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The Resolutions of the Session of the Enlarged Executive.

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The Most Important Results of the Session of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International.

by A. Thalheimer.

(February 21st to March 4th, 1922).

•• The central point on the agenda of the Enlarged Executive Session was the question of the united proletarian front. Lively opposition came from the Italian delegation and from the majority of the French delegation. The arguments, as far as they were not of a sentimental nature, were not the same from all camps of the opposition, although the latter agreed upon joint resolutions. Our Italian Party unmistakably lacked theoretical security. Its practice is ahead of its theory. They wanted to be assured of a limited application of the united front tactics to the trade-unions. They overlooked the fact that the political fraction within the trade-unions bound the party as such. There was also the unmistakable feeling that by showing their willingness to meet the Serrations, the conflict between these two factions could be weakened. With our French friends, matters were somewhat different. Here one could clearly see the inadequate appreciation of the necessity of drawing that part of the working-class that was still outside the Communist Party's ranks (and which in France still constitutes the majority) into the daily struggles. Our French like our Italian comrades, expressed their fear that the application of the united front policy might lead to a retrogression into "Ministerialism". As a matter of fact, however, this policy is just the weapon to be applied in the present situation against the Social Democratic collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

The policy of the united proletarian front is the application of the tactical decisions reached by the Third World Congress in the present situation. Of course, these tactics have their limits and their special applications. They are superfluous for Communist Parties that already have the majority of the working-class behind them, or that are the only proletarian parties in their

respective countries. These tactics are also of no practical value to Communist Parties that are in their first stages of development, and which must first draw the dividing line between them and the Social Reformist parties through propaganda. Naturally, the application of this policy must make ample allowance for the situation in the various countries.

The debate was very fruitful. The resolution, which was passed by a majority, approves the December theses dealing with the united front, and calls upon the Presidium and the delegations from the most important sections to decide upon the immediate practical measures to be taken in their respective countries towards the application of the new tactics which must naturally be adapted to the peculiar conditions of the various countries. After the declarations made by the French and Italian delegations, there is no doubt but that they will not only maintain international discipline, but that the actual facts will fully convince them of the necessity of such tactics.

In close connection with this, there is the question of the proposed international conference of all labor organizations. The Enlarged Executive Session put particular emphasis upon the drawing-in of the international trade-union organizations, including the Syndicalists, Anarchists and youth organizations. The Enlarged Executive Session made it very clear that it fully sustains its fundamental estimate of the Social Reformist and Centrist Parties. Its dominating wish, however, is that the conference deal only with such questions as bear upon the direct, practical common action of the working masses. The Communist International will not evade discussion upon the fundamental differences of opinion, if it is desired; it wants practical work, however.

The second important question that arose at the Enlarged Executive Session was that of the Red Trade Union International. (R.T.U.I.) It became evident that the liquidating questions that arose in single countries in regard to the R.T.U.I. were of no importance. The situation did not seem to warrant any debate over the future existence of the Red Trade Union International. The Enlarged Executive Session declared very concisely that the

decisions reached by the Third World Congress in regard to the trade-union question required no modifications in principle. It pointed out, however, that due to the varied influences of the Communists in the trade-unions, it was necessary to render the work of the Red Trade Union International more concrete and adaptable to the peculiar conditions in the various countries and industrial groups. In a detailed resolution, the Enlarged Executive Session made general recommendations for a concrete evaluation of the present situation in the trade-union struggle, but particularly on the question of directing the defensive struggle against the present capitalistic offensive. The most important points are as follows:

"In the next period, the task of the Communists is the extension their influence within the old reformist trade-unions, in the struggle against the splitting policy of the Amsterdam leaders and in the thorough application of the united front tactics within the trade-unions."

No objection whatever was raised against this attitude. The third important question was that of the French Party. In a series of questions, including that of the united front, our French Party still displayed strong right-opportunistic tendencies. The struggle against these tendencies led to the removal of five comrades from the leadership of the party. These five had been chosen by the Marseilles Convention. The Enlarged Executive Session did not accept the resignation of these comrades, but demanded of them that they retain their posts in accordance with the wish of the convention. On the other hand, the Executive Session called for the elimination of the remaining reformist tendencies, which it named in particular. The Enlarged Executive Session received a declaration from the French delegation that the "Journal du Peuple", the organ which was the stamping-ground for all of these tendencies, would be expelled by the party, and that the party leadership would see to it that a strict and disciplinary observance of the party's decisions be carried out in the spirit of Communist authority.

Finally the Enlarged Executive Session dealt with a communication from the members of the so-called "Workers' Opposition" in the Russian Communist Party. The tendencies of this group were made very clear. The Executive Session declared that the attitude and actions of these comrades stood in sharpest conflict with the decisions of the 10th Congress of the R.C.P., and they were seriously warned against a continuation of the struggle they had begun.

The treatment of a number of other questions becomes sufficiently clear from the decisions reached.

The Enlarged Executive Session has accomplished a tremendous amount of work, which bears comparison with that of a world congress. The net result may be expressed as the further definite elaboration and application of the tactical line of action drawn up by the Third World Congress. The next world congress will take place in October unless unforeseen events call for an earlier session.

Resolution on the Theses of the United Front.

After the discussion which cleared away all misunderstandings and confusion and showed that the policy of the united front, as proposed by the Executive Committee, in no way signifies the cessation of the conflict with reformism, but the continuation and development of the tactics adopted by the Third Congress and our sections, the Enlarged Executive Session approves the December theses on the united front. It calls upon the Presidium and upon the delegations of the most important sections to decide upon the immediate practical measures that are at once to be taken in their respective countries for the application of these tactics, which must naturally be adapted to the peculiar conditions of each individual country.

Resolution on the Question of the Participation of the Communist International in the Proposed Conference of all Labor Organizations of the World.

After acknowledging the proposal made by the Vienna Working Union of Socialist Parties, the Enlarged Executive Session declares itself in favor of the participation of the Communist International.

The Enlarged Executive Session of the C.I., for its part, proposes that all trade-unions and their national and international associations be invited: the Red Trade Union International, the whole of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, the French "C.G.T. Unitaire", the Italian Syndicalist Union, the American Federation of Labor and other independent unions. The Com-

munist International considers it necessary to invite the most important organizations of the Syndicalists, Anarchists, I.W.W., the Shop Stewards, the Factory Councils, etc., to the World Conference. The International Conference must have the actual universal representation of all the labor organizations of the world. The World Conference of Labor Organizations must set one great task before itself: the organization of the defensive struggle of the working-class against international capital.

The capitalists of the whole world have systematically assumed the offensive against the workers. Everywhere, wages are cut, working hours lengthened, the misery of the unemployed is growing and taxes and the high cost of living are increasing.

World Imperialism takes advantage of the splits and divisions in the ranks of the working-class and is attempting to shift the financial and economic burdens occasioned by the world slaughter, upon the shoulders of the working-class.

The imperialistic policy revived immediately after the war, which finds its crassest expression in Versailles, has divided the world into new camps of contention; it leads to attempts at new alliances that inevitably lead to new wars. Washington and Genoa are milestones in the new piratical expedition of world imperialism, and are breeders of new wars.

Even the leaders of the International Transport Workers Federation (belonging to Amsterdam) and recently the leaders of the International Metal Workers' Federation (likewise of Amsterdam) alarmingly declared that such a danger really existed.

Under these circumstances all the workers must unite for the defense of their most elementary and innate interests. Under these circumstances, whoever refuses to participate in the united front of all the workers, shows that in reality he is for the united front of the bourgeoisie against the workers.

The Communist International proposes that the proposed International Conference take up only such questions as touch upon the immediate, practical, joint action of the working masses. The agenda of the International Conference must be wholly directed towards securing unity of action among the working masses, which can be immediately secured notwithstanding fundamental political differences of opinion.

The workers who are well conscious of the deep-seated reasons for such differences, nevertheless demand in overwhelming majority of the working-class that unity of action be established for the pressing and immediate practical interests of the working masses. This healthy demand by the working masses is in full accord with the attitude and actions of the Communist International.

[Cachin's Statement.

We have the mandate with which we are charged. We have given our reasons and have defended our resolutions up to the last vote. It seems to us that the reformists of all countries are daily getting further and further away from the working-class, and that they pursue a policy which is in opposition to the daily struggle and welfare of the proletariat. We entertain no doubt whatever but that they will in all circumstances sabotage the real united front the laboring masses. The Executive fully agrees with us in all these opinions, although it does not quite agree with our conclusions. We willingly bow to the majority, which has just accepted the proposed tactics. We beg of you carefully to examine the significance of the vote. Three countries have joined to make common reservations. We note with great satisfaction that the Enlarged Executive Session has put itself under obligation, through its repeated declarations, to make the greatest possible allowances in the application of these decisions for the peculiar situation in each country. As far as we are concerned, Comrades, you may rest assured that we shall always maintain discipline and remain faithful to the decisions of the Third International. The debates just ended, have shown conclusively that the Third International is today more than ever the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat.

Theses on the Question of Combatting War and the Danger of War.

1—Through the imperialistic war of 1914-1918 and through the treaties of "peace" that concluded it (those of Versailles, Trianon, St. Germain, Sevres and Neuilly), the economic and political conflicts among the great capitalistic powers of Europe have not been settled. They are spreading and intensifying under varied forms and conditions in the struggle for domination of the European and world markets. Alongside of these, new economic and political conflicts have arisen among the great European imperialistic powers. Favored by the last war, sharper conflicts between England, the United States and Japan are

blooming forth. The national conflicts between the colonial powers of Europe and the peoples that are subjected to their rule or are threatened by them, are becoming more and more intense. Soviet Russia was shut out from the world market and world economy by the blockade and by the wars through the only state in the world, in which the peasants and workers have succeeded in wresting political power from the hands of the bourgeoisie. The creation of the national states on top of the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and the building up of frontier states between western Europe and Soviet Russia have greatly increased the number of customs-walls hindering the free development of productive forces.

2—The military destruction of German imperialism and the economic and political enslavement of Germany by the Entente has temporarily freed England from its most dreaded pre-war rival in the contest for the world market and world exploitation. French imperialism seeks to lift France out of its economic decay and growing financial difficulties by bleeding Germany white. The merciless pillage of the German nation together with other sequences of the world war (depreciation of the currency, inflation, etc.) lead to an impoverishment that destroys the buying power and the consumption capacity of the German nation for England's goods, which in turn is the vital factor of a healthy and thriving industry in Great Britain. Under the given circumstances, the effect of the unbearable reparation burdens put upon Germany by Allied imperialism, is that the English and the world market are flooded with cheap German goods, against whose cut-throat competition no protective tariff barricades, be they ever so high, and no anti-dumping laws, be they ever so stringent, can offer any effective protection. The economic and political weakening of Germany signifies no real strengthening of England, but rather its own weakening and a menace to its own position. So much the more so because it goes hand in hand with the great extension and strengthening of French imperialism.

3—As a result of the war, France's economic development was greatly accelerated. France controls the most important iron mines of Europe, just as Germany is still in possession of most of the coal on the continent. The union of the right of exploitation of the iron and coal fields, be it through conquest or by treaty, would be a fatal blow to England's economic and political position in Europe. But even without such a juncture of exploitation forces, aided by Germany's reparation coal deliveries, France is quickly developing from a lending country into a nation with a growing heavy industry. This it does under the domination of its capitalists who are seeking to secure productive investing opportunities and closed fields of exploitation. In the coal regions of Czecho-Slovakia and Poland and in the petroleum fields of Eastern Galicia and Roumania, France's role as England's competitor is growing in importance. Thanks to its economic, political and military ties with the Little Entente, with Poland and with the Border States, France not only compels English economic and political influence to retreat, but what is still more important: it secures for itself, at England's expense, the means of "opening", i. e., of plundering the Balkan States, Soviet Russia and Asia Minor.

In the Bosphorus, in the Dardanelles, in North Africa, Northern and Central Asia, the economic and political conflicts between French and English imperialism are daily growing in sharpness. France's position in Morocco and Syria, her Angora Treaty with Turkey and her growing influence in the Mohammedan world not only threaten England's position in old and new fields of exploitation, but what is more significant, *menace her connections with India*. The more persistent and violent India's national and social movements threatening the British colonial power are, the more important it becomes for England to secure these connections through its control of the Dardanelles and of the Suez Canal, through an Arabian empire dependent upon and ruled by it, and through powerful positions in Mesopotamia, Persia and Afghanistan. Under pressure of these economic and political difficulties, England attempts to strengthen Italy and Greece at the cost of French imperialism, and drives Italy to military preparations intended to weaken France's position in the Mediterranean. In the coming admission of Soviet Russia into capitalistic world economy, England and France are stubbornly contesting for a dominating position that might enable them better to exploit the natural treasures and labor power of the workers and peasants of the great republic.

4—England's domination of the world market passed to the United States during the four year wholesale imperialistic butchery. The United States, formerly an exporter of raw materials and food to Europe and an importer of the latter's industrial products, now became an exporter of manufactured articles. In the markets of North and South America the United States displaced Europe, and in China and in the English colonial

countries and even in Europe proper, it made conquest after conquest. The industries of the United States turned from quantity to quality production. Aside from other factors, the high grade of development of the technical productive apparatus which the United States industries have at their disposal, secures for them a great advantage over English production. At the same time, the United States became Europe's creditor instead of being her debtor. It also has the lion's share of the world's gold reserves in its possession. England is barely capable of holding its own in the European markets, in face of strengthened United States competition. It seems to be powerless in its attempt to regain its old economic dominating positions in North and South America, on the Pacific coast and in the South Sea, or even to extend its sphere of influence.

During the imperialistic war, Japan also developed its industries, thus extending her economic and political power. Japan appeared as a competitor of the United States in South American markets and gained a foothold in islands in the Pacific. From China, she seized the rich province of Shantung, seized from her base in Manchuria Korea, pushed her conquests in Eastern Siberia and stretched her imperialistic hand as far as Mongolia. Japan's growing imperialism is pointed against the United States, whose positions it menaces in the Pacific, in the South Sea Islands and in her intentions for China's exploitation. England was not disturbed by these developments because it saw in it a check upon American imperialism. Her alliance with Japan was to secure for her the control and spoliation of Southern China, whereas the North and Center of the Celestial Empire were to be left to the Japanese robber.

In order to get the necessary financial and military support of its colonies and dominions during the war, England was compelled to grant to these the right of determination of its foreign policy. In its relations with the United States and Japan, England was therefore greatly hampered. Canada felt that its economic, political and cultural kinship to the Union was closer than the tie that bound it to the mother country. The Australian Commonwealth is sharply opposed to the imperialistic expansion appetite of Japan, the former, and most probably, still the secret ally of England in her rivalry to the United States. English South Africa, whose population is mostly peasant, has no interest whatever in supporting England in a war against the States. Indeed the United States can, thanks to its well developed industries, overcome Japan's economic competition, but reasons of a political nature and especially the thought of a "closed door" to China intensify the conflict between American and Japanese imperialism.

5—The four year devastation and pillage campaign of the capitalistic Great Powers, has given rise to violent revolutionary movements in the English colonies as well as in those regions whose subjugation and exploitation was intended. These movements derive their encouragement and strength from the example set by the Russian Revolution and the creation of Soviet Russia. They are strongly marked by a nationalistic and religious character, but they are also united with social revolutionary struggles. In spite of the fact that Ireland was declared a republic federatively united with Great Britain, bloody struggles are still going on in Ireland. These struggles are caused by unbridgeable economic and social conflicts. Egypt is flying the flag of national indignation, with Zaglul Pasha as its standard bearer. In India the most stringent measures as well as concessions seem powerless in the face of her national indignation against England's rule. Strikes upon strikes break out which, together with the national conflicts, give rise to class struggles between exploiters and exploited. From the Atlantic Ocean up to the Himalayas, indeed even up to China, the Mohammedans are worked up to a high degree of indignation and revolt. No matter how varied the forms of expression and the outer characteristics of this spirit of revolt among the peoples of Asia and Africa may be, it is none the less clear that it is directed own struggles among themselves for world-power and world-exploitation.

6—Yet, notwithstanding the incurable conflict of interests between the great capitalistic states, they are none the less united in their readiness to overthrow Soviet Russia. These imperialistic states are not satisfied with the concessions which Soviet Russia is compelled to make to foreign capitalists under pressure of historical events, and forsaken as it was by the proletarians of the rest of the world. They are out for bleeding the gigantic empire white and for plundering its natural treasures and productive forces without the interference of Soviet laws. But what they desire uppermost is the overthrow of the Soviet government. Soviet Russia is a constant reminder to the workers of all countries to seize political power, to set up their dictatorship and to tear up capitalism by the roots. Soviet Russia is the mainstay

of the exploited and oppressed in all their struggles against their exploiters and oppressors, and is above all the mother country and source of the World Revolution.

French imperialism was until now the sword of the capitalists of all countries and of the international counter revolution against Soviet Russia. It wasted untold billions to hatch counter revolutionary plots within and outside of Russia; and to fit out devastating expeditions of Czarist generals and nationalistic bandits from the frontier states, and to pay their expenses. *The defeats suffered by the counter revolutionary armies, financed by France, at the hands of the Red Army (Wrange's defeat in particular) demonstrated the futility of such a policy.* France then adopted a new policy towards Soviet Russia. But since its object is also to squeeze fabulous sums out of Soviet Russia (in a peaceful way) for the satisfaction of French creditors, French imperialism will continue to waste the earnings of the working masses for the maintenance of militarism in the Little Entente and in the Borden States, but, above all to maintain militarism in Poland. Her diplomats and her generals are preparing to launch new military attacks against Soviet Russia using Finland and Roumania as bases. Ammunition, army supplies and troops can be sent from France to aid her allies on the various fronts. *Germany's "neutrality" is no obstacle in the way of transportation.* On the contrary, with the weakness that German bourgeois government, (be it that of Wirth or any other), displays against the Allies, coupled with the hatred it professes against the proletarian and peasant state and its own fear of the proletarian revolution, this "neutrality" may turn into an encouragement of or even into a participation in a war against Soviet Russia. Ludendorff and Company are only waiting for leave from French Imperialism, to lead the struggle against "Bolshevism". *Although Soviet Russia entertains no imperialistic designs, and must concentrate all its forces upon reconstruction, it must not disarm. It must be ready to fight in the interests of the proletarian revolution.*

7— Only three years after the end of the wholesale imperialistic murder and two years after the conclusion of "peace", the world, the capitalistic world in particular, is saturated with combustible material that may go off at any moment, resulting in new imperialistic wars, more gigantic, more frightful and destructive and more cruel than the blood-reeking war of 1914-1918 suffered by shuddering humanity today the capitalist states are armed more heavily than before the war. The various war-ravaged countries are still too poor, their means are far insufficient to heal the horrible war-wounds of the laboring masses and to restore what the war destroyed, and already the bourgeois governments are again wasting the treasures of the working masses in tremendous preparations for new land, sea and air wars. And these preparations in themselves augment and accelerate the danger of war from all sides.

The slow process of the development of the proletarian world revolution after its first rushing start, the Russian Revolution permits the bourgeoisie of the great capitalistic countries to attempt to reconstruct collapsing industry and the tottering state upon a capitalistic basis. But the restoration of the capitalistic profit system and of the bourgeois order carries with it the germ of all economic, political and social, national and international conflicts and contradictions which with the present stage of development, reached by capitalism, inevitably drive to world wars of gigantic compass, of the most frightful character and of hardly conceivable consequences. Furthermore, these conflicts and contradictions have been intensified by the war and its effects as well as by the attempts made by the bourgeoisie to maintain and fortify the capitalist system by means of the barbaric exploitation and enslavement of the proletariat.

The titanic play of productive forces and means of production created by capitalism can no longer be confined within the restricted boundaries of the national state. It requires the whole world as its field, ownership of means of production and with it the lust for profits of the individual capitalists and capitalist groups as the driving power of production, resulting in the anarchy of capitalist economy. With the domination of the great industrial and financiers in state and industry, the inevitable and typical features of expiring capitalism are huge armaments, constant danger of war, and finally world wars, in which millions are slaughtered and crippled and blooming civilized regions are turned into deserts. Against the driving forces of capitalistic imperialism that lead to world wars, the pacifistic tendencies within the bourgeois order are absolutely powerless.

8. All the conferences and deliberation of ministers, diplomats, parliamentarians, captains of finance, friends of peace, etc., that took place since the war, have not been able to remove the danger of new world wars. The fate of the League of Nations,

that grotesque caricature of revolutionary proletarian solidarity, ought to have warned the most chronic fanatics and victims of illusions. All alliances of capitalistic states are no guarantees of peace, but of war dangers and preparations. The Washington Disarmament Conference is the latest proof that the capitalist world is neither able nor willing to secure peace for humanity in spite of the four and five Power Alliances for the capitalistic exploitation of China and Eastern Siberia, the "Far Eastern questions" are not yet solved, for these Allied Powers may in the near future be fighting among themselves and against those nations upon whom they wish to confer the blessings of capitalist culture. The decision to reduce naval armaments really mocks the disarmament idea. We saw the complete rejection of the suggestion to reduce armaments for land and aerial wars, which will most probably become the triumph of the scientific and technical world, and will assume the most appalling forms of destruction of human life and creation. The hopes of the naive and inexperienced who thought that the Washington Conference would insure peace and that its effects would be to promote the economic and political reconstruction of Europe have been blasted like a soap bubble.

9. The economic conference that is soon to take place in Genoa is intended to avoid the historical fate of capitalism world war or the proletarian revolution.

The economic and political conflicts between the great capitalist states of Europe are to be bridged, their forces are to be united, systematically organized and internationally concentrated for economic reconstruction. It is expected that a mutual agreement among the bourgeoisie of impoverished Europe and their helpless governments, will obtain the gigantic means needed for reconstruction, through the United States which are "overflowing with riches".

The calling of the conference is an admission that the Peace of Versailles and the other treaties of peace that are essentially similar to it are untenable, and that they do not lay the foundation for Europe's reconstruction but furnish means for its further ruin and impoverishment. The calling of the conference is an admission that the ruling bourgeoisie of these countries is not able to bring order and stability into the existing economic chaos occasioned by the war, and to sow seeds of a new and higher life on top of the present ruins. It will be a proof that this titanic task is above the powers of the united bourgeoisie of Europe and America. *This problem can be solved only after the revolutionary proletariat will have overthrown bourgeois rule.* Through its own liberation from the yoke of capitalism and through the liberation of human labor-power from exploitation and enslavement, it will have liberated all the material forces of production from the limitations set by the capitalist profit system thus creating the prerequisite for complete social reconstruction.

The economic and political situation, as described in the theses of the Third World Congress of the Communist International, has in its essence undergone no change. It is true that in the United States and in other countries, single industries show signs of economic prosperity. But the situation as a whole shows that *capitalistic economy is decaying and is approaching its end.* Upon unsteady and shifting historical ground, the planned economic conference hopes to preserve, fortify and improve the capitalistic economy of Europe, whose structure has been shaken to its foundation. It is to square the circle: it will attempt to satisfy the demands of French imperialism seeking to pillage German industry and at the same time trying to make Germany's industry efficient enough to offer a paying market for English goods in Germany and to protect English industries against German cut-throat competition. The costs of the adjustment of interests between French and English capitalism will be paid by the German proletariat, and because of the common international fate of the exploited classes in all countries, the burden of this adjustment will be carried by the world proletariat. It is the vain hope and wish of the international bourgeoisie that the main burden will be carried by the state in which the peasants and workers have seized power—*Soviet Russia.* Is it going to be a single mammoth syndicate of capitalists that shall participate in Soviet Russia's economic reconstruction, or is it going to be done by more than one corporation? *That seems to be the question.* It is a question put by robbers who seek to reach understanding as to the ways and means of robbing their victims and of dividing the booty among themselves.

The preparations made for the conference, the memoranda of the experts, the whisperings of the diplomats, the speeches of the ministers, the cat and rat game of "influential circles" the postponement of the conference—all sharply project the inconcilable conflict of interests and contradictions that are under-

mining the capitalistic world. In spite of the international bourgeoisie's united will to render Soviet Russia a colonial field for international capitalist exploitation, we nevertheless see more and more clearly the conflicts that arise among the capitalists of France, England, the United States and Germany in the proposed marauding scheme. The struggle between the French and English governments, as well as the attitude of the German government, are the unmistakable expression of these conflicts. In her attitude towards Soviet Russia, Germany was nothing but the shadow of the Entente, and in the question of the reconstruction of Soviet Russia, she now plays the part of an English vassal. She does this in spite of the fact that even the capitalistic interests of Germany require an independent policy.

As uncertain as the outcome of the conference may be, it is nevertheless certain that Germany will be the object of the Entente imperialists' negotiations. Germany will not as much as dare to suggest the revision of the Versailles Treaty, in spite of the fact that a blind man could see that without such revision the reconstruction of European economy on a capitalistic basis is a sheer impossibility. On the other hand, however, the Entente imperialists will have to negotiate with Soviet Russia. This fact is an expression of the power which Soviet Russia wields in spite of its deplorable economic situation—a power which it owes to the proletarian revolution. This revolution which the Red Army fought for the defence of the Soviet system, will also strengthen the Soviet Power when it meets the onslaught of international capitalism on the economic field.

The *de facto* if not the *de jure* recognition of the Soviet Government through its invitation to the economic conference will only intensify the conflicts among the capitalistic states. Although it is very doubtful whether Genoa will effect an understanding among them on the question of Europe's reconstruction, it is nevertheless certain that the most that capitalism may expect of Genoa is a breathing space, but it cannot save its life. World wars or the proletarian world-revolution? Even after the deliberation and decisions of Genoa, this question will remain on the historical order of the day.

10—Bourgeois pacifism and anti-militarism in prewar times an influential ideology of small circles, could in the present situation acquire practical significance. If realized, these movements would constitute the last attempts to save capitalism through the international concentration and organization of social forces. But this last attempt would also finally result in disappointment and failure. On a capitalist foundation, even the enlarged fields of production brought about by international organization would prove too limited to afford sufficient play to the increased forces of production. These forces would then jump their limited field, and the result would be a great crisis.

Every attempt to take even the first palpable steps towards the realization of pacifist aims will result in failure. The conflicts that tear the capitalist groups of various countries, and the conflicts that divide the isolated victor-countries and the exhausted vanquished countries are unbridgeable. Every attempt to put pacifist reconstruction into practice will only serve to show the great masses of the proletariat and of the petty and middle bourgeoisie that the last attempt to save the bourgeoisie was also their last illusion. Imperialism is capitalist reality, but bourgeois pacifism is capitalist illusion. Pacifism is just as powerless as bourgeois social reform in its attempt to smoothen over the contradictions, evils and crimes of capitalism. But it will bring division and uncertainty into the ranks of the bourgeoisie, the petty and middle bourgeoisie, and will thus weaken the class-enemy of the proletariat. This possible weakening of the bourgeoisie must be taken advantage of by the Communists in that they make use of every occasion when bourgeois pacifism makes an onslaught to lead the working-class into the struggle, in order that it may thoroughly comprehend that militarism and imperialism cannot be subdued by the gradual victories of bourgeois reason and love of peace. The struggle will convince the great masses and make them realize that militarism and imperialism, armaments and wars will not disappear without the most powerful class-struggle of the proletariat, without the overthrow of capitalism through the revolution. This realization will prevent the crippling and paralysis of the proletariat's revolutionary fighting energy, a danger which is closely connected with the propaganda of bourgeois pacifism. For it would be very detrimental to the proletarian struggle for liberation, if the working-class were to be brought under the influence of such propaganda, instead of arming and fighting on with increasing energy. Nationalist and sentimental hopes should not displace the clear realization that the bourgeoisie is able to rule and exploit thanks to its control of the creative and destructive means of production. The proletariat must acquire the control of both of these if it is to free itself from exploitation and slavery. But since its freedom

is denied it by force of arms, it must acquire and defend it by force of arms. It must deprive the property-owning class of the military as well as of the political machines, and reconstruct them to serve its own demands and historical task.

11—The foregoing facts and deductions move the session of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International to declare that:

The only effective protection against the threatening wars is the proletarian revolution which overthrows capitalism, thus securing the reconstruction of the world's economy and removing the class-conflicts as well as the conflict of interests among the various states. The united representatives of 36 nations therefore bind the Communist Parties to prepare the most intense revolutionary class-struggle, in organization as well as in ideology, to combat future wars. As a means to this end the following are to be carefully considered:

1—The systematic enlightenment of the working masses and also of the proletarian youth, as to the causes and character of wars.

2—The carrying of all questions and decisions of foreign policy, dealing with armaments, etc., before the broad masses.

3—The carrying on of well organized legal and illegal educational propaganda in the army and in all armed formations.

4—The organization of the proletariat so that in case imperialistic wars do break out, the transportation of army supplies and troops should be prevented at all costs.

5—The reinforcement of the revolutionary will of the broadest masses to throw themselves into the fight against imperialistic wars that may break out, using all ways and means at their disposal: through open-air demonstrations, general strikes and armed insurrections.

6—The creation of legal and illegal organs to carry out these tasks.

7—The creation of legal and illegal organs and institutions that will assure the united and energetic international cooperation of the Communists of those countries that stand in sharpest opposition to each other.

In view of the international economic conference of the governments at Genoa, the Enlarged Executive Session of the Communist International appeals to the laboring and exploited peoples of all countries to close their ranks and through powerful demonstrations, to oppose their united will, to the desperate attempt of the international bourgeoisie to reconstruct the capitalist economic system. The masses must answer the bourgeoisie's trafficking in their own lives and in the life of Soviet Russia with the following unanimous demands:

1—The abrogation of all treaties that ended the imperialistic war of 1914-1918.

2—The reduction of armaments of all sorts.

3—The shifting of the war burdens, of reparations and of reconstruction upon the bourgeoisie alone.

4—Hands off Soviet Russia's independence and the resumption of normal political relations with her.

5—The most far-reaching support through private enterprises and by the state.

Theses on the New Economic Policy.

1—The new economic policy is above all, the expression of the relation of forces within the union of the proletariat and peasantry in Russia, after their common victory over the bourgeoisie and the landowners. On the part of the proletariat it signifies the recognition of the inviolability of small peasant economy and of the property rights of the small producer in the product of his labor. Consequently it means that the proletariat openly recognizes and proclaims that the policy adopted by the Soviet government during the civil war, namely, that of controlling all the sources of production and consumption belonging to the peasantry was only a temporary policy, necessitated by the common struggle against the property owners and big capitalists, which had to be carried to a victorious end, and not a permanent system corresponding to the program of the Communist Party.

2—This realization is absolutely consistent and necessary, for it exactly expresses the views of the party (as formulated by it before as well as after the October Revolution) according to which the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia does not mean the immediate introduction of complete Communism, but only the setting in of a transition period from Capitalism to Communism, in the course of which small property and small enterprises in agriculture, industry and commerce are to lose in

economic significance, but the individual labor of the small producer is not to be violently expropriated or forcibly communalized as against the expropriation and communalization of the big capitalist's property.

3—The support given to the new economic policy of the proletariat by the peasants, as expressed in the reinforced political support of the Soviet Government on the part of the peasantry, signifies that millions of small producers, working on their own account, have recognized the economic regime set up by the working-class, under which the land and its products, the large-scale industries, the means of transportation and credit do not constitute private property, but are either altogether communalized and managed by the Soviet state or their most essential and fundamental parts are; this in turn means that they are organized in accordance with the Socialist program of the transition period.

4—None cooperation with the peasantry a deviation from the maximum program formulated by the Communist Party of Russia in its first struggles for power. In the course of its struggle against the big capitalists and the large landowners the Soviet Government by far exceeded the boundaries of this program. Such a necessity was foreseen by Engels, who wrote that the proletarian revolution must go to the limit if it is to be victorious. *Forced by circumstances, the Soviet Government applied the methods of political as well as of economic terror; not only against the big property-owning class, but also against those groups of middle and small property owners, who displayed a tendency towards big capital (nationalization of all industries and of trade).* This course of the struggle for victory over the landowners and the bourgeoisie, which assumed the character of a bitter civil war, inevitably gave rise to a series of illusions and even created an ideology that stands in sharpest opposition to the actual theory and program of the party, which attempts to meet new circumstances with a new policy, a policy which is really not new, but the old policy of pre-war times.

5 Secondly, the new economic policy is the expression of the solution of the problem of linking the proletarian state in the chain of international economic relations. As long as capitalism exists in the countries surrounding Soviet Russia, this act of linking is absolutely inevitable, and the policy of economic isolation would only be an act of great reactionary and economic stupidity and voluntary hara-kiri, which would only bring joy to the enemies of the proletariat. *The victory of the revolution in one country does not mean the immediate elimination of the existing international division of labor that exists even under the capitalist regime.* On the contrary, a country in which the Socialist revolution has been victorious must formulate a program of a fuller, more practical, and economical international division of labor in order to exploit all its natural resources, and must use this program in disclosing the weakness and the bankruptcy of the stranded capitalist system; on the basis of this program it must agitate among the working masses for the international introduction of Socialist economy.

6—The penetration of foreign capital into Soviet Russia carries with it the germs of danger that the Socialist economy being developed may become economically dependent upon mighty capital which strives to apply its methods of colonial exploitation and oppression, perfected by long experience, to the proletarian state. It is true that this danger is decreased by the growing mutual quarrels among the various capitalistic groups, but it can be paralyzed to a still greater extent through the organized struggle of the international proletariat against the kings of finance and industry, and it can be altogether eliminated through the further development of the international Socialist revolution.

7—However, the greater the economic revival of Soviet Russia is, as a result of the introduction of foreign capital into our technically backward country, the more significance will its economic and political consolidation gain for it in its international policy, and the greater its possibilities for influencing the development of an economic and political world crisis.

8 It is therefore the task of the Communist Party of Russia, after the termination of the period of "Military Communism", to maintain and fortify the political power of the proletariat on the basis of the agreement with the peasantry sanctioned by party discipline, and to effect the rational organization of the economic possessions of the proletarian state after the latter gives up the management of any branch of production or distribution, in such a manner that the state retain for itself only those economic positions which constitute the key to all other positions (i. e. "Commanding Positions"); it is also the task of the Communist Party of Russia to develop the mutual economic relations between Russia and the capitalistic world on such a basis as will furnish Russia the best guarantee against attempts at economic suppression and the political restoration of the bourgeois regime.

9—The Russian White Guard press as well as the press of bourgeois Socialism are spreading the modern agitation report broadcast, that the Russian Revolution already has its Thermidor behind it, and that the new economic policy is a policy of the liquidation of the revolution. But this report has as much validity as the old slogan of Martov, that the October Revolution represents the Napoleonic coup d'état of the 18th Brumaire.

Let the petty-bourgeois Socialists who again and again speak of Thermidor, explain what significance Thermidor has after Brumaire. The Communists answer this senseless prattle with the irrefutable argument: *the retention of power in the Soviet Republic in the hands of the Communist Party, which has proven its fundamental necessity and has shown that it is capable of adapting its tactics to the situation at hand, at the same time remaining faithful to itself and to the cause of the proletariat*

10—The international significance of the new economic policy of Soviet Russia cannot be evaluated without the full appreciation of the general international economic and political situation. This situation does not permit of two interpretations.

The world economic crisis is going on, becoming more acute now in this country, now in that country, and undermining the bourgeois organization of economic forces. The imperialistic war which ended with the Treaty of Versailles, is actually going on in the form of an appalling economic war; the political conflicts are gaining edge, thus doubling the intensity of the economic conflicts. Coalitions of interest are being formed and disorganized, numerous bits of Europe are keeping up an illusory existence in the form of small states, some of which entertain dreams of adventurous conquests; the defeated states are threatened with the loss of territories; monarchist reaction is preparing its revenge and remodels the map of Europe to suit its own fancy. Having overcome the greatest difficulties the party of the proletariat is now reinforcing its organization by extending its influence over the masses of workers and the small peasantry. The epoch of transition from Capitalism into Socialism is assuming the forms of crises, wars, revolutions, thus proving the correctness of the policy adopted by the Russian Communist Party, which takes stock of the transition period, and which inevitably leads to the complete victory of Communism.

Resolution on the French Question

After Comrade Trotzky's report on the French question, the conference unanimously adopted the following resolution proposed by the submitter of the report:

"The great organizational efforts made by the French Communist Party since the Congress of Tours, have retained the best forces of the proletariat in its ranks, and urged them to political action. The Congress of Marseilles gave the party an opportunity for serious activity in the doctrinaire sense, which is certainly of the greatest advantage to the revolutionary labor movement.

Having severed its relations with the Parliamentary and political traditions of the old Socialist Party, whose congresses were mere pretexts for oratorical duels between its leaders, the Communist Party has for the first time in France, called together all the militant workers for a present deeper study of the theses dealing with the development of the French revolutionary labor movement. The organizational crisis in the French Party, whose underestimation as well as its exaggeration is false, is a step forward in its inner purification and in its reorganization and consolidation upon a true Communist basis. The split at Tours drew the fundamental dividing line between reformism and Communism. It is not to be denied however, that the Communist Party thus created retained some remnants of its reformist and Parliamentary past, which it can throw off through inner efforts and by participating in the struggles of the masses.

These remains of the past find expression in certain groups of the party, in the following forms:

Firstly, through the tendency to rejoin the Reformists, secondly, through the inclination to form a "block" with the radical wing of the bourgeoisie; thirdly, through the effort to displace revolutionary anti-militarism by petty bourgeois humanitarian pacifism; fourthly, through the false interpretation of the relations between the party and the trade unions; fifthly, through the struggle against a really centralized party leadership; sixthly, through the efforts made to displace international discipline of action with a platonic federation of national parties.

After the split of Tours these tendencies could neither come to their full expression, nor could they gain a strong hold upon the party. Under the great pressure of bourgeois public opinion

the opportunistic elements always betray a natural inclination towards one another and they strive to create their organs and supports. Although they are not very successful in this respect, it would none the less be a mistake not to form a correct estimate of the dangers that their work breeds for the revolutionary character and the unity of the party. In no case are the Communist organizations to open their arenas to the same views that constitute the main cause for the separation of the Reformists, the deserters of the working-class. Every lack of clearness in this matter would inevitably retard revolutionary educational work among the masses.

The Plenary Session of the Executive recognizes that the resolutions of the Marseilles Congress are imbued with the spirit of the Communist International and that they form most important points of supports for the activity of the party among the working masses of city and country.

At the same time the Plenary Session of the Executive acknowledges with great satisfaction the statement of the French delegation in which it announces that the "Journal du Peuple", the organ which constitutes the stamping ground of the Reformist and confusionist tendencies, and which takes up a position directly opposed to the program of the International, and to the decisions of the Congress of the French Communist Party at Tours and in Marseilles, as well as to the revolutionary irreconcilability of the class-conscious French proletariat, shall in the very near future no longer belong to the party.

The great significance of the Congress of Marseilles chiefly consists in the fact that it assigned to the party the essential task of carrying on a systematic and regular activity within the trade-unions, in accordance with the spirit of the program and tactics of the party. This includes the disapproval of the tendency displayed by those party members who under the pretext of fighting for the otherwise undisputable autonomy of the trade-unions, in reality fight for the autonomy of their own work within the trade-unions without any control or direction whatever on the part of the party.

The Plenary Session likewise takes cognizance of the statement made by the French delegation, in which it says that the Executive Committee of the party will take all the necessary measures for carrying out all the decisions of the party in the spirit of Communist activity, absolutely united and disciplined under the control of the Executive Committee of the Party.

In view of the fact that the statutes of the Communist International are based upon the principle of democratic centralization, and that they sufficiently guarantee the regular and normal development of every Communist Party, the Enlarged Executive Session cannot but consider the resignation of various comrades chosen by the Congress of Marseilles for the Executive Committee as unjustifiable, aside from the political motives that come into consideration in this case. To quit their posts entrusted to them by the party might be interpreted by the broad masses as an admission of incompetence by the representatives of the various tendencies to perform normal tasks in common, within the limits of democratic centralism, and it may even give rise to fractional formations within the party.

The Plenary Session of the Executive Committee expresses its innermost conviction that the struggle against the above mentioned anti-Communist tendencies will be led in common by the overwhelming majority of the party and its leading institutions.

In view of the fact that the formations of fractions would inevitable become the greatest evil in the development of the party, and would be greatly detrimental to its authority among the proletariat, the Plenary Session of the Executive Committee takes cognizance with the greatest satisfaction of the statement of the Party is ready to take the necessary organizational measures so that the will of the Congress of Marseilles be carried out in unmodified form and to the last letter, and that those comrades who had handed in their resignations once more take up their posts in the leadership of the party in order to accomplish its regular and common task.

(signed) Trotsky.

Famine and Economic Relief

On the basis of Comrade Munsterberg's detailed account on the question of the famine and economic relief, the Session of the Enlarged Executive hereby resolves to continue the famine relief action and to extend it to productive economic relief. The Session of the Enlarged Executive hereby empowers the Presidium to effect all necessary measures for the immediate technical and organizational accomplishment of the thus enlarged task of our relief action.

Resolution against the White Terror.

The White Terror continues to rage in the so-called civilized world. Outside of the classical homes of the White Terror, like Hungary, Finland, America, Lithuania and Latvia, we witness the forcible suppression of the working-class in numerous other countries.

At the very moment that the Enlarged Executive Committee is in session, Belgrade reports by wire the Draconian decision handed down by a court of bourgeois henchmen against the best sons of the working people of Yugoslavian proletariat intelligents.

In Roumania and particularly in Bessarabia the most brutal tortures and the assassination of prisoners have become a government custom. Here too, men are dragged to the dock and sentenced to frightful penalties, because their only crime consists in having recognized Communism at a certain congress.

We hear from the latest reports coming from Greece that the government at Athens is vying with those of Belgrade and Bukarest, in its efforts to destroy the young revolutionary movement of the Greek workers.

In the Polish Republic where the old Czarist laws are still in force, where the prisons are overcrowded with political offenders, and where the courts hand down sentences of decades of penal servitude every week, a new brutal law is intended to intensify the present terror regime. In all of these countries, in Yugoslavia, Poland, Roumania and Greece, it is not only the bourgeois and nationalist reactionary classes who in their own interest are torturing, destroying and killing the best elements of their working-classes and the pioneers and leaders of the people's struggle for liberation. It is chiefly the imperialistic governments of the Entente who, through their embassies, take a hand in this, in order to encourage their vassal states in their hangman's work. Allied imperialism, particularly French high finance, have for years been at work, to form these countries into a counter-revolutionary base for an armed attack upon the Russian Revolution and against the spreading of the proletarian revolution.

At the other end of Europe, in proletarian Spain, that has been bled white, even the hypocrisy of legal procedure is refused when the heroes of the working-class are assassinated and when mass-imprisonments and mass-deportations are effected. Finally in Italy, where numbers have fallen victim to the crimes of the Fascisti, that illegal White Guard of the bourgeoisie, the prisons are filled with revolutionary workers.

In view of this fact which the Communist International denounces before the proletariat of the whole world, only one course of action is open to the workers who are conscious of their honor and their interests, and that is, to intensify the struggle in all countries, particularly in those countries that are at the head of the imperialistic counter-revolution of the world, to increase their forces tenfold and not to forget, not even for a single moment, that every blow that is delivered to any division of the proletarian international army, and is not answered, is a blow to the whole world proletariat.

Down with the White Terror!

Long live the solidarity of the World Revolution!

Long live the Communist International!

Resolution on the Fight against the Pauperization of the Working Youth.

(Adopted on March 4th, 1922).

The delegates to the Session of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern have taken due cognizance of the Young Communist International's report emphasising the extremely serious condition of juvenile labor which is being aggravated by the world crisis and the international aggression of capital.

Both the Comintern and the Red Trade Union International are fully conscious of the great importance of juvenile labor's situation and its active participation in the fight of the proletariat for its emancipation. The Comintern and the R.T.U.I. declare their solidarity with the attitude of the Young Communist International and wish to stress the necessity for enrolling the young workers in labor's united front against the capitalist offensive. Therefore both the Comintern and the R.T.U.I. endorse the proposal of the E.C. of the Y.C.I.

To put on the agenda of the international conference of labor parties and trade-unions, and discuss the question of measures against the degradation of juvenile labor.

To invite to that conference representatives of the proletarian organizations of youth. (Young Communist International, Vienna Working Union of Socialist Youth Organizations, Young Workers' International).

The question of the situation of the working youth must be discussed at the first conference called to meet the employers' offensive, because that offensive seriously threatens not only the present generation of workers, but also constitutes—reacting, as it does, upon the situation of juvenile labor—a peril for the future generations of the working class. Hence we propose that the fight against the pauperization of the working youth be made a special point on the agenda. The organizations of the world's proletariat are face to face with a number of urgent questions concerning the working youth, which must be solved at all costs in order to defeat capital's attempts at making of the cheap labor of minors a weapon with which to victimise adult labor—

and save the growing-up generation of the working class from going under in the morass of both physical and mental degradation.

The Comintern and the R.T.U.I. call upon all youth organisations, labor parties and trade-unions to discuss thoroughly these proposals and demands and give them publicity in their papers and meetings.

1. Minimum wages, corresponding to the minimum cost of living.
2. Fight against the violation of the eight hour day, against trade education after working hours and for the establishment of the six-hour day for minors.
3. Provision for the young unemployed.
4. Establishment of educational shops for the young unemployed.
5. 44 hours week-end rest.
6. Four weeks' yearly vacation with full pay.
7. Prohibition of night and Sunday work.
8. Abolition of the work of minors in trades and factories which are injurious to their health. (Certain branches of the chemical industry, underground work in mines, etc.)

II.

For Apprentices.

1. Limitation of the number of apprentices.
2. Abolition of individual indentures, apprentices to be included in collective agreements.
3. Control of the employment of apprentices by the trade-unions and the shop councils.

Resolution on the English Question.

(Adopted on March 4th, 1922.)

* 1—The economic crisis in Great Britain shows no sign of abatement. The capitalist class continues to strive for a breathing-space at the expense of Labor. There seems to be no other way out of the economic crisis but ruthless wage reductions. In its offensive against the working-class the bourgeoisie insists upon lengthening of working-hours and destroys the work of legislation and other protective barriers. According to the index-figures the standard of life is still 140 % above the pre-war level. The result is a tremendous increase of poverty in Great Britain. This means that the present wage reductions affect not only the army of unemployed but the entire working-class of Great Britain and compel it to live under the conditions of utmost poverty.

2—What has brought the working-class of Great Britain into this situation? A few years ago there were two ways of policy which the workers could avail themselves of. The policy of the Right of the labor movement, a policy of compromise, futile negotiations, partial struggles, short-lived agreements, Whitley Councils, and on the other hand the policy of the Left which tolerated no compromise, formulated direct demands of the workers and only agreed to negotiations with a view of giving publicity to such demands. They demanded shop councils and common and direct action in every case.

The great mass-strikes as for instance those of the miners, the railwaymen and the transport workers failed because every union relied in action only on itself. The Triple Alliance was born as a result of the bitter experiences caused by the absence of any unity whatsoever. Later, when the Irish transport workers struck, it was again the lack of unity in the support of the workers of other parts of the country that caused this strike to fail. During the war the subscription to the protective loan on the part of the trade-union leaders and the Labour Party tended to further this disunity. The history of the next few years represents the acme of struggles lost by Labor merely owing to the lack of joint action. The Clyde-strike in 1916 where numerous arrests were effected failed because the official trade-union movement steadfastly refused to grant any support whatsoever. The same was the case in the engineer strike in 1917. A similar cause is responsible for the defeat of the Yorkshire miners

whose strike failed after a great and intense struggle because of the betrayal of the other workers. The miners' strike which resulted in the collapse of the Triple Alliance proved for the working-class of Great Britain the catastrophic results of its own disunity.

3—What are the results of the failure of the working-class of Great Britain to form an united front against the bourgeoisie? More than two million are out of work, hundreds of thousands of workers are on short time. The class organizations of Labor have been disrupted and dissolved. Many trade-unions have already exhausted their funds by paying unemployment relief. Threatened with collapse they are compelled to discontinue the payment of unemployment relief. For the first time since the armistice the membership of the trade-unions is decreasing rapidly. The fighting capacity of the trade-unions is growing feebler and feebler; they are split up into various federations and into hundreds of single unions, where there is no centralized power to resist the offensive of the capitalist class. The political weapons of the working-class are too dull and incompetent to help the proletariat in its struggle against the bourgeoisie. The leaders of the trade-unions who are simultaneously the leaders of the labor parties are occupied with vain negotiations with the Government or utterly feeble threats. Since the Council of Action in 1921 when for the first time in the history of the British labor movement the proletariat was united in a common front against the bourgeoisie which attempted to embroil the country in a war against Soviet Russia the Labour Party has looked on while the ranks of the workers were disrupted and rendered incapable of defending themselves against the offensive of Capital. Today the labor movement is neither on the industrial nor on the political field sufficiently united and centralized to ward off the united and centralized attacks of the capitalists.

4—The only hope for the British working-class is more than ever the united front against the bourgeoisie. The working-class must unite in a gigantic struggle in order to protect itself against unemployment, wage-reductions, increase in working-hours and to resist further decrease of its standard of living. The offensive of Capital is not limited to Great Britain, and the united front of the British working-class must therefore be extended to the workers in other countries. Preparations must be made immediately in order to unite the working-class on a common platform and compel the capitalists to furnish work for the unemployed to grant a forty-four week, guarantee wages, reestablish labor legislation and other protective measures. Together with these preparations for unity of labor on a common platform and in order to realize this platform, the labor movement must be united in an endeavor to bring about a Labor Government at the next general elections. The Labour Party which approaches the masses with a program such as that, is sure of success by creating an united front of the working-class which will insure its victory at the general elections.

5—The Communist Party of Great Britain fights for a united working-class. When the Council of Action resisted the war against Russia, the Communist Party exerted its entire influence in this struggle. Previous to the Trade Union Congress in Cardiff, the Communist Party of Great Britain took care that they gave wide publicity to the manifesto of the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International which pointed out the necessity for unity and centralization of the labor movement of Great Britain and demanded a general staff of Labor. Since these manifestos were issued the Communist Party has daily endeavored to propagandize the unity of labor. All its activities were concentrated upon this program. It has attempted to unite the unemployed and ex-service men in order to make their struggle part of the fight of the entire working-class. In the trade-unions and in the shop-organizations the Communist Party has everywhere striven to bring about absolute unity of the workers.

6—The General Council elected at the last Trade Union Congress at Cardiff is not invested with the authority of a general staff of labor. The situation demands centralization and unity of the labor movement. But the General Council has taken no important step in this direction.

The Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International demands therefore of the Communist Party of Great Britain that it get into connection with the General Council endeavouring to achieve unity of the working-class on the program of the minimum demands which have just been stated and which are means to bring into power at the next General Elections a Labor Government which will realize such a program.

7—The Labour Party represents the political union of the trade-unions. It comprises various political tendencies, of the labor movement as represented by the Independent Labour Party, the Fabians, the Guild Socialists, etc., but the defense of the

working-class against the growing oppression of the bourgeoisie demands that the Labour Party accept into its ranks all political elements of the labor movement. The Labour Party cannot advocate unity of the working-class on the political field unless it also accepts the Communist Party which has become a factor in the labor movement that cannot be denied.

The Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International requests the Communist Party of Great Britain to strive for affiliation with the Labour Party in order to bring about in this manner unity of the working-class in the political arena and in view of the forthcoming General Elections where the establishment of a Labor Government against continuation of the bourgeois coalition must be aimed at. While seeking affiliation with the Labour Party, the Communist Party will retain absolute freedom of action for propaganda. On the same line and for the same purpose the Communist Party is requested to support the Labour Party in the General Elections.

The Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International herewith instructs the Presidium to elaborate detailed suggestions for the Communist Party of Great Britain concerning affiliation with the Labour Party and the support of that party in the General Elections.

Resolution on the Orient Question.

(Adopted on March 4th, 1922.)

1—Owing to the great importance of the national revolutionary movements which are developing more and in the colonial countries of the Near East and neutral Asia and especially in Egypt and in India the Plenum of the Executive proposes to the parties of those countries which are in connection with the aforementioned regions to organize a systematic campaign for the liberation of the colonies in the press, in Parliament and among the masses. The Communist Party of England is especially requested to launch a well-organized and continued action with a view of supporting the revolutionary movement in India and Egypt.

2—The three parties which are connected with North Africa, Asia Minor and India, the Communist Parties of France, Italy and England should follow the example set by the French party and establish special colonial commissions attached to their Executive Committees in order systematically to collect information on colonial matters, establish connections with the revolutionary organizations in the colonial countries and realize close contact with them. The Balkan Communist Federation undertakes to deal especially with the organizations of the Communist movement in Turkey.

3—The Executive Committee proposes to all parties that they utilize all possibilities for the publication of Communist literature in the languages of the colonies and thus create close connection with the suppressed masses there.

Letter of the Opposition in the Communist Party of Russia to the Enlarged Session of the Executive Committee.

To the members of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Comintern.

Copy to the Central Committee of the R.C.P.

Dear Comrades:—

We have gathered from the newspapers that the Executive Committee of the Communist International is dealing with the question of a united front and hold it to be our Communist duty to inform you that with regard to the united front things are not what they ought to be in our country not only in the real sense of the word, but even in the ranks of the party.

At the time when the forces of the bourgeoisie exerted a pressure upon us from all sides and even penetrated into our ranks, which was facilitated by the social composition of our party (which consists of 40% workers and 60% non-proletarians) our leading party organs conducted an irreconcilable campaign — which demoralized the party — against all and especially against proletarians who had the courage to voice their own opinion and used for expressing them even within the party repressive measures.

The tendency to bring the proletarian masses into closer connection with the state is being termed Anarcho-Syndicalism, and the spokesmen of these tendencies are being disciplined and discredited.

The same picture repeats itself in the trade-unions—suppression of independence and initiative, fight with all measures against those holding different opinions.

The united forces of the party and the trade-union bureaucracy, utilizing their power and their position, ignore the decisions of our Party Congresses. Our trade-union nuclei and fractions of whole congresses have been robbed of the right to exert their wishes in the realization of the principle of the workers' democracy and in the election of their trade-union organs.

The pressure and the guardianship of the bureaucracy are so great that members of the party are being ordered at the point of threat of expulsions and other reprisals not to elect the candidates put up by the Communists but those favored by the intriguing elements.

Such methods of work further the development of fortune hunters, of intrigues and of a servile spirit; and the answer of the workers to these methods is withdrawal from the party.

In accepting the united front as formulated in point 23, we appeal to you, being moved by the honest wish to put a stop to all these abnormalities which are a barrier on the way to the united front in the ranks of the Communist Party of Russia. The situation in our party is so serious that we are compelled to ask for your help in order to avert the danger of a split of our party.

With Communist greetings,

	Member of the Party since	1904
Lobanov	"	1912
Polossatov	"	1904
Kunezov	"	1912
A. Medvedev	"	1906
Miasnikov	"	1918
V. Plshkov	"	1912
Shokanov	"	1900
S. Medvedo	"	1899
Pravdin	"	1917
Borulin	"	1899
I. Ivanov	"	1902
Mtin	"	1913
Borisov	"	1912
Kopylov	"	1919
Shilm	"	1914
Tchelishov	"	1914
A. Tolokonzev	"	1901
A. Shliapnikov	"	1906
Bruno	"	1907
Bekrenev	"	1917
Pavlov	"	1907
Tashkin	"	1898
Al. Kollontay	"	

Letter of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party to the Session of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The political bureau of the Central Committee of the R.C.P. is in receipt of the copy of the appeal addressed by 22 members of the R.C.P. to the Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Central Committee is naturally of the opinion that any group of party members has the right to lodge complaints against the C.C. with the highest resort, the Comintern. The Central Committee is prepared to submit to the conference or to a special commission—should the conference consider it necessary to elect one—all necessary explanations regarding the real character of the application of the 22 and the misrepresentations contained in it.

For the present, until the Executive of the International Communist International has come to one decision or another, the C.C. of the R.C.P. confines itself to the submission (see supplement) of the complete text of the resolution of the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P. (March 8th, 1921) on party unity and the Anarcho-Syndicalist tendency. All of the 22-comrades (one of them, G. Miasnikoff, was expelled from the party on account of systematic violation of party discipline) belong precisely to that group of former members unanimously condemned by the Tenth Congress of our party for their Anarcho-Syndicalist tendency.

With Communist greetings!

By order of the C. C. of the R.C.P.: *Trotsky, Zinovieff.*

Resolution on the Russian Question.

In the matter of the complaints entered by the 22 Russian comrades against the R.C.P. the Enlarged Session of the Executive of the C.I. declares, after hearing the unanimous report of the committee specially chosen for the purpose, and consisting of comrades Clara Zetkin, Cachin, Fries, Kolaroff, Kreibich, Terracini, and MacManus, that:

For us Communists it is neither new nor surprising that the difficult position of Soviet Russia has also involved a difficult position for the Russian Communist Party. This position demands that the party hold together with more determination and discipline, that it increase its endeavors to safeguard, at home and abroad, the proletarian government which has been organized by its agency. The new economic policy, with its unavoidable concessions to capitalism and to the middle and small peasantry involves the danger of an increased influence of the petty bourgeoisie in state and party affairs alike.

The consultations of the commission with the representatives of part of the so-called "Workers' Opposition", led by Shliapnikoff and Kollontay, and the representatives of the Central Committee of the R.C.P., have shown that from the very beginning the leaders of the Russian party have been fully awake to these dangers, and to the danger of bureaucracy, that they took up the struggle against them to the utmost extent of their power, and are carrying on this struggle against enormous objective difficulties.

The criticism made by the signers of the letter to the Enlarged Executive, break down open doors for the most part, and are lacking in clearness, not only in recognition of the causes of the faulty conditions criticised, but in the finding of ways and means to overcome them. The comrades entering these complaints have not thereby rendered any assistance to the party in its endeavor to remedy the evils arising from the situation; instead of imparting fresh strength to the party, they weaken it. They have been the means of depriving the party of valuable aid, and have at the same time delivered weapons into the hands of the opponents of Communism on the "left", of the Mensheviks, and even of the White counter-revolutionaries of the worst description, weapons against the party and against the dictatorship of the proletariat. The individual cases investigated by the commission have proved to be untenable accusations.

The Enlarged Session of the Executive is thus not in a position to acknowledge the complaint of the 22 comrades as justified. The Executive emphasizes that these comrades have acted in the most complete opposition to the binding resolutions of the Tenth Party Congress of the R.C.P. regarding party unity and Anarcho-Syndicalist errors. The executive issues a serious warning to these comrades, and draws their attention to the circumstance that a continuation of the struggle thus begun will place them in a position of increasing opposition to the R.C.P. and its mission, and to the interests of the Russian proletariat, and would thus force them outside the Third International. The Executive expects that the discernment and Communist schooling of the opposing comrades will induce them to take their place in the disciplined rank and file of the party in the future, and to fight with the party against the dangers of the situation, which they feel in common and must combat in common with the party. In the eyes of the Conference every injury to the R.C.P. is an injury to Soviet Russia and to the whole Communist International.

The Conference trusts that the seriousness of the situation will be a special inducement to the Russian proletariat to rally more closely round the R.C.P. than before, to guard and protect Soviet Russia and the World Revolution.

Memorandum on the Motion of the Communist Fraction of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture to the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern.

1. Proletarian dictatorship and the agrarian question.

The frightful famine crisis in Russia, and the whole of the experiences of the Russian Revolution, show the decisive importance of the agrarian problems and of the solution of the food problem for the maintenance of the proletarian dictatorship. And if this is the case in Russia, where the greater part of the population is engaged in agricultural pursuits (74.6 per cent) and the town population is comparatively small, we may safely assert that it would not be possible at the present time for any other large country in the world to maintain a proletarian government under such conditions of famine and failure of agriculture.

It is thus of even greater importance than ever, at the present time, for all Communist Parties not to neglect questions pertaining to agricultural labor and the peasantry, and above all to the problems of agricultural production, but to strive for the clearest possible solution of all these many-sided questions, not alone with regard to the object in view, but with regard to the tactics to be pursued. It is not sufficient to recollect the existence of an agrarian question every year or two, and then to discuss it in a cursory and unsystematic manner in all Communist daily

papers. Here the right path can only be found by persevering and systematically organized work.

The foremost and essential preliminary condition for this work is to lay down rules for a Communist agrarian policy; these must hold their aim clearly in view, and be based as far as possible on general lines applicable in common to all countries. Another point of the highest importance is an international treatment of all problems arising in the agricultural labor and small farming of movement, of the questions of the middle and large peasantry, and of all the problems of agricultural production, cooperation, and socialization, their analysis, exchange of experiences, study of all phenomena, so that a precise definition of the first object to be aimed at may be gained.

2. Annual Agrarian Conference of Communist Agricultural Laborers and Peasants as the Highest Agrarian Authority of the Communist International.

We have therefore submitted to the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern, through the mediation of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Communist Party, the enclosed proposal for a system of organization measures adapted to bring about the alliance of the political and economic struggles for the freedom of the agricultural proletariat under a united international revolutionary leadership, and to promote the attainment of a solution of the other agrarian problems. One of the chief tasks of this organization is to lead the agricultural laborer to adopt the weapon of political and economic strikes, and to be finally, prepared to take up arms, aided by the industrial proletariat, for the purpose of attaining the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Communist agricultural question is to be developed in this manner from the theoretical stage to that of real living action.

The summoning of an agricultural conference in midsummer 1922 may be regarded as the first link in the chain of these measures. One of the tasks of this conference will be to discuss and decide upon the further organizing measures to be adopted. The world conferences of Communist agricultural laborers and peasants, which are to meet annually, will thus form the highest authority of the C.I. in agrarian affairs. These agrarian conferences are to discuss and decide upon all especially important questions of the agrarian program and of the tactics to be pursued in agrarian matters. Their decisions are subject to the approval of the World Congresses of the Comintern, or in urgent cases to that of the Executive of the Comintern.

3. The International Agrarian Bureau.

The Agrarian Conference meeting once yearly is to elect an Executive under the name "International Agrarian Bureau", this being the directing organ of the agrarian sections of the Communist Parties during the periods between the agrarian conferences of the C.I. The Agrarian Bureau is responsible to the Agrarian Conference and to the Executive of the Comintern. The sessions of the office are participated in by a permanently elected member of the Communist fraction of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture, with a decisive voice. In the same manner a member of the Agrarian Bureau takes part as delegate in the Executive of the Comintern. A further definition of the chief political tasks of the Bureau is rendered unnecessary by the above explanations, these tasks being laid down in detail by the first international agrarian conference.

We must draw special attention to one of the special fields of work of the Agrarian Bureau, one worthy of the highest degree of consideration. With respect to the drawing up and constant revision of the special agrarian program the following standpoints are decisive:

In agrarian matters any attempt at the schematic appears to be unfertile in result; the first point is therefore to accord fullest consideration to the special conditions obtaining in each separate country, so that the program does not merely represent hypotheses which entirely fail to work in practice.

The program of the future is not to be given the place of leading importance, for here there can scarcely exist any serious and far-reaching difference of opinion among Communists, the first place must be taken by what may be termed the "agrarian work of each country", that is, an actual program, worked out down to the smallest detail and invariably entirely up-to-date, applicable at the moment of assumption of power and during the initial period of proletarian dictatorship; and at the same time stating with the clearness of a prescription the measures to be taken in matters of agrarian politics. This is the only way of avoiding a fatal wavering and uncertainty which would inevitably lead to a collapse of the food sources of the people. This is the more the case since most countries the direction of the agrarian section will be undertaken by more or less unschooled

comrades, competent Communist agriculturists and experts not being available.

This activity of the International Agrarian Bureau will be furthered in a high degree by the working participation of the Agrarian Political Department of the Socialist Academy now being founded.

The part taken by the International Agrarian Bureau in the work of political struggle, when supported by the scientific aid of the Agrarian Political Department of the Socialist Academy and by the practical experiences of the Communist fraction of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture, which promises every possible support, further aided by collaboration with the Executive of the Comintern and the Communist Parties, and finally, assisted by the annual International Agrarian Conferences, which the living energies of the Communist workers' movement find their expression, will form a system of organization and work which places us in a position to completely fulfil our duty towards the Communist future.

Memorandum of the Sport International.

To the members of the Enlarged Executive.

Dear Comrades,

On the initiative of Russian and German comrades a conference was called together in Moscow in July, attended by representatives of the revolutionary workers of Russia, Italy, Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Scandinavia, Finland, and other countries. It was resolved to form a "Red Sport and Gymnastic International" having for its object the uniting of the international revolutionary sport movement, its call to class war under the banner of the Communist International, in closest contact with the International Council of the Red Trade Union International and cooperation with the International of Communist Youth. At this conference provisional statutes were drawn up, and a manifesto to the workers of the whole world prepared.

The Executive of the Sport and Gymnastic International was elected for carrying out the work entailed, and to promote the unity of the revolutionary sport movement. As soon as the apparatus was established, work was temporarily discontinued for various reasons, above all on account of the famine devastating Russia. The whole of the party workers scattered in different directions. An additional reason was the serious illness of comrade Podvoisky.

It must also be observed that work for the worker's sport movement has not been carried out as it ought to have been, and all ought to be, by the various sections of the Comintern.

It was not until November that the work of the Sport International revived. At a session of the Secretariat of the Executive of the Comintern, held on November 11th, 1921, the following resolution was passed:

1—The organization founded by the First International Sport and Gymnastic Conference, is to be recognised as the International Union of Red Sport and Gymnastic Societies, in the interests of the World Revolution.

2—The following representatives are to be included in the Presidium of the Executive of the Sport International: from the Executive of the Comintern, Com. Wallenius; from the International of Youth Com. Schueller; from the Women's Secretariat, Com. Drushinina; and a representative from the Red Trade Union International; these forming a Bureau of the International Union of Red Sport and Gymnastic Societies attached to the Executive of the Comintern.

Up to now the Red Trade Union International has not sent a delegate, which is characteristic of the platonic interest taken in the revolutionary sport movement among the workers by our comrades.

The Bureau thus consists of the following members: Chairman, Com. N. I. Podvoisky. Members: A. Wallenius, R. Schueller, Drushinina. Secretary, H. Jerman: Comrade Schueller has succeeded by Com. Ziegler of the executive of the Y.C.I.

The actual activity of the bureau did not begin until January 2. Since then the Bureau of the Sport International has held sessions, in which a number of questions were discussed and resolutions passed. Among the work accomplished the following may be mentioned:

An organization letter was sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Parties in 47 countries, and a manifesto to the workers of the whole world.

Brisk communication is already being kept up with the following countries: Germany (where a sub-bureau has been established), Czechoslovakia, France, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Lithuania.

Up to the 16th of February about 130 different letters had been despatched from the office of the Sport International. 65 communications have been received.

The office of the Sport International has addressed inquiries to all countries as to the number of sporting organizations agreeing with our aims, and as to the extent of their membership.

It has been seen that the news of the establishment of the organization of the Red Sport International has aroused much more attention in bourgeois sporting circles than in the Communist Parties. The Central Commission for Sport and Physical Development in Leipzig has already prepared an energetic attack against us.

It may be seen from the sporting literature which we have recently received that the bourgeois riff-raff of Western Europe is occupying itself much more than before with question of sport.

For instance, King Albert of Belgium praises his legislators for drawing up and issuing in July 1921, a new Belgian law on physical development, in accordance with suggestions of his. The same tendency may be observed in Germany. Many generals (for instance Hindenburg and Ludendorff) are devoting themselves with great energy to problems of physical development. Naturally there will be a combat, and unfortunately our facilities are far behind those of the bourgeoisie.

Within the next few days the first number of our periodical will appear in the Russian language. With its help we will attempt to establish a central organ for the international intelligence service of the revolutionary workers' sport movement. Another leading task of the periodical will be its development into a living organ of the Sport International; it will endeavor to make its contents as instructive and informative as possible, to follow and analyze gymnastic and sporting politics with the utmost intensity, to employ the force of polemics against the activities of the non-political and bourgeois sport and gymnastic societies, etc.

Our Norwegian brother organizations have requested us to organize a joint football and wrestling tournament in Moscow and Christiania, with Russian and Norwegian combatants. The sport organization "Spartakiada" is organising a public sport tournament in Brunn from the 8th to the 22th of August 1922. The Sport and Gymnastic International will take part in this manifestation. The representatives of the Executive of the Comintern have also been invited, and it is highly desirable that they accept the invitation, as this celebration will possess great political significance.

In order to intensify and accelerate the evolution of the Workers' Sport International, it is an unqualified necessity for the Communist Parties to lend us more active help than they have hitherto done. The present memorandum aims at drawing the attention of our comrades to this. We are confident, if only the Communist Parties will share the work, that it will not be long before the Sport International has a membership of great masses of workers, physically well prepared for the revolution.

With Communist greeting,

Allan Wallenius. H. Jermann, Sec. of the Bureau.

Election of the Presidium at the Session of March 2nd 1922.

(Evening Session.)

The presidium is composed of 7 members, besides the president, who is elected in accordance with the statutes of the congress.

Those elected are:

Russia: Radek, Bukharin.

Germany: Brandler.

France: Souvarine and Selier (together with one vote).

Italy: Terracini or another comrade.

Czechoslovakia: Kreibich.

America: Carr.

Proclamation to the Red Army.

(issued February 22nd, 1922.)

The Enlarged Executive Session of the Communist International sends its heartiest congratulations to the Red Army of Soviet Russia on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of its existence. The revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat of all countries regards the deeds of brilliant heroism performed by the Red Army under unspeakably difficult circumstances with the greatest pride. For the first time in history the working masses may regard the victory of an army as their victory. The Red Army has conquered the inner enemies of Soviet Russia one after the other. It has performed the miracle of tearing the imperia-

listic powers of Europe and America, so greatly superior to it in technique and numbers, that the Russian bulwarks of the revolution are not be taken by arms; with a series of mighty blows the Red Army has driven this lesson home. This unprecedented career of victory against world imperialism has not been won by gun and sword alone. Behind the ranks of the Red Army march the invisible masses of millions of Russian workers and peasants and millions of workers of all countries. The alliance of the revolutionary vanguard of the international proletariat with the international army of Soviet Russia is a fact of mighty and real significance; it is not alone a political factor of first importance, but also a military one. It is this alliance that has struck the sword out of the hand of the financial and industrial kings of France and America.

The world revolution is moving forwards, sometimes slowly, sometimes rapidly, by almost invisible work, in elementary mass outbreaks, in systematic action, by a thousand different paths, but ever untiringly and irresistibly. The revolution relies on the Red Army, on its revolutionary spirit, on its resoluteness, on its unshakeable constancy.

The delegates of the sections participating in the Enlarged Session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International undertake the solemn promise, on the fourth anniversary of the Red Army, to employ their utmost powers to increase and intensify the alliance between the revolutionary vanguard of the world's proletariat and the Red Army, that the day may soon come when the Red Army of the next European Soviet Republic will stand shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army of Soviet Russia.

Long live the Red Army!

C.P. Czecho-Slovakia: *Burian*. C.P. Germany: *Thalheimer*. C.P. France: *Cachin*. C.P. Bulgaria: *Kolaroff*. C.P. Italy: *Roberto*. C.P. Hungary: *Pogany*. C.P. Switzerland: *Herzog*. C.P. Poland: *Olchevitch*. C.P. England: *MacManus*. C.P. Holland: *Jansen*.

Resolution on the Trade Union Question.

** The Enlarged Executive declares that no fundamental changes are necessary in the decisions of the Second and Third World Congresses of the Communist International. The practice of the six month period reported on has again proved the correctness and expediency of the trade-union tactics then laid down. The present session is only dealing with the trade-union question in order to point out to Communists that in accordance with the growing influence of the Communists in the trade-unions they must give their work a more practical content and adapt it to the particular conditions of the various countries and branches of industry.

Resolution on the Communist Press.

I. The Enlarged Executive Committee again points out to the sections the importance of the Press and especially of the Communist daily Press which latter must constantly endeavor to penetrate into the masses of the workers in order to instruct and educate it and to bring it under the influence of the party.

II. The Sections of the Communist International must endeavor to develop the party papers into organs of the entire working class. The Enlarged Executive Committee calls attention, in this connection, to the remarks of Comrade Zinovieff in his letter on the character of our papers and thoroughly approves of and recommends these suggestions.

III. The Communist press, whose external appearance and whose contents are determined by its environment and by the necessity for taking into consideration the habits of its readers, must differ from the other newspapers especially through its proletarian character. In this sense the Communist Parties should create a new type of labor paper.

IV. Giving our papers an abstract and theoretical character must be avoided, as this tends to keep the average worker away from our press. In the same way we must avoid giving them the appearance of papers edited by professional journalists who are not in continual close contact with the working class.

V. The Communist press will obtain this proletarian character through a closer contact of the editors with the workers themselves and through a direct or indirect collaboration of the workers in the editorial work.

VI. The Enlarged Executive Committee recommends the National Sections who have a large number of local or provincial papers at their disposal to furnish these papers with news and material through a National Communist Press Service, according to the example set by the Communist Parties of France and Germany, and thus to broaden their horizon often narrowed by too intense preoccupation with local affairs.

VII. The Enlarged Executive Committee instructs the Presidium to convoke a special conference of the Communist Press during 1922, in order to deal in detail with the multifarious technical and practical problems confronting our Press.