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Role  
and  
Tasks  
of the  
Agitprop  
Work in the  
Bolshevisation  
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## Role and Tasks of the Agitprop Work in the Bolshevisation of the Sections of the Comintern.

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If we understand under Bolshevisation that the Sections of the CI are to be rendered capable, in ideological-political and organisatory respects, of leading and organising revolution (or, to speak more accurately, of leading and organising the present period of international revolution, that is, the period in which the majority of the proletariat, and of those decisive social strata forming the reserves of revolution, are to be won over) successfully by the use of those methods which have led the Russian CP to victory, then the role and tasks falling to the Agitprop work as part of Bolshevisation may be easily and definitely ascertained. Leninism made the Party of the Bolsheviks capable of recognising the Russian objective revolutionary forces, and of making use of the whole of the given factors, thus, enabling it to organise the revolution and lead it to victory. That teaching which has developed the theory and practice of Marxism by Marxian methods, and applied it to the post Marxian period of economic and social development, by means of the experiences gained in

three Russian revolutions and in the various forms of revolution passed through by the international proletariat, and by generalising these experiences into a theory, renders the Party capable, both as regards politics and organisation of *winning over the masses for the revolution*. This theory serves the masses as guide for practical and successful revolutionary action.

Bolshevisation does not thus merely mean the recognition of the lessons learnt from the experiences undergone by the Bolshevik Party, nor merely the acceptance of the forms of organisation of this Party. The theory of Bolshevism cannot be separated from the experience won by the Bolshevik Party, or from the forms of organisation resulting on the three Russian revolutions. But on the other hand it would be equally wrong to separate the methods from the results -- as is done by some who call themselves Marxists and even belong to the Communist Party -- and entirely wrong to degrade Bolshevism from a theory which leads revolutionary action to a mere aggregate of practical experiences. The real import of Bolshevism consists of having the Communist Parties take over Leninism in its entirety, and apply it in actual political and organisatory practice. It is only within the confines of this theory as a whole, and in their character as its constituent parts, that the differentiated political and organisatory measures applied in the various countries, at different times and in different forms, can become a Bolshevik policy, that is, can become a policy adapted to winning over the masses for the

purposes of revolutionary action at any given stage of revolution. It is only within the limits of this theoretical entirety that we can avoid the two dangers constantly threatening the Communist Parties; 1. the danger of regarding the Communist Party as “object in itself”, as a Party isolated from the masses, and 2. the danger of taking the “winning over” of the masses to mean that it is not the Communist Party which leads the masses, but that this, Party gives way to the spontaneous will of the masses, and permits itself to be led by it.

During the present period of revolution both these dangers may become very acute, and are already acute in many places for this reason the fundamental task to be carried out by the propagandist work of the Communist Parties consists of rendering the leading cadres of the Party and the masses ideologically capable of leading political organisation and agitation of a nature competent to maintain a constant connection with the masses and not only to maintain this connection, but to penetrate more deeply into the masses and to comprise them on a broader foundation.

## The two main spheres of work of the Agitprop.

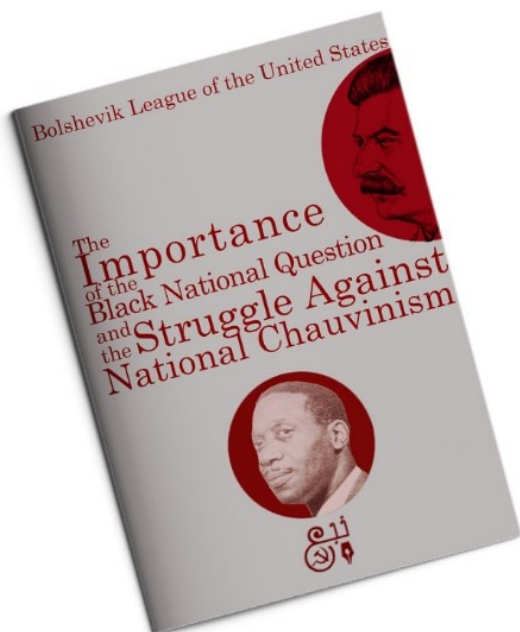
Starting from this viewpoint, we see that Bolshevisation demands that the work of the

Agitprop be concentrated in two closely connected main lines, both aiming essentially at the same goal:

1. The education of the leading cadres of the Parties in the spirit of Leninism; Leninist mass propaganda on broad Party lines.

2. The extension of the agitative power and influence of the Party press by means of the creation of a communist mass press -- we must not be afraid of the term: "communist people's press".

Work must be carried on everywhere in these two directions. And though the measures employed for the attainment of these objects may be different in every Party, these aims and tasks must form, internationally, the concrete goals aimed at by the concrete Agitprop activity of every Communist Party.



## Propaganda for Leninism.

Up to the present day, propaganda for Leninism has scarcely got past the point of agitation in favour of this propaganda. The reason for this may be approximately found in the following circumstances:

1. The majority of our Parties have not yet discovered the best way of combining propaganda for Leninism with the actual political questions, struggles, and organisatory work of the Party. In other words: the propaganda has been more or less abstract.

2. The absence of Lenin's works among the Leninist literature in the majority of European languages.

3. The complete lack of organs leading the work of propaganda during the period immediately following the 5<sup>th</sup> World Congress, or the existence of such organs in an embryonic state only, both in the CI and in its various sections. As result of this, propaganda cadres have been lacking in the various Parties, or the employment of the existing propagandist forces has been unorganised.

The experience of six months now looked back upon by the Agitprop Department of the CI, though extremely incomplete, suffices to show that these difficulties can be overcome by energetic effort, though not within a very short time. The indispensable connections between the propaganda

for Leninism and the struggles and organisatory work of the Party, in other words: the working out of the import and methods of propaganda work -- at least in the most important and largest sections will be rendered possible by the cooperation of the separate sections and the Agitprop organs of the CI. The translation of Lenin's most important works into foreign languages is a much greater technical and financial difficulty. The lack of suitable translators and of a book publishing apparatus, the political conditions obtaining in various countries illegality greatly delay the publication of Lenin's works. The creation of organs leading the propaganda work has also been greatly delayed, chiefly for the reason that the decisions arrived at by the 5<sup>th</sup> World Congress on this question have not immediately assumed the position of impotence due to them in the consciousness and the work of the Parties. It will be the task of the Enlarged Executive to make the Parties fully conscious the importance of this theory.

The six months which have passed since the Bolshevisation slogan was issued have matured the question of Propaganda for Leninism to such an extent that at least the most important and best developed sections of the CI have been able to take up the following tasks, and to issue the following slogans:

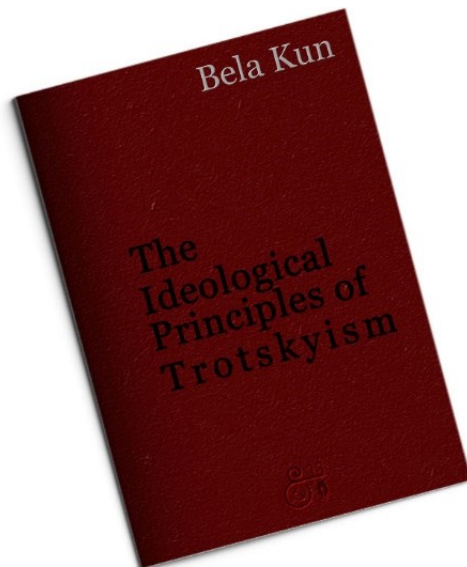
1. The establishment of a Central School of Leninism in the course of the year 1925.
2. Short elementary courses of instruction are to be arranged in every local organisation, a Leninist



club is to be formed in every large Party nucleus, and in the individual Parties the whole of the members (as in the English Communist Party) can pass through a certain course of instruction within a certain time say two to three years, with the aid of these elementary classes or can be united in Leninist clubs.

Besides this, provision is to be made within this year for a really thorough study of Leninism, if only for a limited few, by means of the organisation of international Leninist courses of instruction (by the German, French, and English sections) in Moscow.

The Agitprop Section of the Enlarged Executive is faced by the task of working out all the practical and differentiated activity involved in this propaganda work.



The slight initiatives already observable in this sphere of activity modest but none the less worthy of praise as for instance the Lenin School and the district instruction courses formed by the French Party, the efforts made by the American Party for the formation of Marxist clubs, similar endeavours within the German Party, and especially the initiative taken by the English Party in gaining influence over the whole of the Party members by means of elementary courses of instruction at which attendance is obligatory, show that the definite aims pursued do not reckon with political and organisatory circumstances only, but -- at least in the case of a part of the Sections -- with actual possibilities also.

## The Bolshevist People's Press.

The other offensive point of Agitprop work in the sphere Bolshevisation is the fundamental reorganisation of the communist press, its transformation into a Bolshevist people's press.

The propaganda for Leninism does not serve solely for the internal strengthening of the Party, but at the same time for the purpose of Party expansion, and of enabling the Party to Bolshevise the masses outside of the Party. The Bolshevisation of the Parties with respect to agitation must first find its expression in the press, and in the following manner:

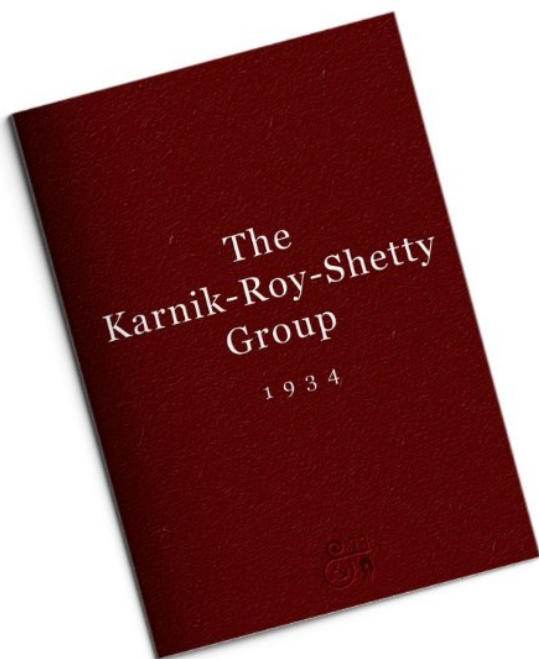
a) The communist press is to be reorganised in purport and form in such manner as to be able to fully satisfy the widest interest taken by the broadest working masses for questions of political and social culture. It must form the daily reading matter of not only the Party members, but of the broadest masses of the workers, and must not only be read by shop and factory workers, but by the members of their families.

b) Distribution must be so organised that the Party is enabled, by means of its press, to reach those strata of the working class, which it cannot reach by other methods and forms of agitation.

c) The communist press is to be freed from all professionalism, so that the worker is not merely the reader of the communist newspaper, but at the same time its contributor and distributor. This raises the question of the Worker Correspondents, a question which inevitably arises with elementary force wherever the communist press has found a fairly wide circle of readers. The settling of this question is the more imperative as certain sectarian tendencies can already be observed with regard to it, caused by the limitation of the Worker Correspondents to the communists.

In connection with these questions the problem of the international press may here be mentioned as belonging to our general tasks; our international press may safely make it its aim to double the number of readers of the communist press.

In a great number of communist parties the creation of a daily newspaper is a burning question. The lack of a communist daily newspaper is greatly felt in a number of countries, especially in England. Without a daily newspaper the Communist Party cannot form any adequately important factor in any country. The initiative taken by the American Communist Party, by which the publication of a daily communist paper in the English language has been made possible, shows that the issue of a daily paper is not an impossible task for a Communist Party which has passed beyond the stage of mere agitation, or is approaching the end of this stage.



## The Organisation of Agitprop work.

The 5<sup>th</sup> World Congress impressed it upon every Party, as special task, to create special organs for Agitprop work. This task, closely bound up with the prerequisites of successful Party work -- and in general with the differentiation of Party work and of Party apparatus -- has been carried out to but a very slight degree up to now. Even in the central Party apparatus only the first steps are being taken towards the formation of the organs - required for Agitprop work. (Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, and Italy are taking the lead in this direction, and the English Party is not remaining behind.)

Where these leading organs are lacking, the organisation of Agitprop work is impossible. The Party cannot accomplish the task of Bolshevisation, which is set it if there are no organs for the distribution of Bolshevist ideology. The central organs themselves are merely suspended in the air, so to speak, if the communist labour organisations do not furnish them with such organs, that is, with organisations holding a grasp over the members, and keeping up the connections between the Party centres and the periphery. The reorganisation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei remains deficient and inadequate unless we succeed in imparting the spirit of communism into the work of the factory cells. A not inconsiderable part of this communist spirit is supped by the propaganda for Leninism, by

the dissemination of the communist press, and by systematic agitation among the non party masses. In connection with this the question of Agitprop organisation is raised, that is, the question of the creation and development of that type of Party worker whose task consists in organising and leading the ideological work of Bolshevisation in the immediate circle of Party members, and among the broad masses outside of the Party.

These organisatory questions await their solution, at least in general, if we are really intent upon realising, in a manner promising actual success in the near future, the two prerequisites indispensable for the Bolshevisation of the communist Parties, the two most imperative tasks: the propaganda for Leninism and the creation of a communist people's press.

