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Session of the Enlarged E. C. C. I.

(Detailed Report.)

Opening Session.

On February 17, 1926, at 8 p. m. the session of the Enlarged Executive was opened in the Andreev Hall in the Kremlin. The appearance of the hall was a surprise to the Delegates. Since the last session the former throne room of the Czar, which had heretofore undergone very little change, had been transformed into a gigantic congress hall. The throne has disappeared and in its place a lofty tribune has been erected: The space in the hall has been greatly increased by this change and yet the places set aside for the delegates, as well as those for the auditors, are absolutely filled to overflowing, as they are at the great world congresses.

The opening speech of comrade Zinoviev was listened to with the most eager attention. He commenced his speech with a tribute to our late Comrade Frunze, all present rising from their seats as a mark of respect to his memory. In brief words Comrade Zinoviev indicated the position of the Communist International as regards its various sections, especially emphasised the successes of the English and Chinese Parties during the past year and mentioned the problems with which the Enlarged Executive will have to deal. That portion of his speech in which he declared that the International must devote increasing attention to the problems of the revolutionary movement

of the East, was echoed enthusiastically in the speeches of greeting of those revolutionary fighters of the East who spoke after the conclusion of his own speech, which was greeted with stormy applause.

The representatives of the Communist Party of China and of the National Revolutionary Party of Mongolia, who were heartily applauded by the audience, greeted the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the West and called upon them to support the revolutionary movement in the East. The Congress Hall presented an unforgettable picture when the generalissimo of the Canton Army Hu-Han-Min stepped up to the tribune in military uniform. For several minutes the speaker was unable to commence speaking on account of the continually renewed applause. The solidarity between the revolutionary proletariat of the West and the oppressed peoples of the East was expressed here with striking clearness. In this spirit the session was closed by the speech of Comrade Brown of Great Britain, who, in the name of the Communist Party of Great Britain, that land under the pressure of whose imperialist violence the peoples of the East have to suffer the most, solemnly promised to increase the struggle against imperialism, and not to rest until British Imperialism, and that of the whole world, is vanquished.

Opening Speech of Comrade Zinoviev.

In the name of the Presidium I declare the opening of the III Session of the Enlarged Executive.

Since the last Enlarged Executive we have lost a member of our Executive, Comrade Frunze. (The Delegates rise.) He was one of the most courageous and brilliant leaders of the Russian Revolution and also of the Communist International. Honour to his memory!

Since the last session of the Enlarged Executive, which was held in March 1925, almost a whole year has gone by. One can say with certainty that this year has not been the easiest in the history of our Communist International. Some of our Sections passed through a difficult period during this year, when it was actually a question of fighting for the very existence of the Communist Party.

But, comrades, we have at the same time achieved important results during this year and have learned how to apply the tactic of the united front without making serious mistakes.

If we compare the present situation in our German Party, for instance, with its situation at the end of the last Enlarged Executive in March 1925, then we must acknowledge that the German comrades have succeeded in overcoming one of the most serious crises of their Party.

In April 1925, we were forced to admit that the C. P. G., under the influence of the "Ultra-Lefts" had made a very great mistake during the presidential elections, a mistake which affected not only the German Party, but the whole International. This mistake has now been overcome. The Party is learning to apply the tactic of the united front correctly. The best proof of this is the recent mass movement of the German proletariat, led by our Party, in the question of the expropriation of the royal houses.

I believe that the most important results in the present historical situation were achieved during this year by our British and Chinese Par

We will later hear a report of the **British Communist Party**. This report will not be a report on mistakes, but rather the **British comrades** will tell us how a comparatively young Party, in one of the most important capitalist countries, in spite of all difficulties, learned how, if not to lead, at least decisively to influence a mass movement.

But, as we have already said, we must also point to the successes of the **Communist Party of China**. This young Party has succeeded in exercising a decisive influence on the revolutionary movement in China, which is of a world historical nature. The Communist Party of China is working in full and friendly cooperation with the National Revolutionary Party, **Kuomintang**. Numerically the Communist Party of China has trebled in the last year, and the Kuomintang Party has grown sevenfold.

I believe that these two sound but comparatively young Communist Parties have done historical work during this year. We can expect still greater successes from them in the near future. They have shown that the Communist International has taken a firm root, not only in Western Europe, but also in such countries as China, which is of tremendous international significance.

The **Czechoslovakian Party** has become consolidated during the last year. It has completely overcome the crisis which was so painfully felt at the last Enlarged Executive. It has shown itself to be a real proletarian party, as a loyal section of the Communist International. It can count on the full support and on the warmest sympathy of the Communist International.

The **French Party** had conducted a fight against the War in Morocco which in many respects constitutes a model. The Socialists in France have showed again that they have learned nothing, that they have remained the same social patriots they were in 1914. The Communist Party of France, on the contrary, has proved itself to be the only real proletarian party of France, which fought against the war from the very first hour. The War in Morocco is a small dress rehearsal for the future big war. The Second International showed by this example that it has remained the right-hand man of the bourgeoisie. The Comintern, however, represented by the C. P. F., showed that it represents the only support in the struggle against imperialist wars.

We have reason to hope that the French Party will be able, in the near future, to achieve great results in the winning of extensive circles of the labouring masses, and to make a great step forward. We will deal thoroughly with the French Question in this session.

In **Italy** our Party adopted resolutions at the last Party Congress which will finally liquidate the ultra-left danger. Under the blows of fascist terror, the Communist Party has developed into a strong united proletarian party, and is now on the right road to becoming the strongest workers' party of Italy. In practically all the most important centres it has gained if not the absolute, then at least the relative majority of the working class.

Our **Bulgarian Party** has suffered especially under the White Terror during the last year. It has lost a whole generation of revolutionary fighters, who were physically annihilated by the Tsankoff Regime. But here, too, we can state that the Bulgarian Party is already on the road to overcome the serious consequences of this terribly difficult period. The best symptom of this is the fact that it is beginning again to rally the Bulgarian workers round the banner of the Communist International.

The **Communist Party of Poland** went through a serious ultra-left crisis during the last year, which it has now overcome — we hope once and for all. At present it is in a difficult and responsible situation. If there is one land in which a direct revolutionary situation might crystallise in a comparatively short time, that land is Poland, where unemployment is steadily growing, where the desperate attempts of the insurgent unemployed masses are steadily multiplying. Our Polish Party is therefore standing at an exceptionally responsible post. The Executive is convinced that the Polish Party, after the difficult period it has passed through and the crises it has overcome, is now on the right road to fulfil its historical tasks.

Moreover, comrades, a number of our Sections have made great progress in successfully penetrating the masses with the idea of **international trade union unity**.

At present a new, strong and rising wave of sympathy can be discerned in the working class of the whole world towards the Soviet Union, and simultaneously towards the Comintern.

And finally, I wish also to emphasise that, in my opinion the **Peasant International**, which is still a young organisation

and, it is true, still has many faults, has achieved its first successes, though small ones, during the course of the last year. In some countries it has succeeded in getting into real contact with the peasant movement. In this connection I wish to emphasise that the most important Parties, including the German, Czech, Norwegian, Swedish, Polish and others, have also finally begun to work among the peasants and, one must admit, not without success.

But during this last year we also had to overcome serious crises in certain Parties. But it is quite clear that these crises are to a great extent bound up with the **growing pains** of these parties. That is best shown by the example of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. A year ago we heard from many sides that the Comintern had adopted the wrong policy in connection with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and that the Party would go to pieces as a consequence of this policy. A year has passed and the course of events has shown in the clearest manner that our tactic was really correct. The Party is stronger — it has become a decisive proletarian party in Czechoslovakia. Where is Bubnik today? Bubnik is on the rubbish heap. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has succeeded with the help of the Comintern in overcoming the Right deviations.

In this Executive Session we will have to deal with similar phenomena in the French Party. I do not by any means wish to say that the French Party is at present passing through a crisis so severe as that which the Czech Party passed through a year ago. In the French Party there only exist difficulties of a nature similar to that which the Czech comrades had to overcome. I am convinced, however, that we shall succeed much more easily in overcoming the Right dangers in the French Party and to help the French Party to make a great stride forward.

During the period under review, we have had to undergo exceedingly great sacrifices. The Red Aid has issued a compilation covering the period from 1st of May to 1st December 1925. The following are a few figures from these tables.

In 38 countries, 40,456 comrades have been arrested, 13,287 comrades wounded and 4553 comrades murdered and tortured to death. The number of comrades who have either been murdered, hanged or tortured to death amounts in Bulgaria alone to over one thousand.

These figures show what tremendously great sacrifices our cause, our struggle demands. We also know however, with what self-sacrifice our comrades everywhere have fought and are fighting for the cause of Communism. In England almost all the members of our Central Committee are in prison. To our English comrades and to all our comrades including those in Germany, in Poland, in Bulgaria, in China, in all those countries where capital is proceeding ruthlessly against the rising revolutionary forces — to all these comrades there is due the most sincere, the warmest greeting of the staff of the world revolution.

We will discuss a number of questions at this Enlarged Executive. I believe the most important question will be the question of the unity of the working class, and in connection with this the question of the correct application of the united front tactic in the present historical epoch. The trade union question will likewise play a great role. We shall have to deal most exhaustively with the question of the Labour Movement in the New Continents and also the Growing Revolutionary Movement in the east. It is high time that we devoted exceedingly great attention to this question.

Further, at our Executive we shall discuss from all sides the question of the "stabilisation" of capitalism. The word stabilisation determined the character of the last Enlarged Executive in the year 1925. The bourgeoisie and the Social Democracy have joyfully seized upon this word, and torn it from its connection in our total estimate of the situation. We spoke at that time of a relative, temporary, partial stabilisation. The bourgeoisie and the Social Democracy, however, did not repeat these very essential limitations given to the term. They only consoled themselves with the word "stabilisation". I believe that we at this Executive have every reason to emphasise less the word stabilisation, but must emphasise with still greater confidence the words "temporary" "relative" "weak", "shaky" stabilisation.

If at the last Executive we frequently mentioned the word "stabilisation", we also mentioned a second word, the word "Bolshevisation". The bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats did not wish to hear this. I believe that the slogan of Bolshevisation has already played and will also continue to play an important role in the work of our Parties.

We will thoroughly discuss the theses proposed by the Presidium of the Executive as the basis for our work. I wish today to refer to only two points from these theses. These relate to ourselves, to our inner life, to our inner Party regime. I would like especially to call attention to the importance of point 18 in chapter 4 of the theses, which states:

"The Comintern asserts that up to the present in a number of Communist Parties the elementarily necessary minimum of internal Party democracy is lacking. Many recent internal Party crises have become more acute owing to the absence of internal Party democracy. The correct principle of democratic centralism is often interpreted too mechanically. As a result of this, initiative from below is restricted and formation of fresh leading cadres of the Party obstructed. The Central Committee sometimes becomes isolated from the masses of Party members. On this basis various deviations easily develop into fractions and thereby become particularly dangerous."

This point is very important; it should not merely remain on paper; the Communist workers must see to that. It is high time to realise these words fully and completely. We must be genuine, Bolshevik Parties, working upon the basis of a real, inner Party democracy.

Further, I wish to call your attention to point 25.

"The organisational work of the E. C. C. I. should be increased and systematised. The strongest Sections of the Comintern should be drawn into the direct leadership to a much larger degree than hitherto (see project drafted by Secretariat). This question is not only an organisational question, but profoundly political. The most intensive participation of the leaders of these Parties in the entire work of the Communist International is a condition for the more rapid and normal maturing of the young Communist Parties, and a pre-requisite for these Parties being able to become a force capable of taking command in decisive revolutionary events in their own country."

It is possible that we have not yet fully and clearly expressed ourselves on this point. After discussion this point will be extended. Here one must pronounce everything openly, up to the last word.

Many of our Parties have already six or seven years' experience behind them, they have passed through a number of crises, they have overcome all serious obstacles and are inwardly strengthened. They must now begin to act more independently than hitherto. To take a much more active share in the entire work of the Communist International. And the chief thing is: in solving their own Party problems they must apply their own political experience. In other words, the Communist Parties must display a far greater political independence than has been the case hitherto.

The Communist International must continue to be a centralised Party. The influence of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, i. e. the Party which has the greatest historical experience, must be preserved at least until the victory of the proletarian revolution in other countries. The forms of this influence must however change. Every Party must solve its questions independently, supported by its own historical experience; this applies especially to the question of the choice of leading Party functionaries.

We, functionaries of the Presidium, at any rate, recognise that a serious change is necessary in this respect. One must change the character of the leadership. And with your support we will do so.

One other matter, comrades, you know that in recent times a great wave of lies has made its appearance in the bourgeois and Social Democratic press. The Social Democratic and the bourgeois press in general is devoting a great deal of attention to the Communist International and will follow with great attention the present session of the Executive. Rumours will be spread abroad that the Communist International is going to the Right, that it is abandoning the line of Lenin. All these legends only deserve contempt on the part of every serious Communist. I am firmly convinced that the work of our Executive, from a to z, from the first to the last minute, will explode these legends. The Communist International is and remains what it was: the world revolution, the advance guard of the class conscious proletariat, the advance guard which is con-

ducting the fight on the basis of Marxism and Leninism. The Communist International is going neither to the Right nor to the ultra-Left. It will remain where it stood when it was founded by Lenin and as it has formulated its line at five World Congresses and various Enlarged Executive Sessions.

The Communist International and the entire Communist proletariat have already had to work two years without Lenin. But in spite of many difficulties and obstacles, the Communist International has remained true to Leninism and will remain true to it in the future. Our whole work at this session will prove this. Filled with this conviction I greet all present and cry in their name:

Long Live the Communist International!

(Enthusiastic Applause.)

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Election of the Presidium and of the Secretariat.

After Comrade Zinoviev's speech the following comrades were elected unanimously to the Presidium and the Secretariat on the proposal of Comrade Humbert-Droz:

Presidium:

Zinoviev, Bukharin, Thälmann, Sémard, Stalin, Geschke, Smeral, Gennari, Ferguson, Gremot, Samborn, Dorsy, Kilbom, Katayama, Clara Zetkin, Roy, Manuilsky, Vuyovich, Hajasi, Ferdi, Bogutski, Dimitrov, Su-Fan, Semaon.

Secretariat:

Kuusinen, Humbert-Droz, Kühne, Piatnitsky, Jacob, Kornblum, Neurath, Brown, Pepper.

Report of the Commission for the Verification of the Credentials.

Comrade Humbert-Droz presented the report on behalf of the provisional commission for the verification of credentials:

Of the 43 members of the Executive, 23 are present and have a decisive vote. Of the 27 candidates of the Executive, 14 are present. Of these five automatically represent members of the Executive and have a decisive vote. The other nine comrades have a consultative vote. In addition to the members of the Executive there are present 93 delegates representing 32 Parties. Of these 49 have a decisive and 44 a consultative vote. Of the sections the Soviet Union, Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Italy and the Young Communist International have three votes each.

The U. S. A., Great Britain, Norway, Bulgaria, Poland and the Ukraine have two votes each.

All the other states have one vote each.

Election of the Commissions.

Thereupon the following commissions were elected unanimously:

1. **The Political Commission:** Chairman: Zinoviev, secretary: Thälmann; representatives of the Communist Parties of Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Great Britain, U. S. A., Russia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Belgium, Spain, Roumania, Bulgaria, Yugo-Slavia, Poland, Finland, Hungary, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the Ukraine, White Russia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Japan, China, India, Turkey, Mexico, Ireland, the Young Communist International, as well as representatives of all other sections of the C. I. who will arrive in the meantime.

2. **Trade Union Commission:** Chairman: Monmousseau, Secretary: Robson, members of the commission: representatives of all sections present.

3. **Eastern Commission:** Chairman: Roy, Secretaries: Brown and Voitinsky, members from all sections present.

4. **British Commission:** Chairman: Braun (Germany), Secretary: Samborn, members from all sections present.

5. **French Commission:** Chairman: Manuilsky, Secretary: an Italian comrade, members: representatives of all sections present, as well as Clara Zetkin and Roy personally.

6. **American Commission:** Chairman: Robson, Secretary: Kuusinen, members from all Comintern sections present and

also Zinoviev, Bukharin, Stalin, Manuilsky, Bela Kun, Clara Zetkin, Katayama, etc.

7. **Scandinavian Commission:** Chairman: Remmele, Secretary: Manner. Members from all sections present.

8. **Commission for Plan of Work:** Chairman: Kuhne, Secretary: Pepper. Members from all sections present.

9. **Commission for the Verification of Credentials:** Chairman: Humbert-Droz, Secretary: Piatnitsky, representatives of all Comintern sections present.

The Agenda.

The following agenda was adopted:

1. **Report of the Presidium.** The new political tasks. Reporter: **Comrade Zinoviev:**

2. **The trade union question.** Reporter: **Comrade Lozovsky.**

3. **Report of the C.P. of Great Britain on its experiences during its activity among the masses.** Reporter: representative of the C.P. of Great Britain.

4. **Questions of the various sections:**

a) Work in the Eastern countries — China, Morocco, Syria and India.

b) The C.P. of France.

c) The Workers Party of America.

d) The Communist Parties of Scandinavia.

5. Control over the carrying out of the resolutions adopted; the plan of work of the E. C. C. I. for the period up to the **Sixth World Congress**; preparatory work for the Sixth World Congress; measures for increasing the influence of foreign sections in the Executive of the C. I.

Addresses of Greeting.

There was tremendous enthusiasm and prolonged applause when **Comrade Su-Fan** rose to greet the Enlarged Executive.

Comrade Su-Fan (Representative of the Communist Party of China):

"Comrades! I greet the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International on behalf of the 10,000 members of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League of China (loud applause, delegates rising and singing the International). The C.P. of China is convinced that, under the leadership of the Communist International and with the support of the European workers and peasants, the Chinese people will deal a decisive blow against world imperialism. World imperialism is stretching out its people. We will deal it a deadly blow.

Long live the solidarity of the European workers and the toiling masses of the East and the Colonies!

Long live the Communist International!

Long live the World Revolution!

(Loud applause.)

An even greater pitch of enthusiasm was reached when **Comrade Chu-Chan-Min**, member of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang Party, leader of the army of the Canton Government, ascended the platform. These demonstrations of enthusiasm lasted several minutes and punctuated nearly every sentence of the Speaker.

Chu-Chan-Min:

"On behalf of the Chinese people, of the Chinese workers and peasants, of the oppressed Chinese masses, I express gratitude for being able to attend personally this International session. There is only one World Revolution, and the Chinese Revolution is part of this world revolution. The slogan of our great leader, Sun-Yat-Sen, is identical with the slogan of Marxism and Leninism. No one has faith any longer in the II International. The influence of the III International has considerably increased in China of late. The movement embraces intellectuals as well as large sections of workers and peasants, the entire proletariat.

The Kuomintang slogan is: For the masses, i.e. seizure of political power, together with the workers and peasants! All

these slogans coincide with the policy of the III International. The III International is the headquarters, the general staff for the Revolution.

The Kuomintang Party, in the person of one of its leaders, is meeting here for the first time with the leaders of the world revolution. I feel that I am one of the fighters for world revolution and greet the session of the Communist International.

Long live the solidarity of the proletariat of the world!

Long live the victory of world revolution!

Long live the III International!

Long live all Communist Parties of the world!

Long live the comrades present here!"

(Enthusiastic applause.)

The third speaker to greet the session was **Comrade Dscha-Damba** (Mongolian Revolutionary Peoples' Party).

Comrade Dscha-Damba, who was greeted with loud applause said:

"Comrades, on behalf of the Mongolian Revolutionary Peoples Party and the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League, I greet the best representatives of the West and of the oppressed peoples of the East. It is only owing to the support it received from the international revolutionary movement, from the Communist International, that the Mongolian working population has been able to throw off the yoke of age-long prejudices, of oppression and exploitation by internal and external enemies.

Our organisations are not Communist organisations, but they lead the working population of Mongolia, they work under the spiritual leadership of the Communist International, and the Young Communist International.

During the last year the national-revolutionary movement of the oppressed peoples of the East gained a greater impetus, especially among the four hundred million strong population of China. Our country adjoins that big country. Our Party and our revolutionary Youth League declare their determination to support this liberation movement against world imperialism.

On behalf of the Mongolian toiling masses, on behalf of the Mongolian Peoples Party, on behalf of the Mongolian Youth League, I call upon the workers of all countries to support the National Liberation Movement of the East and of the oppressed toiling masses of all countries.

Long live the Communist International!

Long live the liberation struggle of the peoples of the East!

Long live the World Revolution!"

(Loud Applause.)

Comrade Brown (England):

Comrades, I want on behalf of the Executive Committee of Great Britain and of the Communist International to say how glad we are that the delegates from the East are with us during these deliberations.

I want to say to our Chinese comrades that during the past year one of the most important campaigns that has been carried on by the British Communist Party has been our "Hands off China!" campaign. This campaign was so successful that it influenced the British Trade Union Congress at Scarborough to pass unanimously a resolution protesting strongly against the action of the British imperialists in China, and demanding that all British troops should be withdrawn from China.

On behalf of the British Delegation I pledge the Party to continue the fight until British workers in the British army are withdrawn from China in order to give our comrades in China the chance to work out their emancipation from British imperialism.

I conclude by declaring that the solidarity of the peoples of China assisted by Western Workers, will certainly go a long way to dig a grave for British and all world imperialism.

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After **Comrade Brown's** address the session was postponed to February 20th, at 10 a. m.