

The Twenty-One Conditions Of Admission Into The Communist International

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By O. PIATNITSKY

"The Communist Parties of those countries where the Communist activity is legal should make periodical cleansings (re-registrations) of the members of the Party organizations, so as to systematically cleanse the Party from the petty-bourgeois elements who inevitably attach themselves to it." (Point 13 of the Conditions of Admission into the Comintern.)

BEFORE the war, the social-democratic parties and reformist trade unions comprised the Second International. In the developed capitalist countries, both the social-democratic parties and the reformist trade unions were mass organizations, with millions of members. Since they were parties formed of a bloc of proletarian and petty-bourgeois interests which gratified the petty-bourgeois social-nationalists and the social-chauvinists, the Second International, in adapting itself to the moods of the revolutionary workers, found itself compelled to pass resolutions against war at its international congresses (Stuttgart, Basle).

In these resolutions it stated that it would be a crime on the part of the workers to participate in the bourgeois war which was in preparation, and gave warning that this war would lead to a proletarian revolution. In some countries, the social-democratic parties before the war carried on quite an intensive verbal campaign against war, publishing articles on the subject, calling mass meetings, appealing for peace, and against war; while just before the war itself they organized protest meetings and demonstrations. The workers believed that the social-democratic parties and the trade unions really intended to struggle against war, and would carry it on. But when the war broke out, all the social-democratic parties, and trade unions went over to the side of their imperialisms openly, helping to drive the workers and peasants to the front, to increase the exploitation of the toilers and mercilessly crush the slightest manifestation of the class struggle of the proletariat.

* Adopted at the Second Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow, July 17th to August 7th, 1920. The full text of these Conditions is printed in the Appendix of this pamphlet beginning on page 27.

Such open treachery, on the part of the parties of the Second International, could not but rouse indignation, not merely among the great working masses, but also the lower activists of the parties and trade unions.

The February revolution in Russia, the organization of Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies, the rise of soldiers' committees at the rear and the front, the widest and most fearless agitation against imperialist war carried on by the Bolsheviks, the fraternizing which they organized at the fronts, plainly showed the toilers of the whole world how it was possible and necessary to struggle against their bourgeoisie, even in war-time. The slogan of the Bolsheviks, on the conversion of imperialist war into civil war, met with a wide response throughout the world.

The October Revolution, which overthrew the power of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, and showed the revolutionary way out of imperialist war in practice, produced a stupendous impression on the masses of workers and soldiers. These masses not only began to see the deception of the bourgeoisie and the social-democratic parties more clearly, but they also saw the actual possibility of struggling against them, and the bourgeois State, as a whole.

The imperialist peace showed to the masses that all the promises of the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats during the imperialist war were false and hypocritical. The bourgeoisie and their agents, the social-democrats, had promised that the war would bring an improvement in the situation of the workers and peasants; social insurance; even the abolition of exploitation; equal rights to oppressed peoples, etc., that "the country would never forget its heroes". In reality, after the horrors of the front, the workers and peasants were awaited by exploitation and oppression at the rear, poverty and degradation and a bandit peace as a continuation of the bandit war. The bourgeoisie of all countries threw themselves against the victorious proletarian revolution in Russia, and began armed intervention against the U.S.S.R.

All this heightened the revolutionary activity of the working masses in general, especially the workers in the social-democratic parties and the reformist trade unions. The demand for organization immediately after the war evoked an unprecedented flow of workers into the trade unions. (Before the war the German trade unions had 2,250,000 members, immediately after the war 8,000,000; in Great Britain the number of trade union members increased from 4,500,000 to 6,500,000; in France from 400,000 to 2,000,000; in Italy from 400,000 to 2,000,000; in America from 2,000,000 to 4,000,000.) The workers demanded that the trade unions organize a struggle to redeem the bourgeois prom-

ises, given during the war. The members of the social-democratic parties demanded that their party leaders immediately split from the Second International, which had betrayed the working class in such a criminal manner. Under the pressure of the workers, social-democracy was compelled to avoid interfering with the workers when they organized the struggle against anti-Soviet intervention, particularly against the sending of munitions to Poland which had attacked the Soviet Union. The social-democratic workers demanded that their parties join the Third International, the initiative in the formation of which had been taken by the Bolsheviki of the Soviet Union, led by Lenin.

Under this pressure of the workers, and with the object of avoiding complete isolation from the masses, one social-democratic party after another adopted a decision to leave the Second International. As the result of a unanimous decision of its Congress, the Swiss Social-Democratic Party left the Second International. The Congress of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany also made a decision to withdraw from membership. At the end of January, 1920, at the Strassburg Congress, the French Socialist Party broke with the Second International (4,200 for leaving, against only 337 votes). The Norwegian Social-Democratic Labor Party, the American S.L.P., the Bulgarian S.D.P. ("Tesniaki"), the Italian Socialist Party, the International of Youth, the British I.L.P., all deserted the decaying Second International. Even the Russian social-democrats, the Mensheviks, on March 10th, 1920, resolved to leave the sinking ship of the Second International, although, as is well known, they had supported the bourgeoisie, in carrying on the imperialist war, collaborated with them in the Provisional Government, tried to save them from proletarian revolution, at first disorganizing the forces of the working class, and then, during the October days, trying to drown the armed insurrection of the workers in blood and finally, after the victory of the revolution, organizing sabotage and counter-revolutionary attacks on the Soviet power and participating in imperialist intervention and armed attacks on the Soviet Union. Even these contemptible lackeys of foreign imperialism, who had fallen so low that it would seem they had nothing more to lose, preferred to abandon the decaying Second International, at any rate, in words.

The Strivings of the Revolutionary Workers' Organizations Towards the Third Communist International

At the first Congress, when the Third Communist International was founded in March, 1919, only a small number of representatives of

the revolutionary workers' organizations of capitalist countries were present, owing to armed intervention and the blockade of the Soviet Union. And the very parties which took part in the Congress, with the exception, of course, of the Communist Party of Russia, were still very small, and had only just been formed. At this first Congress, the following took part: C. P. Russia; C. P. Germany, C. P. German-Austria, Hungary, the Swedish left S. D. Party, the Norwegian S. D. Party, the opposition Swiss S. D. Party, the American S. L. P., the Bulgarian "Tesniaki", the C.P.'s of Poland, Finland, Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, White Russia, Esthonia, Armenia and the Communists of what is now the German Volga Republic.

In the interval between the first and second Congress, the Communist International was joined by the Italian Socialist Party, the Swedish League of Youth, the C.P. of East Galicia, the Socialist Party of Alsace-Lorraine, the Ukrainian Federation of Socialist Parties, and a number of Finnish organizations in America, the British Socialist Party, the Bavarian Independent Party, part of the Danish Social-Democrats, the Communist organizations of Bohemia, Lorraine and Mexico, the International Congress of working youth at which there were delegates from 220,000 members, the Scottish Labor Party. The Congress of the Swedish S. D. Party adopted a decision to join the Communist International. A large number of local organizations of the French Socialist Party decided to enter the Communist International. At the Strassburg Congress of the Socialist Party of France, a resolution to join the Communist International obtained 1,621 votes out of 4,667.

The following confirmed their adhesion to the Third International: the Congress of the Italian Socialist Party in Bologna, the Congress of the Norwegian Socialist Labor Party, the Conference of the Left Swedish S. D. Party, the Congress of the Bulgarian S. D. Party—"Tesniaki", the Polish Communist Party, the Congress of Socialists of the U.S.A. At the Congress of the Spanish Socialist Party, 12,500 votes were cast for joining the Communist International (against 14,000 for remaining in the Second International). At the Scandinavian Workers' Congress in December, 1919, at which there were 268 delegates from 300,000 workers, the Communist resolutions were adopted unanimously.

In the Austrian Social-Democratic Party there was also formed a working association of revolutionary social-democrats of Austria, which struggled in the committees for the Soviet dictatorship and adhesion to the Third International. They sent greetings to the Second Congress of the Comintern. Even at the Conference of the Labor Party of Great Britain the question of joining the Third International was

raised, and referred to the local organizations of the Labor Party for discussion.

At the Second Congress, in addition to Communist Parties which had decisive voting rights, there were syndicalist and revolutionary organizations, I.W.W. organizations from various countries, the Spanish National Federation of Labor, the British Shop Stewards who had not previously belonged to any political party, the Communist oppositions in the Social-Democratic Parties and Socialist Parties, which joined the Third International before the Second Congress.

At the Second Congress, the representatives of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany and the Socialist Party of France were admitted with a consultative voice, in view of the fact that both parties had decided to negotiate with the Third International, with a view to joining it.

Statements of the wish to join the Communist International not only came from revolutionary organizations, but from parties which remained under the leadership of reformists and centrists, who were prepared to "turn their coat" under the pressure of the masses with the object of deceiving them. In the resolution on the fundamental tasks of the Communist Parties, adopted at the Second Congress, we read:

"One mistake, very serious and presenting great direct danger for the success of the cause of the liberation of the proletariat, consists in the fact that part of the old leaders and old parties of the Second International, partly unconsciously yielding to the wishes and pressure of the masses, partly consciously deceiving them in order to preserve their former role of agents and supporters of the bourgeoisie inside the labor movement, are declaring their conditional or unconditional affiliation to the Third International, while remaining in reality in the whole practice of their party and political work on the level of the Second International. Such a state of things is absolutely inadmissible, because it demoralizes the masses, hinders the development of a strong Communist Party, and lowers their respect for the Third International by threatening repetition of such betrayals as that of the Hungarian Social-Democrats who had rapidly assumed the disguise of Communists" (Par I, II Section).

This is why the Second Congress paid such great attention to the question of the acceptance of new parties into the Communist International.

As mentioned above, the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany and the French Socialist Party were present at the Second Congress with a consultative voice. The debates on the conditions of

admission into the Communist International turned chiefly around the question of accepting these two parties, though later it turned out that the conditions which the Comintern presented to parties wishing to join it were not acceptable to the leaders of parties which had joined the Communist International even before the Second Congress: to the Socialist Party of Italy, the Labor Party of Norway, etc.

The Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany from November 19th, 1918, participated in the government, together with the right social-democrats Ebert, Scheidemann and Lansberg. Together with the latter the independents refused the cargoes of grain which the workers of the Soviet Union were sending to support the German revolution. Together with the right social-democrats, they took the line of conciliation to the Entente and America (calculating on Wilson), did not restore diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, and confirmed the expulsion of the Soviet ambassador who had been compelled to leave Germany under the regime of Wilhelm. Together with the right socialists, and with the aim of beheading and betraying the revolution, they decided to call a Constituent Assembly, simultaneously nullifying the workers' and soldiers' Soviets. The leaders of the independents were for collaboration with the bourgeoisie, against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the Soviet system, for the bourgeois republic. But the Independent Social-Democratic Party was a mass party. Under the pressure of its members and local organizations, which, together with the Communists, had taken part in the revolutionary struggle for Soviet Germany and in practice had demonstrated their readiness to make sacrifices in this struggle, the right leaders of the independents (Crispien, Dittman, Hilferding, Kautsky, Breitscheid) were compelled to enter into negotiations with the Communist International.

The same may be said of the leaders of the Socialist Party of France. The majority of the leaders occupied their old position of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and only opened negotiations with the Third International under the pressure of the masses of members.

Frossard was present at the Second Congress, and voted after the Second Congress for the conditions of acceptance formulated by it. Not long before the Congress he wrote in a leading article in *Humanite* on February 13th, 1920:

"As for the policy of our Party, it is obvious that it remains the same as before . . . Elections take place. If circumstances arise, the Third International does not in any way hinder the formation of a bloc, sometimes even during the first round of the elections."

This proves that they either did not understand, or did not want to understand, that membership of the Communist International made it compulsory for them to change their previous reformist policy and tactics in reality.

For this very reason, not only in the twenty-one conditions, but in the resolution on the basic tasks of the Comintern, the Second Congress clearly and sharply exposed the treacherous maneuvers of those parties which only adopted the basic principles of the Comintern in words.

"The whole activity of these parties," says the resolution (referring to the French Socialist Party, the Independent Social-Democratic Party and the Swiss Socialist Party), "proves—and any given periodical paper of these parties confirms it—that they are not Communists as yet and frequently even are in direct opposition to the fundamental principles of the Third International, namely, the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet power instead of bourgeois democracy. Therefore the Second Congress of the Communist International should announce that it does not consider it possible to receive these parties immediately, that it confirms the answer of the Executive Committee of the Third International to the German 'Independents'; that it confirms its readiness to carry on negotiations with any party leaving the Second International and desiring to join the Third; that it reserves the right of a consultative voice to the delegate of such parties at all its congresses and conferences; and that it proposes the following conditions for the complete union of these and similar parties with the Communist International: (1) the publication of all the resolutions passed by all congresses of the Communist International and by the Executive Committee in all the periodical publications of the Party; (2) their discussion at the special meetings of all sections and local organizations of the Party; (3) the convocation after such discussion of a special congress of the Party for the weeding out of all elements which continue to act in the spirit of the Second International. Such a congress to be called together as soon as possible within a period of four months at most following the Second Congress; (4) expulsion from the Party of all members who persist in their adherence to the Second International; (5) the transfer of all periodical papers of the Party into the hands of exclusively Communist editors; (6) the parties wishing to join the Third International but which have not yet radically changed their old tactics must, above all, take care that two-thirds of their central committee and the chief central institutions consist of such comrades who have declared their adherence to a party of

the Third International even before the Second Congress." (Resolution on the basic tasks of the Communist International, Section 3, par. 13.)

These conditions, which were put forward by the Second Congress in addition to the twenty-one conditions of acceptance into the Communist International, at once showed which of the leaders of the Second International who had joined, or wished to join, the Third International had really abandoned the program and tactics of the Second International. The fact that such a sharp formulation of the question was really necessary with the aim of discovering hidden reformists and centrists, is shown by the conduct of the leaders of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party. After the First Congress of the Comintern, the Congress of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party (August, 1919) decided, by an overwhelming majority, to join the Third International, but the leaders "organized" a referendum among the members in such a way that there were 15,000 votes against joining the Third International and only 8,000 votes for, although in all the Social-Democratic Parties, the mass of members was more revolutionary than the delegates elected to the Congress, and consequently a correctly conducted referendum should have shown a higher percentage of votes for joining the Third International than even the Congress voting. This indicates the swindling the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party sank to, to hinder the efforts of the rank and file members to join the Third International.

There is no need to speak of the importance of the periodic press passing into the hands of Communists, as mentioned in point 5. Take, for example, *Humanite*, the central organ of the French Socialist Party at that time. At the head of the party were supporters of the "center" (Comrade Cachin and Frossard). At the head of the left wing of the party was Loriot, at the head of the Rights, Renaudel. The leading articles for *Humanite* were distributed among these three trends as follows: Center 8, Lefts 4, and Rights 3 articles per week. Thus, every week the readers received a proportional number of articles of the three tendencies, which contradicted and frequently opposed each other, in a manner far from open discussion, and as the result there was much confusion.

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Among the draft theses published before the Second Congress was a project of nineteen conditions of admission to the Communist Inter-

national (as we know, the decision of the Congress has twenty-one conditions). In the first condition, the Communist Parties and those who wish to join the Communist International are required to carry on really daily Communist agitation in the spirit of the program and decisions of the Third International. The organs of the press—

“should be edited by reliable Communists who have proved their loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be spoken of simply as a current hackneyed formula, it should be advocated in such a way that its necessity should be apparent to every rank and file working man and woman, to each soldier and peasant, and should emanate from everyday facts systematically recorded by our press from day to day.”

In view of the fact that the periodical press and the Party publications, in the Social-Democratic Parties, were usually in the hands of professional journalists and parliamentary politicians, and not subordinated to the Central Committee, the first point in the conditions makes it obligatory on the parties wishing to join the Communist International to take the periodic press and the Party publications firmly into their hands. The first point of the conditions requires the parties wishing to join the Communist International to “systematically and mercilessly denounce in the press, at meetings, in trade unions and co-operatives, not only the bourgeoisie, but its assistants, the reformists of *every color and shade.*” (My italics.)

In the second point of the conditions of admission it is made obligatory upon all parties wishing to join the Second International to “systematically and regularly *remove* from all responsible posts in the labor movement (the Party organization, editorial board, trade unions, parliamentary fraction, co-operative society, municipalities, etc.) all reformists and *followers of the 'Center'* (my italics) and to have them replaced by Communists, even at the cost of replacing, at the beginning, ‘experienced’ men by rank and file working men.”

As the Social-Democratic Parties in the bourgeois countries, even when in opposition to the government, do not break from coalition with the bourgeoisie, and avoid revolutionary methods of struggle, they value their bourgeois legality very highly. We know that during the war, under the false pretence that it was impermissible to sacrifice the legality of their existence, they did not decline even the dirtiest and bloodiest forms of serving the imperialist State. Therefore the great importance of the third condition of acceptance is plain, namely, the duty for legal parties to form a parallel illegal apparatus for better

organizing the struggle and for illegal parties to combine legal and illegal possibilities of struggle.

The Social-Democratic Parties of the Second International, in conformity with their general attitude to the bourgeois state, excluded the work among the soldiers from their practice, both before and still more, during the war. On the contrary, the fourth condition specially emphasizes the duty of carrying on systematic work among the soldiers, and where such work cannot be carried on in a legal manner, it must be done illegally. "The abandonment of such work would be equivalent to the betrayal of revolutionary duty and would be incompatible with membership of the Third International." Lenin stated in his speech on the question of the Communist Party joining the British Labor Party:

"We see in Ireland 200,000 English soldiers oppressing the Irish by means of the worst imaginable terror. No revolutionary propaganda is being carried on among these soldiers by the English Socialists. But we clearly state in our resolutions that only those English parties can be admitted into the Third International which will carry on great revolutionary propaganda among the British soldiers and workers." (Minutes of the Second Congress, session on August 6th, page 412.)

The majority of the Social-Democratic Parties of the Second International did not work among the peasants, and the fifth condition of joining the Communist International makes work in the villages a duty of the Party.

"Communist work in the rural districts is acquiring a predominant importance during the present period. It should be carried on through Communist *workmen*, of both city and country, who have connections with the rural districts. To refuse to do this work or to transfer such work to untrustworthy half-reformists, is equal to renouncing the proletarian revolution."

The sixth condition of acceptance into the Communist International obliges the Party to expose not only social-patriotism, but also hypocritical social-pacifism, to "systematically demonstrate to the workers that without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism no international arbitration courts, no talk of disarmament, no 'democratic' reorganization of the League of Nations will save mankind from new imperialist wars." This is all the more necessary, because not only the bour-

geoisie but the social-democrats, both the rights and the center, preached among the working class that this war was the last war, that the League of Nations (which contained the imperialists) was capable of abolishing war and peacefully "solving" all the conflicts which arose, etc. From the very beginning of the League of Nations, the Communist International warned the workers that the League of Nations, which was under the power of the strongest imperialist robbers, who enslave countries and colonies, did not want to and could not abolish war, but, on the contrary, was the organizer and instrument of imperialist wars and counter-revolutionary intervention. Need it be added, that the entire history of the League of Nations, particularly its role in the bandit attack of Japan on China, in the preparations for the partition of China, the vicious intrigues against the U.S.S.R., has completely confirmed this forecast. Even in 1920 the Communist International pointed out that, behind the cackle about the reduction of armaments was concealed the preparation of the imperialists for a new war. The Disarmament Conference, at present rotting away, plainly shows the masses that the imperialists cannot and do not want to reduce their armaments, that, on the contrary, during the last few years, they have increased their armaments to a tremendous extent, while the antagonisms between the imperialists have become so intense that the economic war which is already being carried on throughout the world, the actual closing of borders to the import of commodities from other countries, currency warfare, etc., may unexpectedly change into military conflicts between the imperialists and still more into attacks on the Soviet Union.

The seventh condition compels the Parties not only to split completely with reformism, and the policy of the "center," and propaganda of this split among the broad circles of Party members, but "unconditionally and peremptorily requires that this split be brought about *with least possible delay*. The Communist International cannot reconcile itself to the fact that such avowed reformists as, for instance, Turatti, Kautsky, Hilferding, Hilquit, Longuet, MacDonald, Mordigliani, etc., and others should be entitled to consider themselves members of the Third International. This would make the Third International resemble the Second International."

In view of the fact that, even before the war, there was a view in the Social-Democratic Parties that the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, "introduce civilization into the colonies," while during and after the war, the social-democrats with particular cynicism, supported the plunder and division of the colonies, the Communist International demanded, in condition No. 8, from the parties wishing to join it—

"a specially clear line of the parties in those countries where the bourgeoisie possesses such colonies and oppress other nations. Every Party desirous of belonging to the Third International should be bound to denounce without any reserve all the methods of 'their own' imperialists in the colonies, supporting, not in words, but in deeds, every independence movement in the colonies. It should demand the expulsion of their own imperialists from such colonies, and cultivate among the workers of their own country a truly fraternal attitude towards the toiling population of the colonies and oppressed nationalities, and carry on a systematic agitation in its own army against every kind of oppression of the colonial population."

At the Second Congress, in the reports and discussions, and especially in the resolutions, the main fire was directed against the reformists, social-chauvinists and social-pacifists of all kinds—against the rights and "center." But simultaneously, both in the reports, the discussion and the resolutions, a struggle is carried on also against left phrases and sectarianism.

At the Second Congress there were speeches against work in the reformist trade unions, and in Parliament. In the vote on the resolution on "the trade union movement, the factory committees and the Third International," thirteen delegates abstained. Immediately after the war, among the revolutionary workers there began a strong tendency against joining the reformist trade unions and working in them (and also against the participation of Communists in Parliament), in spite of the fact that the reformist trade unions had become much larger than they were before the war. The deep roots of these feelings are shown by the fact that they appeared simultaneously in a number of the biggest capitalist countries. The First Congress of the Communist Party of Germany, under the influence of these elements, decided against participation in Parliament (the C.P.G. did not participate in the elections to the Constituent Assembly) and against work in the reformist trade unions. Even at that time Lenin foresaw the danger of neglecting the work in mass organizations like trade unions. Before the Second Congress he published an article in No. 10 of the *C. I.*: "Should Revolutionaries Work in Reactionary Trade Unions?" and issued a booklet, *Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*. In both the article and the book (the article was included in the book as Chapter 6, under the same title), Lenin sounds the alarm against the "left" tendencies and feelings. First of all, the pamphlet was directed against the Communist Labor Party in Germany, the Shop Steward Movement in England, the revolutionary syndicalists, Bordiga and his

followers. The following years showed how far-seeing Lenin had been in attacking this "left-wing sickness of Communism." The Communist International and the Central Committees of the Communist Parties have not yet sufficiently carried out the numerous decisions on the work of Communists among the reformist, Catholic and Fascist mass trade unions. Many revolutionary workers, including members of the Communist Party, have been caught by the provocation of the trade union bureaucrats, who do everything in their power to make the work of the revolutionary elements in the trade unions impossible. Instead of strengthening the work in the trade unions, the revolutionary workers left them wholesale, enabling the trade union bureaucrats to carry these unions along the path of reformist treachery without hindrance.

The ninth condition requires that the Parties entering the Communist International and those wishing to join it should "carry on systematic and persistent Communist work in the trade unions, in workers' and industrial councils, co-operative societies and other mass organizations. It is necessary to organize Communist groups in these organizations which, by means of practical and stubborn work, must win over the trade unions, etc., for the cause of Communism. These groups should constantly denounce the treachery of the social-patriots and the vacillations of the 'center' at every step. These Communist groups should be completely subordinated to the Party in general."

The tenth condition requires the struggle against the Amsterdam Trade Union International and support for the "incipient international alliance of Red trade unions affiliated to the Communist International."

The eleventh condition was a particularly sore point for the leaders of the Socialist Parties. All the activity of the Social-Democratic Parties before the war, and also after, took place in and around Parliament. All the Party leaders, the entire C.C., were in the parliamentary fraction, the whole practice of which was directed to collaboration with the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, as mentioned above, at the Second Congress there were representatives of sectarian tendencies which spoke against work in Parliament. A number of delegates from various countries—France (Goldenberg, from the Youth League), Italy (Bordiga), Great Britain (Gallacher), Germany (Suschi, a revolutionary syndicalist), Switzerland (Hertzog) spoke against the participation of Communists in Parliament, against the utilization of the parliamentary tribune (seven delegates voted against the resolution on "The Communist Parties and Parliamentarism"). On this question the Congress carried on a struggle for the proper tactics on two fronts, con-

centrating the fire upon the reformists and "centrists." The eleventh condition of admission is based on the recognition of the necessity of utilizing the parliamentary tribune for really revolutionary propaganda and agitation. All parties wishing to belong to the Third International are obliged to revise the parliamentary fractions and remove from them "unreliable elements, to control such fractions not only verbally, but in reality to subordinate them to the Central Committee of the Party, and to demand from every Communist Member of Parliament that he devote his entire activity to the interests of really revolutionary propaganda." The parliamentary politicians of those Parties which wished to join the Communist International, fearing to lose their soft seats in Parliament, did everything in their power to hinder their Parties from joining the Communist International.

The twelfth condition deals entirely with the structure of the Party on the principle of democratic "*centralism*."

"At the present time of acute civil war, the Communist Party will only be able fully to do its duty when it is organized in the most centralized manner, if it has iron discipline bordering on military discipline, and if the Party center is a powerful authoritative organ with wide powers, possessing the general trust of the Party members."

Many Parties wished to assure themselves "autonomy" in the Communist International, like that which they had in the Second International. We know that the Congresses of the Second International could decide what they liked, but the various Parties could avoid carrying these decisions out. Even now the resolutions passed by the Second International are not compulsory on the organizations belonging to it, and on many occasions they are adopted with the full realization that they will not be carried into practice, adopted merely for the sake of form, to deceive the masses.

But even inside the Parties themselves, the parliamentary fractions, leaders, editors, public speakers, writers, etc., do not submit to the decisions of their Congress, and still less to the decisions of their C.C. The point on iron discipline, and "discipline bordering on military discipline," naturally frightened away all such "lovers of freedom," who were accustomed to "space" such as is given by parties of the social-democratic type, and these parties, in turn, were frightened away from the Communist International. The history of the last few years shows that even among the parties which accepted the twenty-one conditions, or which joined the Comintern even before the Second Congress, there were leaders who did not wish to submit to the discipline of the Com-

intern, or the discipline of their own parties, as required by the twelfth condition of acceptance into the Comintern.

The thirteenth condition is quoted at the head of this article. It refers to the systematic cleansing of the Party from petty-bourgeois elements which attach themselves to it. The Communist Parties have not in a single country such legal conditions as the Social-Democratic Parties had before the war. Up to the present, no section of the Comintern carries on such periodical cleansings as that of the C.P.S.U., the only revolutionary and simultaneously absolutely legal Party and Government Party. Cleansing from reformist and "centrist" elements takes place in the sections of the Comintern in a different manner, which will be dealt with later.

The fourteenth condition requires the parties wishing to join the Communist International to "give every possible support to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist Parties should carry on a precise and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport munitions of war intended for enemies of the Soviet Republics, carry on legal or illegal propaganda among the troops which are sent to crush the workers' republics."

During the war of Poland against the Soviet Union, the workers, under the leadership, both of the Communist Party and of those parties which really wished to join the Communist International, brought about a stoppage of aid for the Denikins, Kolchaks and other White Guard gangs, handicapped the transport of munitions, and in general hindered the imperialists in giving aid to Poland, and struggled for the recall of the interventionist troops from the Soviet Union.

The fifteenth condition required the parties joining the Comintern to change their old programs, to work out "a new Communist program in conformity with the special conditions of their country and in accordance with the resolutions of the Communist International," and demanded that these programs should be presented for confirmation to the Communist International, a thing which the Second International never demanded.

The sixteenth condition requires the parties which join the Communist International to submit to the decisions of the Executive Committee, thus making the Comintern into a united world party, in contradistinction to the Second International.

The seventeenth condition requires every party to take the name of the Communist Party, Section of the Third Communist International:

"The question of the name is not only a formal one, but is a political question of great importance. The Communist Interna-

tional has declared a decisive war against the entire bourgeois world and all the yellow Social-Democratic Parties. Every rank and file worker must clearly understand the difference between the Communist Parties and the old official 'Social-Democratic' or 'Socialist' Parties which have betrayed the cause of the working class."

The eighteenth condition requires the leading printed organs of the Communist Parties of all countries to publish all the chief documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The nineteenth condition demands that, not later than four months after the Second Congress, the parties should call a special Congress and that, before it was called, the local organizations should become acquainted with the decisions of the Second Congress.

The twentieth condition requires that the Central Committees and the chief institutions of the Party should consist to the extent of at least two-thirds of comrades who, even before the Second Congress, had "openly and definitely declared for joining the Third International."

Finally, the twenty-first condition says: "*Members of the Party who reject the conditions and theses of the Communist International on principle must be expelled from the Party.* This applies also to the delegates of the special Party Congresses." These special Party Congresses were to discuss the question of joining the Third International.

Thus the Second Congress not only required the parties, which wished to join the Communist International, to relinquish the old social-democratic program in practice, tactics, organizational methods, the old inter-relations between Party organizations and the fractions of mass non-Party organizations, not only demanded the expulsion of the old reformist and "centrist" leaders, of the parliamentarians, but that the parties wishing to join the Comintern should expel those members who rejected on principle the decisions and theses of the Communist International and the conditions of admission. All this was done so that the reformists and centrist elements which were in the previous Socialist Parties, so that the leaders who were compelled, under the pressure of the masses, to join the Communist International, could not remain in the Party with the aim of turning it into a party of the ordinary social-democratic type, at a suitable moment.

The absolute correctness and the undoubted necessity of all this was shown by the struggle which later took place in the Communist Parties, when the reformist and centrist elements who remained in the parties and who tried to carry on a struggle against the principles of the program, tactics and organization of Bolshevism, were driven out

of the parties in accordance with the line laid down in the twenty-one conditions.

The twenty-one conditions of admission into the Communist International were adopted at the Congress with only two delegates voting against.

What Was the Attitude of the Social-Democratic Parties Seeking Admittance, to the Twenty-One Conditions?

The Italian Socialist Party, whose representatives at the Second Congress of the Comintern voted for the twenty-one conditions, called a Congress in Livorno in January, 1921. At this Congress the Communists who proposed that the decisions of the Second Congress be confirmed entirely and without reservations received 58,000 votes. Seratti, who stated at the Second Congress that the twenty-one conditions were unsuitable for Italy; that the expulsion of the reformists from the Party would mean a split to which he could not agree (Seratti and his supporters in particular left the trade unions in the hands of the reformists), received 96,000 votes at this Congress. The reformists obtained 14,000 votes. Seratti, who based his centrist position on his wish to avoid a split, drew the following conclusion from the distribution of votes at the Congress: He did not wish to struggle against the reformists who received 14,000 votes, so he split with the Communists, who received 58,000 votes. The Communists left the Socialist Party and organized the Communist Party.

There is nothing surprising in the fact that Seratti and his supporters followed the reformists at the Congress, as the Socialist Party of Italy, on the eve of the Congress, at a decisive moment had shown in practice that it did not stand for revolutionary methods of struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. From August 27th to September 19th, 1920, the Italian workers seized the factories throughout all Italy. The Socialist Party did not stand at the head of the movement. Not only did it fail to organize immediate support for this revolutionary action of the proletariat, but throughout the country it tried its utmost to crush it. At that time the Communists had not their own party. They only constructed it after the January Congress in 1921. However, the seizure of the factories by the workers could have served as the starting point for a victorious proletarian revolution if, at that moment, the vanguard of the proletariat had been organized as a Communist Party. The situation which arose at that time as the result of the occupation of the factories in 1920 was described as follows by Bonomi, the Prime Minister of Italy, in his reminiscences *Del Sozializma e del Fascizma*.

"Finally, in September, 1920, it seemed that the time had come for the Italian Socialists to be bold [he is speaking of the seizure of the factories]. This was the culminating point in the development of revolutionary Socialism, the only great revolutionary experiment tested simultaneously throughout all Italy. But it was defeated owing to causes which will astonish future historians, namely: the movement was victorious and unresisted. It did not meet with any difficulties in its path. This movement had not the boldness to take on itself the initiative of attacking and winning political power, and limited itself merely to occupying the factories, expecting that capitalist economy would capitulate to the Red Flag waving along its front. A few days later the movement exhausted itself in its own impotence."

In these words we find the admission by the class enemy that, if the Socialist Party of Italy had been really revolutionary and taken the lead of this movement, giving it the necessary scope, it could have led to an armed revolt and the seizure of power, as the government power in Italy was shattered and very weak at that time.

At the conference of the three internationals which took place in April, 1923, Seratti was present as the representative of the Socialist Party of Italy, which had not joined any of the three internationals existing at that time.

In October, 1922, before the Fascists came to power, the Italian Socialist Party split at the Rome Congress. The supporters of Seratti received 32,000 votes, while the reformists increased the number of their votes to 29,000 (a year previously the reformists had received only 14,000 votes). Thus, at the time the Fascists came to power in Italy, there were three parties which arose from the Socialist Party of Italy—the Communist Party, the Maximalist Party (supporters of Seratti) and the Reformist Party. After the Fascists came to power in Italy, in reality only the Communist Party continued to exist, as the other two parties gave up their existence in Italy itself while the most prominent reformists (D'Arragona and Co.) went over to the Fascists. It is known that recently the German social-fascists followed the example of D'Arragona and handed over the trade unions to the Fascists, just as he did.

In August, 1924, Seratti and some of his followers returned to the Comintern, having joined the Italian Communist Party. This took place after he had become convinced that his refusal to accept the twenty-one conditions put forward by the Comintern had deprived the Italian proletariat of Bolshevik leadership at the decisive moment, and

had thus caused the defeat of the proletarian revolution in Italy for a number of years.

The Congress of the Socialist Party of France took place on December 25th, 1920, in Tours. The vast majority of the Congress voted for joining the Communist International. Of the party leaders of that time, Cachin, Frossard, and Daniel Renault remained. The right leaders Renaudel, Blum, Faure, Longuet, etc., split away and organized the Socialist Party.

In autumn, 1920, there was the Congress of the German Independent Social-Democratic Party. The overwhelming majority were in favor of accepting the twenty-one conditions, and all the decisions of the Communist International. Among the party leaders who were present at the Second Congress of the Comintern, Daumig and Stoecker went with the majority. This majority of "Independents" joined with the Communist Party of Germany. As for the minority of "Independents," they continued to exist for a short time as an Independent Party, but soon returned to the fold of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. Crispian and Dittmann, who were also present at the Second Congress, quietly went over to the old Social-Democratic Party, which suitably estimated their counter-revolutionary services, and even put them in its Central Committee.

The I.L.P. of Great Britain did not join the Comintern. It returned to the Second International. As part of the Labor Party, it shared the "fate" of the latter. Together with the Labor Party, at the decisive moment of 1926 it betrayed the general strike, and later the miners' strike. Together with the Labor Party, it afterwards betrayed the interests of the working class through the first and second Labor governments. Very recently, when the crisis greatly affected the economic situation of the British working class, when the British workers began to get more radical, under the influence of the growing crisis and increasing poverty and unemployment, striking and organizing big unemployed demonstrations, the members of the I.L.P. began to respond to the call of the Communists for the formation of a united front of struggle against the capitalist offensive, fascism and the war danger. The I.L.P. again left the Second International and under the pressure of its members is again negotiating with the Communist International regarding assistance in its struggle against the bourgeoisie, both in Great Britain and on an international scale. There can be no doubt that the leaders of the I.L.P. are using every effort to drag out the negotiations in the hope that the crisis will soon end, and they will be able to return once more to the Labor Party and the

Second International. The future will show whether the members of the I.L.P. will follow their leaders a second time.

Although the representatives of the Norwegian Labor Party voted at the Second Congress for accepting the twenty-one conditions, they did not greatly hurry to carry them into practice. Tranmel and Co., the leaders of this party, waited for the revolutionary tide to fall and sought a convenient opportunity to split with the Communist International.

The Norwegian Labor Party regarded itself as part of a general federative international organization and was against democratic centralism, and the Comintern discipline. In reply to all the demands of the E.C. of the Comintern to change the name of the central organ of this party (it was called the *Social-Democrat*), no satisfactory reply was received. The Norwegian Labor Party continued to build its organization on the basis of collective membership, just as before entering the Communist International. The trade unions *in toto* were members of the Norwegian Labor Party, and this is still the case.

The Norwegian Labor Party in practice collaborated with the bourgeoisie. It supported the liberal ministry, in spite of the protests of the Comintern. Therefore a split became inevitable. After this split, an independent Communist Party of Norway was organized.

How the Communist Parties Cleansed Themselves from Reformists and "Centrists" on the Basis of the Twenty-One Points

During the whole of their existence, the sections of the Comintern have carried on a struggle in their own ranks for Bolshevization, the growing soundness of their programs, tactical and organizational principles, against all kinds of opportunism in theory and practice, against all deviations and a conciliatory attitude towards them, and have cleansed and are cleansing their ranks from petty-bourgeois elements, on the basis of the principles set out in the twenty-one conditions.

We give here a few examples of such an actual cleansing of the ranks of the sections of the Comintern from old leaders, who concealed their social-democratic essence, but exposed themselves at decisive moments, when the Party passed on to more determined methods of struggle in accordance with the changed situation.

The Secretary of the Socialist Party of France, Frossard, who was at the Second Congress of the Comintern and at the Congress of the Socialist Party in Tours, voted for this party to join the Communist International. He remained in the Party until 1923. Under the cover of left phrases, at one time he spoke against the tactic of the

united front, and then advocated unity with the Social-Democratic Parties. He opposed the carrying out of one of the twenty-one points, on the subordination of the Party press to the C.C., regarding this as an expression of "barrack regime in the Party." When the Comintern demanded that the newspaper *Journal de Peuple*, which was edited by Fabre, a warm supporter of Frossard, should be submitted to the control of the C.C. of the Party, Frossard finally exposed himself, split with the Communist Party, and after a short existence as an "independent" Socialist, returned to the Socialist Party, where he is now in the extreme right wing, together with Renaudel.

Paul Levi, who at the Second Congress, under the cover of left phrases, was against the acceptance of the "independents" into the Comintern, acted as a reformist and opportunist in 1921 in the March events. He was expelled from the Party and soon drifted into the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.

Daumig, who assisted in the adoption of the twenty-one conditions by the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, left the Party after the March events in 1921.

Hoglund, the leader of the left Swedish Social-Democratic Party, like the Norwegian Labor Party and its leader Tranmel, sought for an excuse to leave the Communist International. When the Comintern put before him, in a decisive form, the necessity for a real struggle against the Swedish Social-Democratic Party and opportunism inside the Communist Party of Sweden, the necessity for a struggle against pacifism, Hoglund and his few supporters stated that they would not submit to these decisions, and were expelled from the Comintern (August, 1924). Hoglund and his supporters at first prided themselves on their "independence," but quieted down and returned to the fold of the Social-Democratic Party.

Kilbom and some other leaders of the Communist Party of Sweden displayed their social-democratic essence much later, after the Tenth Plenum, when the Comintern pointed out to the Swedish and other sections the necessity of carrying on a more direct and determined struggle, in connection with the new conditions, against the Rights and against a conciliatory attitude towards them, and to carry out the tactic of class against class in practice. Kilbom and Co. supported the Brandlerites and did not agree with the decisions of the Sixth Congress and the Tenth Plenum, and made up their minds to split. Concealing themselves beneath a "loyal" attitude to the Comintern, they tried to seize the newspaper and the property of the Party, to strengthen their position in the struggle against the Comintern and its Swedish section, and leave the Communist International. They did not suc-

ceed in this. They met with decided opposition from the Party members in the local Party organizations, and were expelled from the Party. Now they differ very little from the Social-Democratic Party of Sweden.

The "left" Bordiga, who at the Second Congress opposed the acceptance of the German "Independent" Social-Democrats and the French Socialist Party into the Comintern, opposed the use of the parliamentary tribune, and the tactic of the united front, soon drifted from this "left" sectarianism into right opportunism. Returning from exile he split with the Party, and now works as an engineer in Italy under the Fascist regime.

Brandler, Thalheimer and Walcher, ex-Spartacists, showed themselves as opportunists when they let slip the revolutionary situation in Germany in 1923. They were then removed from the leadership and later (Thalheimer and others) from German work owing to their factional struggle. In general they continued to insist on their mistakes, to deepen them, and, after the Sixth Congress, they were expelled from the Communist Party of Germany for opposition to the tactic of class against class, the independent conducting of the economic struggle, the organization of the trade union opposition in the trade unions, and the estimate of the Sixth Congress of the instability of the temporary stabilization. The handful of opportunists who followed them joined with the "left" social-democrats, Seidewitz and Co., who had left the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, and formed the so-called Social-Democratic Labor Party, which has now completely disappeared from the political horizon since the Fascist *coup d'etat*.

The Czecho-Slovakian Social-Democratic Party by a majority decided to join the Comintern. The minority remained in the Czecho-Slovakian Socialist Party. But for a number of years the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia was incapable of liberating itself from its social-democratic past, and did not carry out the twenty-one conditions in practice. It remained passive and incapable of the mass revolutionary struggle. However, fresh forces matured in the Party, capable of putting forward new leaders and beginning the Bolshevization of the Party. In 1929, when conducting the "Red Day," the Party leaders finally exposed themselves to the Party masses as incapable of organizing and carrying on the mass revolutionary struggle. The leaders boastfully stated from the parliamentary tribune and in the press that the "Red Day" would be held, even if it were prohibited. But when it was really prohibited, the Party leaders hid themselves, although the masses came on to the streets without receiving leadership from the

C.C. and the Prague District Committee. This gave the signal for a campaign to start against the opportunist leadership.

After this disgraceful collapse of the "Red Day," the active Party members, with the help of the Comintern, brought about a determined change in the practice of the Party. A number of opportunists, Members of Parliament, were expelled from the Party—and many deserted themselves. The opportunists who had dug themselves into the leadership of the Red trade unions tried to split the Red trade unions, in which the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia had great influence. The previous leaders tried to emaciate the Party, seizing the newspapers, printing plants and property of the Party. But the revolutionary workers, the Party members, put forward new leaders, enlivened the Party organizations and for several years have carried on economic and political strikes, utilizing the parliamentary tribune for revolutionary speeches. The Party press is becoming the agitator of revolutionary action, and the organizer of the masses. Whereas previously, under the opportunist leadership, the government did not touch the Communist press, did not close down the Party papers, at the present time a censorship has been introduced on our press and even Members of Parliament are arrested and tried. The number of members of the Party, which fell from 150,000 to 27,000 in 1930, has risen already to 80,000, while the Red trade unions are fighting and increasing their membership. In the course of the struggle against opportunism, and the cutting off of these unreliable opportunist elements, the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia strengthened its ranks, improved its revolutionary activity and strengthened its position in the working class.

The carrying on of the tactic of class against class, which was emphasized by the Eighth Plenum of the Comintern, assisted the French section of the Comintern, as mentioned above, to cleanse itself from unstable opportunist and right elements, for whom election agreements with the left bourgeois and Socialist Parties were more important than the tactics and program of the Communist Party. But in England, when the Communist Party, which did not previously put forward its own candidates for Parliament, but supported the candidates of the Labor Party, began to put forward its own candidates in the chief industrial districts, when the minority movement began to organize independent strikes despite the trade union bureaucrats, many opportunist elements which called themselves Communists left the Party, or were later expelled for their anti-Party conduct. The Communist Parties cleansed themselves of counter-revolutionary and Trotskyist elements, from all the Rosmers, Trients, Urbans, Nins, etc.

Thus a cleansing takes place in the Communist Parties, which, in reality, are semi-legal, because in no country, not even in England, is the Communist Party really legal, having the possibility of publishing what it likes and calling for demonstrations or strikes.

"Only the Communist Party, if it is really the vanguard of the revolutionary class, if it includes all the best representatives of this class, if it consists of fully conscientious and loyal Communists, educated and steeled by the experience of stubborn revolutionary struggle, if this Party has succeeded in linking itself indissolubly with the life of its class and through it with all the exploited masses and creating complete confidence among this class and these masses, only such a Party is capable of leading the proletariat in the most merciless and decisive final struggle against all the forces of capitalism. On the other hand, only under the leadership of such a Party can the proletariat develop all the power of its revolutionary onslaught." (Resolution on the basic tasks of the Communist International, Section I, par. 4.)

There are already such Communist Parties in the capitalist countries.

The Communist Party of Germany has shown in practice that it not only rapidly adapts itself to unusually difficult illegal conditions, but it has not lost contact with the masses. The Communist Party alone has preserved and rapidly restored the local Party organizations, which were destroyed by the Fascists from top to bottom. It has not lost contacts with the mass non-Party organizations and, through them, with the working masses. The Communist Party of Germany not only publishes literature, but it holds demonstrations and leads strikes. It is a center of attraction, mobilization and organization for everything which is revolutionary and growing in the working class of Germany. And never was its moral political authority among the working masses so high as at the present time.

The Communist Party of Bulgaria, in the kingdom of bloody Fascist terror, carries with it the majority of the workers of Bulgaria. It has great influence in the villages, and carries on work in the army. The military state of siege and the terror cannot destroy this influence.

The Communist Party of Poland, which firmly resists the blows of fascism and tirelessly exposes the "left" tricks of the Polish Socialist Party, leads the struggle of the Polish proletariat in the factories and the struggle of the unemployed. It stands at the head of the struggle of the peasants not only in West Ukraine and West White Russia, but in Poland proper. It is linked up with the great masses of the proletariat, and the poor of the villages.

The Communist Party of China, in spite of the unprecedented terror (execution for distributing proclamations), issues an enormous amount of propagandist and agitational literature. It organizes and leads the strike struggle, heads the mass movement directed against Japanese imperialism, and appears before the masses as the only force capable of struggling for the independence of China against imperialist oppression. The Communist Party of China leads the Soviet districts, where the Soviet power is established in practice on a large territory. It is building and strengthening the Red Army of China.

The Communist Party of Japan, since the first days of the war against China, is endeavoring to carry out the Leninist position in the struggle against war. In spite of severe persecution and repression, espionage and provocation, the vacillations and treachery of individual intellectuals—leaders of the Communist Party, it is widening its influence on the organized and unorganized workers, among the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie. All the subtle and cunning struggle against "dangerous thoughts" was found helpless in isolating the Communist Party from the masses, or bringing disruption into its ranks. The Japanese bourgeoisie try to destroy the imprisoned Communists, leaving them to rot in prison, but the working class puts forward new cadres of fighters and organizers of the struggle.

There are not a few such really fighting Communist Parties in the Communist International. In the second cycle of wars and revolutions, the working class will not be under the leadership of treacherous social-democracy, as in 1918-19. The Communist Parties, armed with the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, steeled in the struggle and with ranks cleared of opportunists of all kinds, will lead the working class to victory.

Appendix

CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION INTO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The First Inaugural Congress of the Communist International did not draw up precise conditions for the admission of separate parties to the Third International. At the time the First Congress was convened there were only Communist *trends* and *groups* in the majority of countries.

The Second World Congress of the Communist International has met under different conditions. There are now in most countries not only Communist trends and tendencies, but Communist *Parties* and *organizations*.

The Communist International is now more and more often receiving applications from parties and groups which, but a short time ago, belonged to the Second International and now desire to join the Third International, but which have not really become Communist organizations. The Second International has completely collapsed. The intermediary parties and groups of the "Center," realizing that the Second International is utterly hopeless, are trying to lean upon the Communist International, which is growing ever stronger; at the same time, however, they hope to preserve such "autonomy" as would enable them to pursue their former opportunist or "Centrist" policy. The Communist International is, to a certain degree, becoming the fashion.

The desire of some of the leading groups of the "Center" to join the Third International is an indirect confirmation of the fact that the Communist International has gained the sympathy of the overwhelming majority of the class-conscious workers of the whole world, and that it is becoming a greater and greater force every day.

Under certain circumstances, the Communist International may be threatened with the danger of dilution by wavering, vacillating groups that have not yet abandoned the ideology of the Second International.

Moreover, in some of the large parties (Italy, Sweden, Norway, Yugoslavia and others), the majority of whose members adopt the Communist point of view, there still remains a considerable reformist and social-pacifist wing, which is only waiting for the opportune moment to lift its head again, to begin an active sabotage of the prole-

tarian revolution, and thus help the bourgeoisie and the Second International.

No Communist should forget the lessons of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The alliance between the Hungarian Communists and the so-called "Left" social-democrats cost the Hungarian proletariat dear.

Hence, the Second World Congress of the Communist International considers it necessary to lay down the most precise conditions for the admission of new parties, and also to point out to those parties which have already been accepted as members of the Communist International, the obligations that rest upon them.

The Second Congress of the Communist International resolves that the conditions for membership in the Communist International shall be as follows:

1. The daily propaganda and agitation must bear a truly Communist character and correspond to the program and all the decisions of the Third International. All the organs of the press that are in the hands of the Party must be edited by reliable Communists who have proved their loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be spoken of simply as a current hackneyed formula; it should be advocated in such a way that its necessity should be apparent to every rank-and-file working man and woman, each soldier and peasant and should emanate from the facts of everyday life systematically recorded by our press day after day.

The periodical and non-periodical press and all Party publishing organizations must be wholly subordinate to the Central Committee of the Party, irrespective as to whether the Party as a whole, at the given moment, is legal or illegal. That publishing organizations, abusing their autonomy, should pursue a policy that does not completely correspond to the policy of the Party, cannot be tolerated.

In the columns of the newspapers, at public meetings, in the trade unions, in the co-operative societies—wherever the adherents of the Third International gain access, they must systematically and mercilessly denounce not only the bourgeoisie, but also its assistants, the reformists of every shade.

2. Every organization desiring to belong to the Communist International must steadily and systematically *remove* from all responsible posts in the Labor movement in the Party organization, editorial boards, trade unions, parliamentary fractions, co-operative societies, municipalities, etc., all reformists and followers of the "Center," and have them replaced by Communists even at the cost of replacing at the beginning, "experienced" leaders by rank-and-file working-men.

3. The class struggle in almost all the countries of Europe and America is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois law. They must *everywhere* create a parallel illegal apparatus, which at the decisive moment could assist the Party in performing its duty to the revolution. In all countries where, in consequence of martial law or exceptional laws, the Communists are unable to carry on all their work legally, a combination of legal and illegal work is absolutely necessary.

4. The obligation to spread Communist ideas includes the particular necessity of persistent, systematic propaganda in the army. Wherever such propaganda is forbidden by exceptional laws, it must be carried on illegally. The abandonment of such work would be equivalent to the betrayal of revolutionary duty and is incompatible with membership in the Third International.

5. It is necessary to carry on systematic and steady agitation in the rural districts. The working class cannot consolidate its victory without the backing of at least part of the agricultural laborers and the poorest peasants, and without having neutralized, by its policy, a part of the rest of the rural population. Communist work in the rural districts is acquiring a predominant importance during the present period. It should be carried on in the main, by revolutionary Communist workers of both city and country only, who have connections with the rural districts. To refuse to do this work or to transfer such work to untrustworthy half-reformists is equal to renouncing the proletarian revolution.

6. Every party that desires to belong to the Third International must expose, not only open social patriotism, but also the falsity and hypocrisy of social-pacifism; it must systematically demonstrate to the workers that without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international arbitration courts, no disarmament, no "democratic" reorganization of the League of Nations will save mankind from new imperialist wars.

7. The Parties desiring to belong to the Communist International must recognize the necessity of a complete and absolute rupture with reformism and the policy of the "Center," and they must carry on propaganda in favor of this rupture among the broadest circles of the party membership. Otherwise a consistent Communist policy is impossible.

The Communist International unconditionally and peremptorily demands that this split be brought about *with the least delay*. The Communist International cannot reconcile itself to the fact that such avowed reformists, as Turatti, Kautsky, Hilferding, Hillquit, Longuet, MacDonald, Modigliani, and others should be entitled to consider them-

selves members of the Third International. This would make the Third International resemble, to a considerable degree, the late Second International.

8. On the question of the colonies and oppressed nationalities an especially distinct and clear line must be taken by the parties in those countries where the bourgeoisie possesses colonies or oppresses other nations. Every party desirous of belonging to the Third International must ruthlessly denounce the methods of "their own" imperialists in the colonies, supporting, not in words, but in deeds, every independence movement in the colonies. It should demand the expulsion of their own imperialists from such colonies, and cultivate among the workers of their own country a truly fraternal attitude towards the toiling population of the colonies and oppressed nationalities, and carry on systematic agitation in its own army against every kind of oppression of the colonial population.

9. Every party that desires to belong to the Communist International must carry on systematic and persistent Communist work in the trade unions, in workers' and industrial councils, in the co-operative societies, and in other mass organizations. Within these organizations it is necessary to create Communist groups, which by means of practical and stubborn work must win over the trade unions, etc., for the cause of Communism. These cells should constantly denounce the treachery of the social-patriots and the vacillations of the "Center," at every step. These Communist groups should be completely subordinate to the Party as a whole.

10. Every party that belongs to the Communist International must carry on a stubborn struggle against the Amsterdam "International" of yellow trade unions. It must persistently propagate among the organized workers the necessity of a rupture with the yellow Amsterdam International. It must give all the support in its power to the incipient international alliance of the Red trade unions affiliated to the Communist International.

11. The parties desiring to belong to the Third International must overhaul the membership of their parliamentary fractions, eliminate all unreliable elements from them, to control these fractions, not only verbally but in reality, to subordinate them to the Central Committee of the Party, and demand from every Communist member of parliament that he devote his entire activities to the interests of really revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

12. Parties belonging to the Communist International must be built up on the principle of democratic *centralism*. At the present time of acute civil war, the Communist Party will only be able fully to do its

duty when it is organized in the most centralized manner, if it has iron discipline, bordering on military discipline, and if the Party center is a powerful, authoritative organ with wide powers, possessing the general trust of the party membership.

13. The Communist parties of those countries where the Communists' activity is legal shall make periodical cleanings (re-registration) of the members of the Party organizations, so as to systematically cleanse the party from the petty-bourgeois elements who inevitably attach themselves to it.

14. Every party that desires to belong to the Communist International must give every possible support to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist parties should carry on a precise and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport munitions of war intended for enemies of the Soviet Republics, carry on legal or illegal propaganda among the troops, which are sent to crush the workers' republics, etc.

15. The parties which up to the present have retained their old Social-Democratic programs must in the shortest possible time overhaul these programs and draw up a new Communist program in conformity with the special conditions of their respective countries and in accordance with resolutions of the Communist International. As a rule, the program of every party that belongs to the Communist International must be ratified by the next Congress of the Communist International or by the Executive Committee. In the event of the Executive Committee of the Communist International failing to ratify the program of a particular party, that party has the right to appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.

16. All decisions of the Congresses of the Communist International, as well as the decisions of its Executive Committee, are binding on all parties affiliated to the Communist International. The Communist International, operating in the midst of most acute civil war, must have a far more centralized form of organization than that of the Second International. At the same time, the Communist International and its Executive Committee must, of course, in all their activities, take into consideration the diversity of the conditions under which the various parties have to work and fight, and should issue universally binding decisions only on questions on which the passing of such decisions is possible.

17. In connection with all this, all parties desiring to join the Communist International must change their names. Every party that desires to join the Communist International must bear the name: *Communist*

Party of such-and-such country (Section of the Third, Communist International). This question as to name is not merely a formal one, but a political one of great importance. The Communist International has declared a decisive war against the entire bourgeois world and all the yellow, Social-Democratic parties. Every rank-and-file worker must clearly understand the difference between the Communist Parties and the old official "Social-Democratic" or "Socialist" parties which have betrayed the cause of the working class.

18. All the leading Party organs of the press in all countries must publish all the chief documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

19. All parties belonging to the Communist International, or having made an application to join it, must, in the shortest possible period, but not later than four months after the Second Congress of the Communist International, call special Party congresses, for the purpose of discussing these obligations. In this connection, the Central Committees must take measures to enable all the local organizations to become acquainted with the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International.

20. The parties that would now like to join the Third International but which have not yet radically changed their former tactics, must, before joining, take steps to ensure that their Central Committees and all most important central bodies of the respective parties, shall be composed, to the extent of at least two-thirds, of such comrades as even prior to the Second Congress of the Communist International have openly and definitely declared for joining the Third International. Exceptions may be made with approval of the Executive Committee of the Third International. The Executive Committee of the Communist representatives of the "Center" mentioned in point 7.

21. *Members of the Party who reject the conditions and theses of the Communist International, on principle, must be expelled from the party.*

This applies also to the delegates to the special Party Congresses.

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