

and in taking accurate account of the situation that the proletariat will conquer, the Communist International says to the proletariat of all countries:

Capitalism has so far shown that it cannot secure to the world even that degree of order which it enjoyed before the war. Its present work cannot lead to a single new order of society, but can only prolong your suffering and the process of the decomposition of capitalism.

The World Revolution Is on Its Way.

Everywhere the capitalist world is rocking on its foundations. The second appeal which the World Congress of the Communist International makes to the proletariat of all countries is the following:

"We are marching forward to new and difficult battles. Arm yourselves for the new struggles." Prepare the United Front of the World Proletariat.

The bourgeoisie cannot assure to the workers either work, bread, housing or clothing. However, it shows great capacity in the organization of war against the proletariat.

Ever since the moment, when the bourgeoisie, for the first time was at a loss how to proceed, ever since it conquered the great fear caused by the workers returning from the war, ever since it resolved to prolong after the war its alliance with the traitors of the proletariat, namely the social-democrats and the bureaucrats of Trade Unionism, the bourgeoisie has consecrated all its forces to organize the white guards to fight against and to disarm the proletariat.

The world bourgeoisie is even at this moment armed to the teeth and ready, not only forcibly to suppress any proletarian insurrection, but also, if necessary, to provoke insurrection in order to annihilate the proletariat before it succeeds in organizing a united and invincible front.

Against the strategy of the bourgeoisie, the Communist International pits its own. If the power of capital can throw armed bandits against the proletarians, the Communist International has a weapon which cannot fail. It is the proletarian masses, the single and unconquerable front of the proletariat.

Once the millions and millions of proletarians will enter the struggle in united ranks, the bourgeoisie will be at the end of its rope and all of its forces will no longer be of service to it. The trains transporting the white guards being sent against the proletariat will be stopped, the troops will be overcome with remorse, and the proletariat will wrest their weapons from them and will use them against other organizations of white guards.

If the proletariat will present a united front against capitalism and the bourgeoisie, it will have captured the enemy, who at that time will have lost the first condition for success, to-wit: a belief in victory, which only the treason of the social-democrats and division within the working masses could still give it. The victory over world capitalism can come only thru convincing the majority of the members of the working class.

Against Social-Democrats and Trade Union Bureaucrats.

The Third Congress of the Communist International demands that the Communist parties of all

countries and the Communists in the trade unions direct all their efforts towards the liberation of the working masses from the influence of the Social-Democratic parties and the trade union bureaucracy. This will not be done unless the Communists of all countries, in these trying times, when each day increases the privations of the working masses, prove that they are the advance-guard of the working class, that they will uphold it in all its struggles, and that they will lead it in the fight to free them from the burdens which capitalism has heaped upon them far beyond what they can bear.

It is necessary to convince the working masses that the Communists alone are fighting for a betterment of their condition, that the reactionary Social-Democracy and trade union bureaucracy would rather see them die of hunger than fight for them.

There is no longer any question as to fighting the traitors of the proletariat, the agents of the bourgeoisie on theoretic grounds, or to debate the question of democracy and dictatorship. Rather they must be fought on questions of bread, salaries, wages, of labor and housing.

Moscow versus Amsterdam.

The first field of battle and the most important is that of the trade union movement. Before all, it is necessary to lead the struggle of the Red Trade Union International against the Yellow Amsterdam International.

It is necessary above all to capture the strongholds of the enemy installed in our own camp.

Purge your Organization of Centrist Tendencies. Develop an Aggressive Spirit.

It is only in fighting for the most simple interests of the working masses that we can organize a united front of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie; that we can make an end to the disunion of the proletariat; which alone assures to the bourgeoisie a possibility for continued existence. But this proletarian front can only be inspired with the joy of battle when it will be sustained by the Communist Parties, which are strong in spirit and which possess an iron discipline.

That is why the Third Congress of the Third International, at the same time that it flings to the Communists of all countries the cry, "Go to the Masses! Create a strong, united front!" urges them also to banish from their ranks all those elements which might weaken the morale and discipline of the shock troops of the world proletariat and of the Communist Parties.

The Congress of the Communist International confirms the exclusion of the Socialist Party of Italy until the time when it will have broken with the reformers and excluded them from its ranks. This decision confirms the opinion of the Congress that if the Communist International wishes to lead the millions and millions of workers in the struggle, it cannot afford to have within its ranks reformists, whose aim is not the victorious proletarian revolution, but the reconciliation between capitalism and reformism. Armies that will tolerate as their leaders men who speak in terms of compromise

with the enemy, will be surrendered and sold to the enemy by those very leaders.

We Lack Revolutionary Fervor.

The attention of the Communist International has been drawn to the fact that within a number of parties that have excluded reformists from their ranks, there still exist tendencies indicating they have not completely rid themselves of the spirit of reformism, and that even though they do not look to reconciliation with the enemy, are nevertheless not sufficiently energetic and aggressive in their propaganda for the preparation of the workers for the struggle against capitalism. **They are not working decidedly enough towards the revolution of the masses.** These parties are not capable in the course of their daily work to provide the revolutionary inspiration with which to animate the masses. They are not capable of daily strengthening the fighting spirit of the masses by their fervent enthusiasm.

These parties do not believe that they should utilize favorable conditions for conflict and thus allow great revolutionary currents to go to waste. This was notably the case at the time of the occupation of the factories in Italy and the strike of December in Czecho-Slovakia. The Communist parties should strive to develop an aggressive attitude in their very midst. They should train themselves to become the general staff capable of turning to immediate account favorable conditions for combat, and when there arises spontaneous movements within the proletariat, to make them of maximum value by clear-sighted and courageous direction.

Strive to be the advance guard of the class-conscious working masses. Be their heart and their spirit. This is the cry with which the Third Congress of the Communist International challenges the Communist parties.

To be the advance guard means to march at the head of the masses, as their party and as the bravest and the most far-seeing.

Only when the Communist Parties will become such an advance guard, will they be able not only to organize a united front of the proletariat, but to lead it to the battle which will conquer the enemy.

Against the strategy of capitalism pit the strategy of the proletariat. Prepare for the conflict.

The enemy is strong. It has had centuries of experience in the exercise of power, and that has given it consciousness of strength and the will to maintain it. The enemy is strong, because it has learned thru hundreds of years how to divide the proletarian masses, how to domineer and enthrall them.

The enemy knows how victory is gained in civil strife. It is for this reason that the Third World Congress of the Third International calls to the attention of all Communist Parties the danger that exists in the fact that in strategic matters there is a decided difference in ability between the controlling and possessing classes, and the working class fighting for the acquisition of power.

The events of March in Germany have shown the great danger which exists when the leaders of the working-class, the Communist advance guard of the proletariat, are forced to fight before the great masses are ready for it. The Communist Interna-

tional hails with joy the knowledge that hundreds of thousands of workers in the whole of Germany are ready to rush to the aid of the menaced workers in Central Germany.

It is in this spirit of solidarity, which causes the proletariat of a whole country, nay the whole world, to rush as one man to the defense of an endangered proletarian party, that the Communist International sees the sign which bespeaks victory.

The Communist International approves of the Communist Party of Germany putting itself at the head of the working masses who offered themselves in the defense of their threatened brothers. At the same time, however, the Communist International feels that it is its duty openly to announce the following to the workers of all countries:

In such cases where the advance guard is compelled to enter into a struggle, and where such struggle would hasten the mobilization of the whole working class, the advance guard should bear in mind that if it is alone and isolated, it is not in a position to make a decisive assault; that if forced to fight alone, it should as far as possible, avoid an armed conflict with the enemy, for the victory of the proletariat over the armed white guards can only be won by the entire mass of the proletariat. If the majority of this mass is not prepared to engage in the struggle, the advanced guard, which is an unarmed minority, should not attempt to launch an attack against an armed enemy.

Thanks to the battles of March, the Communist International has learned one thing more to which it calls the attention of the proletariat of all countries. It is necessary that the whole working class be prepared by a daily, incessant propaganda, constantly more intensive and extensive, for the struggles which are imminent. And when they enter the combat, they must have full comprehension of the significance of the rallying cry.

Proletarian Strategy.

Against the strategy of the enemy we must pit the intelligent and carefully considered strategy of the proletariat. The courage, the enthusiasm, the determination of the advance guard will not be sufficient. The struggle must be prepared and organized in such a way as to enlist the great masses of the workers. They must be mobilized and given to understand that they are engaged in a struggle for the attainment of their most vital interests.

The condition of world capitalism will ever become more critical and it will try more and more to impede the coming victory of the Communist International by throttling its advance guards, if isolated from the bulk of the masses.

We must therefore plan to avert this danger thru a propaganda that will awaken all the masses. We must engage in a work of energetic organization of Communist parties which will assure their influence over the masses, and will make them capable of calmly judging existing situations, refusing the fight when the forces of the enemy are superior, and fighting where the enemy is disrupted and the masses united.

The Third Congress of the Communist International is well aware that it is only in combat that the working masses will form Communist parties capable of attacking the enemy with lightninglike rapidity in cases where the enemy is in an inferior position, and of avoiding combat under unfavorable conditions. That is why it is the duty of the prole-

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