. The editors and propagandists must participate in the regular Party work in one of the Party groups.

49. The Central Committee of the Party, as also the Communist International, is empowered at any time to demand complete reports from all Communist organizations, from their organs and individual members. The representatives of the Central Committee and comrades authorized by it, are to be admitted to all meetings and sessions with a deciding voice. The Central Committee of the Party must always have, at its disposal, plenipotentiaries (i. e., Commissars to instruct and inform the leading organs of the various districts

and regions not only by means of their circulars and letters, but also by direct and verbal and responsible agencies on the questions of politics and organizations).

Every organization and every branch of the Party, as well as every individual member, has the right of communicating his respective wishes, suggestions, remarks or complaints directly to the Central Committee of the Party or to the International at any time.

50. The instructions and decisions of the leading party organs are obligatory for the subordinate organizations and for the individual members. The responsibilities of the leading organs and duty to prevent either delinquency or abuse of their leading position, can only partly be determined in a formal manner. The less their formal responsibility (as for instance, in unlegalized Parties), the greater the obligation upon them to study the opinion of the Party members, to obtain regular and solid information, and to form their own decisions only after mature and thorough deliberation.

51. *The Party members are obliged to act always as disciplined members of a militant organization in all their activities.* Should differences of opinion occur as to the proper mode of action, this should be determined, as far as possible; by previous discussions inside the Party organization, and the action should be according to the decision thus arrived at. Even if the decision of the organization or of the Party committee should appear faulty in the opinion of the rest of the members, these comrades in all their public activity should never lose sight of the fact that it is the worst form of undisciplined conduct and greatest military error to hinder or to break entirely the unity of the common front.

It is the supreme duty of every Party member to defend the Communist Party, and above all, the Communist International, against all the enemies of Com-

munism. He who forgets, on the contrary, and publicly assails the Party or the Communist International, is a bad Communist.

52. The statutes of the Party must be drawn in such a manner as not to become a hindrance but rather a helping force, to the leading Party organs in the Communist development of the general Party organizations and in the continuous improvement of the Party activity. The decisions of the Communist International must be promptly carried out by the affiliated Parties even in the case when corresponding alterations in the existing statutes and Party decisions can be adopted only at a later date.

IX. LEGAL AND ILLEGAL ACTIVITY

53. The party must be so organized that it shall always be in a position to adapt itself quickly to all the changes that may occur in the conditions of the struggles. The Communist Party must develop into a militant organization capable of avoiding fight in the open against overwhelming forces of the enemy, concentrated upon a given point, but on the other hand, the very concentration of the enemy must be so utilized as to attack him on the spot where he least suspects it. It would be the greatest mistake for the Party organization to stake everything upon rebellion and street-fighting or only upon condition of severe repression. *Communists perfect their preliminary revolutionary work in every situation on a basis of preparedness*, for it is frequently next to impossible to foresee the changeable wave of stormy and calm periods and even in cases it might be possible, this foresight cannot be made use of in many cases for reorganization, because the change, as a rule, comes quickly and frequently quite suddenly.

54. The legal Communist Parties of the capitalist countries usually fail to grasp all the importance of the task before the Party to be properly prepared for the armed struggle, or the illegal fight in general. Communist organizations often commit the error of depending on a permanent legal basis for their existence and of conducting their work according to the needs of the legal task.

On the other hand, illegal parties often fail to make use of all the possibilities of legal activities towards the building up of a Party organization which would have constant intercourse with the revolutionary masses. Underground organizations which ignore these vital truths run the risks of becoming merely groups of conspirators wasting their labors in futile tasks.

Both these tendencies are erroneous. Every legal Communist organization must know how to insure for itself complete preparedness for an underground existence, and above all for revolutionary outbreaks. Every illegal Communist organization must, on the other hand, make the fullest use of the possibilities offered by the legal labor movement, in order to become, by means of intensive Party activity, the organized and real leader of the great revolutionary masses.

55. Both among legalized and underground Party circles, there is a tendency for the unlegalized Communist organizational activity to evolve into the compartment of establishment and maintenance of a illegal from legal purely military organization isolated from the rest of the party organization and activity. This is absolutely erroneous. On the contrary, during the pre-revolutionary period, the formation of our militant organizations must be mainly accomplished through the general work of the Communist Party. *The entire Party must be developed into a militant organization for the revolution.*

Isolated revolutionary military organizations, prematurely created in a pre-revolutionary period, are apt to show tendencies towards dissolution because of the lack of direct and useful Party work.

56. It is of course imperative for an illegal party to protect its members and Party organs from being found out by the authorities, and to avoid every possibility of facilitating such discovery by registration, careless collection, by contribution and injudicious distribution of revolutionary material. For these reasons, it cannot use frank organizational methods to the same extent as the legal Party. It can nevertheless, through practice, acquire more and more proficiency in this matter.

On the other hand, a legal mass Party must be fully prepared for illegal work and periods of struggle. It must never relax its preparations for any eventualities (*viz.* it must have safe hiding places for duplicates of members' files and must, in most cases, destroy correspondence, put important documents into safe keeping and must provide conspirative training for its messengers).

It is assumed, the circles of the legal as well as the illegal Parties, that the illegal organizations must be in the nature of a rather exclusive, entirely military institution, occupying within the Party a position of splendid isolation. This assumption is quite erroneous. The formation of our fighting organization in the pre-revolutionary period must depend principally on the general Communist Party work. The entire Party must be made into a fighting organization for the revolution.

57. Therefore, our general Party work must be apportioned in a manner which would ensure, already in pre-revolutionary period, the foundation and consolidation of a fighting organization, commensurate with the needs of the revolution. It is of the greatest importance that the directing body of the Communist Party should be guided, in its entire activity, by the revolutionary

requirement and that it should endeavor, as far as possible, to gain a clear idea of what these are likely to be. This is naturally not an easy matter, but that should not be a reason for leaving out of consideration this very important point of Communist organizational leadership.

Even the best organized Party would be faced with very difficult and complicated tasks if it had to undergo great functionary changes in a period of open revolutionary risings. It is quite possible that our political Party will be called upon to mobilize, in a few days, its forces for the revolutionary struggle. Probably it will have to mobilize, in addition to the Party forces, their reserves, the sympathizing organizations, viz., the unorganized revolutionary masses. The formation of a regular Red Army is as yet out of the question. We must conquer without a previously organized army through the masses under the leadership of the Party. For this reason even the most determined effort would not succeed should our Party not be well-prepared and organized for such an eventuality.

58. One has probably seen that the revolutionary central directive bodies have proved unable to cope with revolutionary situations. The proletariat has generally been able to achieve great revolutionary organization as far as minor tasks are concerned, but there has nearly always been disorder, confusion and chaos at headquarters. Sometimes there has been a lack of even the most elementary "apportioning" of work. The intelligence department is often so badly organized that it does more harm than good. There is no reliance on postal and other communications. All secret postal and transport arrangements, secret quarter and printing works are generally at the mercy of lucky or unlucky circumstances and afford fine opportunities for the "agent provocateurs" of the enemy forces.

These defects cannot be remedied unless the Party organizes a special branch in its administration for this particular work. The military intelligence service requires practice and special training and knowledge. The same may be said of the secret work directed against the political police. It is only through long practice that the satisfactory secret department can be created. For all these specialized revolutionary work, every legal Communist Party must make preparations, no matter how small. In most cases a such secret apparatus may be created by means of perfectly legal activity.

For instance it is quite possible to establish secret postal and transport communications by a code system through the judiciously arranged distribution of legal leaflets and through correspondence in the press.

59. The Communist organizer must look upon every member of the Party and every revolutionary worker as a prospective soldier in the future revolutionary army. For this reason he must allot him a place which will fit him for his future role. His present activity must take the form of useful service, necessary for present Party work, and not mere drilling, which the practical worker of today rejects. One must also not forget that this kind of activity is, for every Communist, the best preparation for the exigencies of the final struggle.