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# **CORRESPONDENCE**

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## **SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.**

(FULL REPORT.)

### **Eleventh Session.**

July 26th 1928.

## **Discussion on the Report of Comrade Bukharin.**

**Chairman: Comrade Lovestone (America).**

**Comrade DIXON (America):**

Comrades, the thesis of Comrade Bukharin correctly places as the central question, the war danger. I wish to call special attention to the Pacific where there is going on a three-cornered fight between American, Japanese and British imperialism which may, at the shortest notice, break into open warfare involving us in another general war. Imperialist relations in the Far East are strained and war is being freely discussed. It is hardly necessary to cite in detail the moves of military and naval forces such as the "summer vacation" which has just been given to the American naval forces, which recently moved from their base at Manila into the Yellow Sea — a day's journey from the Japanese leased territory in Manchuria.

More interesting to us than these military preparations are the moves being made inside the different countries of the Pacific to secure the rear in preparation for the expected war.

In Japan, the semi-Fascist militarist Government of General Tanaka has consolidated its power, though a minority in the Diet, by the use of terror, directed primarily against the Communists and Left wing workers and peasants, but extending also to a greater or lesser degree to all its political opponents. It is feverishly whipping up the war sentiments of the Japanese masses; appealing to patriotism, filling the cinemas with pictures of "glorious battles" and "national heroes". Japanese

industries are being mobilised for war under a new secret bureau, similar to the War Industries Board created by the United States during the world war. The imprisonment of thousands of Communists and Left wing workers and peasants, the dissolution of the revolutionary organisation, and the inauguration of the death penalty (by a Royal Decree and not by Parliamentary enactment) for Communists and other dangerous thinkers are all preparations for war.

The Tanaka Government announces that in the fall, during the Coronation ceremonies, it will have in prison 12,000 persons suspected of "thinking dangerously". The present drive against the revolutionists is the third one in recent years conducted by the Japanese Government, and each one has been of greatly increased scope. This fact furnishes us a measure of the growing radicalisation of the masses in Japan. The class struggle in city and village in Japan is growing sharper and deeper.

The Philippine Islands also present a sharpening of the class lines, and the passing into a new phase of development. Here the nationalist bourgeoisie has surrendered to American imperialism under the slogan of "co-operative efforts for industrial development". The new Governor-General Stimson, has seized point after point of control from the Filipinos not only without a struggle but actually with the co-operation of the so-called nationalists. But the masses are deeply determined upon independence. They are filled with hatred against American Imperialism and are seething with revolt. So far this has

not found effective leadership, but soon it must smash the old political alignment in the Philippine Islands and find expression in open struggle. There is a revival of the hitherto stagnant trade union movement which is going out upon new and revolutionary lines, while mass organisations of the poor peasants directly allied with the workers, are growing rapidly in strength and activity.

In Australia a sharp offensive against the working class is under way, with the Government taking the lead with a new law, which is designed to incorporate the trade unions into the Government machinery under control of special courts. This new project is the most ambitious effort of its kind since the Fascist unions of Italy. At the same time the old "Crimes" Law is being resurrected for sending many militant trade union leaders to prison for terms of ten years, the latest victim being Comrade Garden of the New South Wales Labour Council. The workers of Australia are in a fighting mood and are forcing their reformist leaders to put up at least a show of resistance.

In India the advance of reaction and preparations for war are accompanied by a growing mass struggle of the workers, while a new wave of nationalist sentiment is sweeping the land, in which the working class is beginning to take the leading role. The strikes of steel workers, textile workers and railroad workers in recent months have stirred the Indian workers profoundly.

Thus, glancing at only four of those important sections of the Pacific, we find everywhere the most deep-going processes taking place which are simultaneously preparations for imperialist war on the one hand and revolutionary insurrection on the other. As for the storm centre, China, we are all familiar with the epoch making events there. China remains for world imperialism a great powder magazine which may again explode at any moment.

Since the V. Comintern Congress we have witnessed not only the rise of the national revolutionary movement in the Pacific, but also, and it seems to me of equal significance, the rise of the organised movement of the working class and the trade union movement which is rapidly developing towards a revolutionary line under the leadership of the Communist Parties, and which already plays a most important revolutionary role in the world's labour movement.

Already this young labour movement has given birth to a central organ of leadership and solidarity in the shape of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, formed at the Hankow Conference in May, 1927.

There is a tendency among some of our European and American comrades, absorbed in their daily work at home, to minimise the importance of the Pan-Pacific trade union movement. This indifference and underestimation is, in my opinion, a serious element of weakness in our world movement. Our enemies are not making this mistake. Suffice to point out, that the Japanese government-inspired press is carrying on a savage campaign against the Pan-Pacific Secretariat, that the Australian, Philippine, and Indonesian governments have barred from the mail and from entry into their country, the organ of the Pan-Pacific Secretariat, the "Pan-Pacific Worker". Since the establishment of our Australian edition of the "Pan-Pacific Worker" and the decision to hold the next Congress in Australia in 1929, the Australian Government has itself, in the persons of the ministers of the government, launched a vicious campaign in parliament and in the press against the Pan-Pacific Secretariat and has declared that it will prohibit our Congress from being held next year in Australia. Many delegates from the different countries to the Pan-Pacific Secretariat have been either arrested or denied passports and so on by their governments in order to hamper the work of the Pan-Pacific Secretariat.

Also the Amsterdam International and the Second International are no longer ignoring the Far East. The moves made by the Amsterdam International after the treason of the Kuomintang to connect up with the Fascist unions created by Chiang-Kai-shek and the individual militarists generally is merely a symptom of the new move of the reformists and social democrats to establish themselves in the Far East, to try to take over the direction of the labour movement there. The activities of the British General Council in India, and of Amsterdam in

Indonesia are typical of the new trend of the Social Democracy toward the East. The latest development in this direction by the II. International inviting the Kuomintang and other colonial organisations to attend its Congress next month in Brussels, is symptomatic of the whole trend of development. The very existence of the Pan-Pacific Secretariat has stimulated this development, has exerted a strong influence upon all the labour movements of the Pacific and the overwhelming majority of the trade unions in the Far East have affiliated themselves to the Pan-Pacific Secretariat, the only exceptions of significance being the Right wing, reformist and centrist unions of Japan, who are under the influence of Japanese imperialism; and the Indian trade unions, who have elected delegates but could not attend because of the police activities of the Indian Government. In the Pan-Pacific Secretariat are united the Chinese, the Philippine, the Korean, and Indonesian revolutionary trade unions, with the revolutionary trade unions of the Soviet Union, the Left wing unions of Japan, the revolutionary unions and minorities of the imperialist countries, America, France, and Great Britain, and the entire trade union movement of Australia. This concrete union, this organisational bond, between the organised workers of the imperialist lands with the fresh young trade unions of the Far East, together with the victorious Soviet trade unions, has done more than years of abstract propaganda could have accomplished to break down national and racial barriers, to establish a common approach to the great problems of the Pacific to infuse new life into the trade unions, to develop a common programme and to lay the foundations for a great mass movement against imperialist war and for the complete destruction of imperialist oppression.

Our Japanese, Filipino, and Chinese comrades can testify to its practical value and effectiveness as well as to its shortcomings. In Australia, under the most vicious attacks of the Government, Labour Party and the Right wing leaders, the Australian Council of Trade Unions has just reaffirmed in Congress for the second time its adhesion to the Secretariat.

I wish to welcome especially that part of Comrade Bukharin's thesis which declares for "the commissioning of a special group of comrades to work against imperialism in the colonies and particularly the commissioning of a considerable number of American and English comrades to China and India". This instruction by the Congress is absolutely necessary to shake out of their ruts those comrades and parties who are so obsessed with the daily tasks at home that they "cannot spare" any capable workers for a term of service in the colonies.

The paragraph referring to the Communist Party of China correctly formulates the present position and tasks. I would suggest, however, that the Chinese Party must be warned equally against the recurrence of opportunist tendencies as well as against the putschist and adventurist deviations.

In conclusion, a word about the situation in America. I want to associate myself with the speech made by Comrade Bittelman for the Minority of the American Central Committee. When I left America many months ago, I was acutely conscious that a Right wing line was being developed by the Central Committee majority. This opportunism has expressed itself sharply in our anti-imperialist work as regards China. Last year we had the theory that the characteristic feature of American policy in China was that it has united with and subordinated itself to British imperialism. This year we have the theory that America is supporting Japan. In both cases we get slogans against foreign imperialism implying that what is needed is a real American policy in China. Needless to say, with these theories our Central Committee cannot successfully fight American imperialism.

At the time I left America, individual comrades were making fights against individual mistakes, but there was no organised opposition. It was for that reason that when, in January, I spoke before the Anglo-American Secretariat in Moscow against this developing Right wing line, I did so in my own name and dissociated myself from all former groupings in the Party. Now that at this Congress I find a real opposition crystallised upon the determination to correct the opportunist line in the American Party I am glad to identify myself with this political position and with the comrades of the Minority of the American Central Committee.

Comrade HRSEL (Y.C.I.):

Comrades,

The relation of Parties to Young Communist Leagues is still very unsatisfactory. This is particularly evident if one compares the organisational strength of the Leagues with that of the Parties. This is also evident in the Parties' collaboration with the Leagues in political actions and also in the carrying out of our policy in trade unions. The trade union apparatus of our Parties reacts negatively to our work instead of giving us active support. Particularly now, in the period of accentuated war danger, when the youth has become more important in the process of production, it would be as well to pay more attention to work among the working youth. Particular importance attaches to collaboration between the Party and the Y.C.L. in the enterprises themselves. We have still a considerable number of enterprises where the Party has its nuclei, but nothing is done for winning the youth. The work of a factory nucleus cannot be considered satisfactory unless it extends its activity to the youth.

The Red Day in Czechoslovakia was the result of the mistakes committed by the Party in previous actions; the Red Day defeat was not caused by the errors and mistakes of the working class, but by the errors and mistakes of the Party, for the working class is not passive. It is clear that the Red Day is a political defeat which had several causes. I will enumerate just a few: (1) After the prohibition of the Spartakiade it was wrong to issue the Red Day slogan in a manner which led the masses and even our Party members to believe that the Red Day was a substitute for the prohibited Spartakiade. When the Spartakiade was prohibited the Party, instead of organising immediately a mass protest, limited itself at first to an ordinary "resolutions" campaign. This mistake was due to the illusion and also to the fostering of this illusion, that the Supreme government authorities would rescind the prohibition of the Spartakiade. The workers certainly did not consider the Red Day as an action in their interest. (2) Another mistake was strict adherence to the originally fixed date. In this the Party went the length of overlooking important phenomena, changes in the situation, and persisted in its original tactic. In this action the Party showed its inability to manoeuvre. (3) Inactivity of nuclei and above all inadequate fraction work in mass organisations. For instance, one can almost say that the Red Gymnasts worked against the directions of the Party. (4) Finally the incidents of the Red Day itself: 4-6 thousand workers came to Prague from the provinces. Two to four thousand Prague workers obeyed the call of the Party. Even if one takes into consideration the gigantic precautionary measures of the government, one must admit that the Party should have made a better show, so as to justify the confidence of the masses. But there were on this day no signs of the Party anywhere. If the Party had come forward, the defeat would not have been a shameful, but a glorious defeat. In the previous year the German Party was in a similar situation to the C.P.Cz., on the occasion of the Steel Helm procession. The counter demonstration had been prohibited. But, by excellent mass work the German Party succeeded in mobilising the workers and was able to hold successful demonstrations.

A dispute is going on now in the Party if the general political line was correct or not. In the last actions of the Party, not organisational, but serious political mistakes were committed. When some comrades in the Party Executive try to explain these mistakes as organisational defects, we must remind them that the organisational and political fitness of a party are closely connected and that serious organisational mistakes have political consequences.

The general policy of the Party: counter-attack against the offensive of the bourgeoisie, is correct. However, a considerable number of political mistakes have been committed in the carrying out of such actions, in the utilisation of the mood of the masses, etc. This shows that it is not enough to lay down on paper correct political lines, our policy must be expressed by correct action.

The whole work of the Party is unhealthy because the rank and file do not participate in the actions of the Party. Members are wont to consider the directions of the executive as of an account, they do not feel that they are responsible for the Party's work and actions. I will give you an example of this: only 15% of the membership attended the general meeting in

Prague a week before the Red Day. The remaining 85% were evidently not keen on getting information about an important political action in which the prestige of the Party was at stake.

This is a problem which we must discuss very seriously in the forum of the International. Why are rank and file members so apathetic to what is going on in the Party? Because the whole life of the Party has been narrowed down. There are hardly ever political discussions in the Party concerning our tasks. The explanation of the Central Committee is that the rank and file are not educated enough in the Bolshevik sense of the word to pursue a really Bolshevik course. An impetus must be given to inner Party democracy from the executive down to the nucleus, there must be control over the execution of decisions, legalist prejudices must be overcome and at the same time all legal possibilities for Party work must be upheld, fraction work in all mass organisations must be seriously taken in hand. All this as well as all other tasks are closely connected with the progress of the Bolshevisation of the C.P.Cz.

There is at present a serious Right wing in the Party which would like to use for its own purposes the recent defeat of the Party. An energetic struggle must be carried on against these elements as well as against the ultra-Left, the followers of the former Russian opposition who also think that their time has come. But in this connection we emphasise that the Right peril is the greatest of all. The deviations and mistakes evidenced by the Red Day must be recognised as opportunistic.

In speaking of the errors and shortcomings of the Czech Party we do not mean to minimise the successes which the Party has achieved since the V. World Congress which no one can deny. But it is only by self criticism, by acknowledging the defeats and errors noticeable in our practical work that the Party will be able to pursue its Bolshevisation and make good existing defects. We will have an opportunity at the Y.C.I. Congress to deal more fully with the work of the Czech Young Communist League which has not always correctly reacted to the actions of the Party and the practical work has still many defects.

I thought it necessary to speak here about this question which concerns one of the most important sections of the C.I. My arguments correspond with the standpoint of the Young Communist League of Czechoslovakia in regard to these questions.

Chairman: Comrade LOVESTONE:

I call on Comrade Naidenov to address the Congress on behalf of the Delegation of the workers and employees of the Kashira State Electric Works.

Comrade NAIDENOV:

Allow me to transmit to the Congress the greetings of the 3500 workers and employees of the Kashira Electric Works (applause). We, the workers of the Kashira State Electric Works, are working for the peaceful development of our country. This peaceful development is, however, interfered with by international capital, which is threatening us with a new, chemical war. We see that in all parts of the world imperialists are spending enormous sums of money for armaments; Roumania and Poland are rattling their swords and preparations are being made everywhere for the overthrow of the proletarian State.

Comrades, millions of proletarians are in danger. Thousands of revolutionaries are lingering in prison, a new war is imminent. I firmly believe that you will be on our side, so as to prevent the terrible slaughter which might destroy all life in this world of ours (applause).

Chairman: Comrade LOVESTONE:

I call upon Comrade Sarova to greet the Congress on behalf of the workers of the printing works of the "Krestianskaya Gazetta".

Comrade SAROVA

read the following welcome address of the workers of the Printing Works of the "Krestianskaya Gazetta":

Dear Comrades, we workers and employees of the "Krestianskaya Gazetta" send fraternal greetings to the VI World Congress of the Communist International and express our firm belief that the work of the liberation of the proletariat and the

peasantry from the yoke of imperialism, begun by the workers of the U. S. S. R. under the leadership of the C. P. S. U., will be carried to a victorious conclusion.

We can assure the VI World Congress of the Communist International that all of us are doing our utmost for the reconstruction and development of our national economy, and that thereby we will show to world imperialism that we workers are building up socialism and will establish it throughout the world.

Long live the solidarity of the proletariat, the peasantry and all workers throughout the world! (Applause.)

Comrade THALMANN (Germany):

(Greeted with enthusiastic applause.)

Comrades, the German Delegation fully agrees with the fundamental lines of the theses endorsed by the Russian Delegation of the E. C. C. I. and placed before the Plenum of the VI. Congress. Our amendments, as for instance a more precise estimate of the world situation, as well as a special point concerning the Left S. P. G. and other alterations will be brought forward by our comrades in the Political Commission.

I wish to remind you here, at this session, of the V. World Congress which began on the threshold of the relative stabilisation. Since then four years have passed: years of great experiences and energetic struggle throughout the world by the Parties and the proletariat.

Let us take just the most important events of these last four years: the British General Strike and the prolonged coal strike, the Indonesian insurrection, the revolutionary events in China, the strike wave in Central Europe, the strike in Scandinavia against the strike-law. The big Sacco-Vanzetti movement throughout the world, the Vienna insurrection, the peasant rebellions in the Balkans and the recent events in Greece — all of them bear witness of the growing contradictions of capitalism in the period of relative stabilisation. The estimate given by the V. World Congress is correct: that the stabilisation is a temporary, partial and relative stabilisation. The VI. Congress will draw its own practical conclusions. The growing capitalist contradictions, which were already mentioned in Comrade Bukharin's report, are accentuating internal contradictions and external antagonisms; they react continually on each other. Internal contradictions and the growing difficulties of the bourgeoisie, due to imperialist antagonisms, are making either for revolution or for war between the imperialist countries or for imperialist war against the Soviet Union, which necessarily leads to proletarian revolution. It is impossible to predict precisely in what manner the decisive battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will be accelerated. Our task is to do everything to mobilise the masses so that before the imperialists kindle the torch of war, they be ready for revolution as soon as the objective and subjective premises for it have matured in the various countries. It is precisely through this activity of ours, which is developing more rapidly owing to the contradictions of capitalism, that we must utilise these difficulties for the intensification of the political struggle; thereby we can also postpone war. The imperialists would have probably got at loggerheads long ago if it had not been for the Communist International, the Communist Parties which carry on an energetic struggle against the imperialist war preparations, if it had not been for the Soviet Union whose peace policy is frustrating the efforts of the war mongers. But we cannot deny that the war danger is increasing with alarming rapidity all over the world. I will give you just four important examples: 1. the big conflict taking place on a world scale between America and Great Britain; 2. Recent events in China, the Japanese intervention, for I must say: what Japanese imperialism is doing there is not preparing for war but actual war; 3. accentuation of the Polish-Lithuanian conflict (the recent sudden break in the negotiations is intensifying the war danger); 4. the continuous attacks on the Soviet Union, from white guard terrorist actions down to preparation of the economic blockade.

At the time of the VIII. Plenum we considered the growing war danger throughout the world. At that time Great Britain broke off the economic negotiations with Russia and a few days later the assassination of the Russian Ambassador in Warsaw, Voitkov, took place. Since then we have had the follo-

wing new incidents: the foul assassination of Soviet representatives in China, the provocative French foreign policy against the Soviet Union, the conflict around the Soviet gold in America and the attempt on the life of a Soviet representative in Warsaw, this spring. Finally, the impudent challenge of the German Stresemann government which broke off the Russo-German economic negotiations because of the arrest of German counter-revolutionary engineers; moreover, it would be a mistake on our part to ignore the war preparations which are carried on quietly but indelatably by means of secret diplomacy. In these imperialist war preparations social democracy plays a big role on an international scale. Anyone can see that imperialism could not kindle war if the social democrats did not support all the imperialist war preparations. In 1914 the Social Democrats capitulated before the bourgeoisie and the war; the decisions of the International were sacrificed. At present they are paving the way throughout the world for the imperialist war measures. This is particularly the case in Germany.

In the sphere of internal politics the development of neo-imperialism is given an impetus by the rapid development of technique, the accentuation of capitalist rationalisation, increased production, and efforts to compete on the world market to the same extent as before. In the sphere of external politics the German bourgeoisie is becoming more aggressive so as to secure a better position. The formation of the Social Democratic Government show clearly the existence of a pact between trust capital and Social Democracy. In this government the Social Democrats are the driving factor in the war preparations against the Soviet Union.

When the question of the break in the Russo-German negotiations was discussed, Hilferding, the present Social Democratic Finance Minister, demanded that no credits be given to Soviet Russia and that, apart from breaking off negotiations, a more determined policy be adopted towards the U. S. S. R.; this surprised even the representatives of the Nationalists and the leaders of other bourgeois parties who had adopted an utterly different tone.

It is interesting and rather strange that the two policies which I would like to call the internal and external contradictions of the relative capitalist stabilisation, are also reflected in the character and development of the Social Democracy. The development of Reformism into Social Fascism is a phenomenon of which one can give various examples in the various countries. For instance, in Germany where Reformism is the bourgeoisie's best support and will continue to be so in the coming years if the Communist movement does not grow even stronger than it is now. Throughout the election campaign "Rollkommandos", so-called shock troops of the "Reichsbanner" were pitted against the Red Front Fighters' League and the Communists. There is a similar state of affairs in Poland. During the big heroic demonstration of the workers in Warsaw, the Fascist police was supported by the shock troops of the P. P. S. with the result that in this attack on the revolutionary workers several hundred demonstrators were killed and wounded. According to an article in the "Inprecorr", the troops attacked even the revolutionary cadres of the working class in the factories and gave a beating to the Communists there. This development of Reformism into Social Fascism is closely connected with the growing war preparations of the bourgeoisie and the growing war danger. The Social Democratic Party is not only a fighting organisation working against the revolutionary proletariat and the proletarian revolution, it is engaged in preparing war organisations for joint action with the bourgeoisie in the ideological and military sphere.

In Germany it is already beginning to impregnate the "Reichsbanner", a Social Democratic republican "defensive organisation" with this national-social ideology, and to make its social-democratic followers adopt this line.

These organisations are not only to be used against the working class in revolutionary uprisings, they are also to work for the military training of the youth. A secret instruction of the Central Committee of the "Reichsbanner" to the provincial executive in June 1927 contains the following statement:

"All comrades must join the Sport League so as to increase their fitness by physical culture, drill, etc."

Another example: In answer to the proposal of the "Izvestia" that the "Vorwärts" should take up a definite attitude to the breaking off of the Russo-German economic negotiations", this organ wrote as follows:

"We cannot sacrifice to the certainly very desirable friendship with Russia friendly relations between Germany and the Western Powers which are essential to Europe."

This is a frank avowal of support for the bourgeoisie in the struggle against the Soviet Union in conjunction with the Western Powers.

Then there is also the fact that in Germany the Reformists are bringing dissension into the **sport movement** so as to imbue it also with an imperialist ideology. A few weeks ago, the Sport Congress in Leipzig expelled a number of our best revolutionary fighters, without rhyme or reason. Such disruptive tactics were also frankly adopted in Berlin and Halle.

Finally, Albert Thomas' attitude at the **Fascist Trade Union Congress in Italy** last year shows to what extent the Social Democratic leaders are coming closer to Fascism. Thomas who is one of the most prominent personalities in the Second International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International, being as such also the President of the International Labour Office, said in the course of his address that Fascist Italy is "a champion of justice for all workers". He also asserted that "the Fascist Government guarantees to the workers the great boon of just reforms", and that the Italian Fascist experiences "can be also very useful to the other countries". He also said that **Mussolini's** "only passion is to secure employment for the workers and to raise their physical, moral and mental standard". He finally asserted that the only difference between Fascism and Socialism were their methods, but that both are representing the interests of the working class. These few examples show clearly how low these leaders have already sunk.

The bourgeoisie is using two methods for the support and subjection of the working class: **Reformism and Fascism**. As the Communist movement grows and Reformist influence wanes, bourgeois democracy will prove inadequate as a means for the subjugation of the working class. Then, stronger Fascist methods will be resorted to.

The most reactionary tendencies embodied in Social Democracy appear in an intensified form in its **coalition policy**. In spheres where Social Democrats carry out resolutely the policy of the bourgeoisie in the Social Democratic government, they run the danger of alienating the proletariat and all workers who are going over to Communism. But where they do not pursue a resolute imperialist policy, finance capital sends them to the devil. Opposition to the coalition policy of the Social Democrats is one of our main tasks in the struggle against Reformism. In all countries the internal policy of Social Democratic governments is oppression and repression of the proletariat. In regard to external policy, they support the bellicose actions of the Imperialist members of the Governments under the cloak of hypocritical Pacifism.

This treacherous activity, as well as the work and actions of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary movement, cause also the followers of the Social Democrats to waver and veer gradually towards Communism. In this situation the "**Left**" Social Democracy intervenes to prevent the influx of Social Democratic workers in the Communist Parties. It was the attitude of the "**Left**" Social Democrats which made the coalition policy of the Social Democratic Party possible in individual countries. It is a well-known fact that at the Party Congress in **Kiel**, when **Hilferding** brought forward, as a general theory, the slogan "nearer to the State" in connection with the coalition policy, the "**Left**" leaders did not offer any opposition. After the **Vienna insurrection Bauer & Co.**, together with the **Right (Renner & Co.)**, began to talk about coalition with the bourgeoisie also in **Austria**. The German Delegation has brought forward an amendment to the effect that this "**Left**" Social Democratic danger should be taken notice of already now because it is bound to play in the present period a very important role in connection with the growing war danger. The war theses adopted at the VIII. Plenum make it perfectly clear that the most dangerous enemies of Communism in the labour movement are the "**Left**" Social Democratic leaders. It is just because they bring into play revolutionary phraseology and hypocritical radical methods of agitation, in a situation of accentuated antagonisms and strong development of the Communist movement, that they serve with their "**Left**" phraseology the coalition and war policy of the **Right**, supporting thereby the latter in its internal policy its struggle against the Soviet Union. Communism and the working class. Our attitude to the "**Left**" Social Democrats in the present period is therefore of the

utmost importance. Any vacillation and hesitation in regard to exposing the **Left Social Democracy** must be vigorously combated in our ranks. (**Hear, Hear!**). In the **German Party** we had a controversy with the **Right group** because of their compromising attitude to the "**Left**" Social Democracy. The **Essen Party Congress** adopted a formula to the effect that the "**Left**" Social Democracy is the most important enemy of Communism in the labour movement. We hope that the VI. World Congress will come to a clear decision on this question, which is of the utmost importance to a number of sections. I will only mention Great Britain, Austria, Poland and Germany.

Thus we see that the complicated imperialist apparatus with its widespread ramifications, is adopting every possible method in its struggle against the proletarian revolution: the power of the capitalist State, Fascism, bourgeois parties and, last but not least, Social Democracy including "**Left**" leaders. What can we set against this array of hostile forces? The triple alliance: Soviet Union, proletarian class struggle in capitalist countries and colonial liberation wars.

I think it is necessary to state definitely at the VI. World Congress that the present "reconstruction period" in the **Soviet Union** has made enormous progress. We cannot estimate too high the fact that in the big socialised industry the annual production of the Soviet Union has increased by 15%. The Soviet Union is introducing new branches of industry: the motor-car, air-craft, chemical and engineering. The number of workers employed in the big industry has increased by 33% in the last three years. If one considers that these successes were achieved almost without influx of foreign capital, merely on the basis of Socialist accumulation, we can safely say that the Soviet Union has, in this direction, beaten the world record. The interests of the world proletariat are bound up with this development of socialist economy. Every new success in the industrial domain is one more proof to the working class of the world of the superiority of the **Socialist system over the capitalist**. The world historical question will be ultimately settled through the struggle between us and the bourgeoisie, between Communism and Social Democracy. There are of course difficulties in the way of the general development of proletarian dictatorship. But these difficulties are not signs of stagnation but of growth, as shown by the various stages of proletarian dictatorship. International Social Democracy indulges in hypocritical lies concerning the results of Socialist construction, so as to strengthen the ties which bind the working masses with the capitalist system. It has to foster this kind of ideology because it sees that the sympathy and interest of the proletarian masses in the development of the Soviet Union are growing, and have never been as strong as now. The whole development of the proletarian dictatorship in the eleven years of its existence has shown that through the energy, the initiative and the enormous influence of the **Bolshevik Party** every new difficulty was got out of the way by a new victory. Those who witnessed the enormous enthusiasm with which millions strong masses all over the world reacted to the glorious work of the Red sailors of the "**Krassin**" expedition have felt the political meaning of this enthusiasm. That half a dozen Fascist adventures were saved had not much to do with this enthusiasm, which was rather the millions strong echo reflecting the strong solidarity of the workers of the world with the only Workers' State.

The **Left development together** with the growing war danger is one of the most important phenomena of the present period. The elections in **Germany** are a sure sign of this. If the elections in **Poland** and **France** were the sign of a powerful **Left** development, the recent industrial struggles and strike waves are even a clearer indication of this. There are signs of a new élan in Germany.

In the elections our Party has increased its vote by over 550,000, 80% of them, namely 490,000, in the thirteen most important industrial districts. The Party secured new adherents: 41,000 in Dresden, 38,000 in Halle, 30,000 in Leipzig, 26,000 in Hamburg, 16,000 in Chemnitz, and above all over 230,000 in Red Berlin and suburbs. We polled 210,000 votes in 40 big industrial towns alone, particularly in towns where the working class has old traditions: Berlin, Hamburg, Leipzig, Dresden, Frankfurt-on-M. etc. These facts show that the **advanced cadres of the German proletariat** are behind our Party and the Communist.

Of course we cannot deny the fact that the Social Democrats polled 9,000,000 votes. However, they secured these

votes in an election campaign based on bourgeois ideology, on a policy of Social Democratic support to the grand coalition of the future government. We secured our votes under the banner of proletarian dictatorship which we gave first place in our election campaign.

Another fact which must be taken into consideration in connection with the coalition policy of the Social Democrats: 3,000,000 of the 9,000,000 votes given to the Social Democrats were petty bourgeois votes. This means a reshuffling of the social basis of Social Democracy. Nearly all the votes secured by us were proletarian votes.

The German Delegation agrees with the stress laid in the theses, on the one hand, on the powerful growth of the Communists, and on the other hand, on the contradiction between the political influence of the Party and its organisational strength. The membership of the Communist Party certainly does not correspond with the enormous influence it has in the working class. Apart from the present political élan, the chief reason of this discrepancy is the fact that our comrades are overburdened with work, that their strength is taxed to the utmost. Many sympathising and non-Party elements shrink from this enormous burden, and others again join the Party only to leave it after a little while. Hence the enormous fluctuation. In regard to application of the united front tactic, our Party is not persevering and elastic enough. This weak point must be remedied by the efforts of the whole Party. A new improved system of work must be introduced.

The formation of the **Social Democratic Coalition Government** was determined by the election result. I think that already at this juncture we can speak of two phases in the development of this governmental activity. The first phase is that of promises when the Social Democrats can still foster certain illusions among the working class, when they are still in the position of keeping the rank and file of Party under their influence. The activity of the Social Democrats in the few days when the new Reichstag was sitting showed us that none of the promises made by them in the election campaign are being kept. Even the former Social Democratic proposals introduced by the Communists were rejected by this Government with the help and support of the Social Democrats. In this first phase of the development the bourgeoisie will make use of the Social Democrats for certain measures with which it does not want to discredit itself. Just as the Social Democratic Government signed in 1919 the Versailles Peace Treaty, it will carry out at present the **rapprochement with France**, a job not very palatable to the bourgeois parties, particularly their Right Wing.

Moreover the Stresemann-Müller Government will ruthlessly apply measures directed against the Soviet Union.

The second phase of the development which will be very short, will bring with it the bankruptcy of the Social-Democratic coalition policy.

Because the pressure of the masses is increasing, Social Democracy — if it does not want to lose the masses — is, on the one hand, compelled to offer some sort of opposition to the government whereas, on the other hand, it has to carry out the policy of the Imperialist bourgeoisie in regard to internal and external politics if it does not want to be kicked out by it.

If through the energetic work of our Party and the **Red Aid** in regard to **amnesty** and release of political prisoners, the **Social Democratic Government** has now set free the prisoners who lingered in jails, penitentiaries and fortresses, this is mainly due to the pressure of the masses, and also to the desire of the Social Democrats to keep alive certain illusions among the various sections of the working population.

The return of our comrades, of the revolutionist **Max Hölz** (loud applause) to Party work is welcomed enthusiastically by us all. The Communist Party of Germany promises to work for the release of **Margies** and other revolutionists who are still lingering in prison. Through the pressure of the proletariat on the leaders of the S. P. G., they must be restored to the ranks of the proletariat, to their fellow workers (loud applause).

The wave of **big industrial struggles** which we just witnessed in Germany will not subside as a result of social democratic activity in the government; it will, on the contrary flare up again in the next months. Prices are soaring and wages are being reduced owing to the methods of capitalist rationalisation. Unemployment is sure to grow in the coming winter owing to the slump which is bound to follow the boom. All these facts

show that in Germany too we have to reckon with big industrial struggles in the next months.

The present industrial struggles, which are bound to put an end to conciliation courts, will assume a more political character than ever before owing to the fact that part of the trade union bureaucracy and of the trade union apparatus is associating itself more and more with the State apparatus. Therefore, apart from the principal questions of general struggle against the capitalist state and for the establishment of proletarian dictatorship, it is essential for the Party to become to a greater extent than this was hitherto the case, a strong, active and independent factor in all daily questions and tasks.

The questions connected with the struggle against the Social Democratic coalition policy are manifold and the tactical problems extremely complicated. The main points in this struggle are: Firstly, the forthcoming industrial struggles for higher wages and a shorter working day; secondly, energetic struggle against the taxation policy of the present government, and thirdly, struggle against the deterioration of social labour legislation and for its improvement in regard to all German workers. We must link up the struggle against the imperialist war danger with all these questions.

We are not going to mobilise the masses with the slogan "compel the trade union bureaucrats to take up the fight", — the bureaucrats who are endeavouring to sabotage every industrial struggle through the arbitration courts, but by bringing forward our own demands in the factories compelling thereby the trade union bureaucrats to take up a definite attitude to them.

In addition to these tactical difficulties there are **internal political and inner-Party difficulties**. A general retreat before reformism, a lot of opportunist dangers, including desertion, in some cases approval of the reformist trade union policy. It has even happened that at a Trade Union Congress a Social Democratic resolution condemning the tone adopted by the Communist press against Social Democrats was endorsed by our comrades. I will give one example out of many: statement in the report of the Committee of the general workers' union:

"On the whole, friction between the union authorities and the Communists has fortunately abated. But this is not due to the efforts of the Executive of the Communist Party, which persisted with its policy of influencing our members in regard to tactics in the union and in the pay-office. This, however, did not come off, which is a sign of a more healthy state of affairs in the union . . ."

Be it said to the honour of our Communist colleagues that wherever they occupied, together with us, responsible positions in the struggle for wage and labour conditions, they generally made their decisions in agreement with us. The few exceptions confirm, in this case, the rule. This is certainly not quite true to facts, but it shows the inadequate activity and lack of acumen of our comrades who work in this important union.

A few remarks about the result of the recent **metal workers elections in Germany** which is entirely out of proportion with the result of the Reichstag elections in May 1928. The result is due, on the one hand, to the activity of the reformists in factories and trade unions and, on the other hand, to the fact that the revolutionary opposition in the trade unions, which is under Communist leadership, was not energetic enough in its support of the industrial struggles in the then situation (hear, hear!). It is a fact that where the opposition worked energetically and we stood by our revolutionary policy, results were considerably better than in those parts of Germany where this was not the case.

Some comrades think that the unsatisfactory results in the metal workers' elections were due to the absence of transition slogans. Although — unlike the Right group — these comrades did not demand the slogan of control over production, they tried to find other transition slogans which, as everyone knows, do not exist in such a situation. It is only in an acutely revolutionary situation that we can have transition slogans as action slogans, such as control over production, establishment of Soviets, armament of the proletariat, — they are the transition slogans which we bring forward in such a period as ultimate demands. But in the present situation the demand for transition slogans as action slogans is an opportunist deviation. The Party must bring forward partial demands commensurate with the concrete situation and must decide on its tactic for work among the masses.

There were also various defects and errors in the general policy. It is for instance a fact that we did not take notice in time of the new methods and change of policy of the reformists — the starting point of which was the Party Congress in Kiel — so as to adapt our own tactic to them. Moreover, there must be stronger control in the Party so as to strengthen its general activity also in this sphere. Nevertheless the influence of the C. P. G. on the working class has increased. The best proof of our positive successes is the change of attitude of the reformists, the split policy which they adopt against Communists and revolutionists in trade unions and all mass organisations. Several local trade union groups, most of which are under Communist influence, have been dissolved. At the Congress of the Workers Gymnastic and Sport League in Leipzig the reformists decided to initiate a big split action in the sport movement because they are afraid that we might get the majority there next year. Therefore, the best Communists were expelled, and a few days later they split the sport movement in Berlin and Halle. Similar incidents and even stricter measures made their appearance at the National Conference of Freethinkers in Frankfurt which was held a few weeks ago. I think that in the face of this split-offensive of the reformists it is incumbent on us to mobilise the proletarian masses for unity in the labour movement by adopting energetic offensive measures.

Of course, as the contradictions of the relative capitalist stabilisation increase, as the imperialist orientation develops and as the Communist movement grows, the Social Democrats will turn away more and more from the revolutionary movement. Germany is the classic example of this policy. Such a change in the political situation is bound to have certain inner-Party consequences.

We can declare at the VI. Congress: For the first time in three years the Communist Party of Germany is in the pleasant position of being able to say that the renegades of ultra-Left Trotskyism have been finally beaten (loud applause). They have dissolved partly into petty bourgeois nothingness, and partly they have landed into the ranks of Social Democracy; we need not waste a single word here about them.

As a result of the pressure of stabilisation in Germany, the Social Democratic government policy, employers' attacks and disciplinary measures against oppositional and revolutionary workers in enterprises and the split-offensive in trade unions some of our Communist functionaries are retreating in an alarming manner before the Social Democratic Party. This is partly due to inadequate training and lack of control within the Party. But these phenomena in the Party become dangerous when such deviations are bolstered up by a theory which is adapting itself to reformism. This is the meaning of the slogan "control over production" which we find in Comrade Brandler's programme of action. There are also strong opportunist tendencies and deviations in the practical execution of our policy. They are expressed lately in increased opposition to the decisions of the IV. Congress of the R.I.L.U., in an inclination to compromise with the Left Social Democracy, in the capitulation before the reactionary trade union bureaucracy and the Executive of the Social Democratic Party, in an adaptation to the capitalist class arbitration policy and in gross opportunist errors in municipal councils. I will place before the Congress just two formulations from the functionaries' organs of the Party. In an article of the functionaries' organ of the Leipzig district "Die Parteiarbeit" which argues against an article by Comrade Thälmann, a comrade writes as follows:

"The Party must make it clear to the workers that it is ready and willing to support a Social Democratic Government. The Party must state clearly and concretely what demands it makes on the Government."

This is an entirely opportunist theory which is reminiscent of the theory of the Executive in 1923.

The Thuringian functionaries' organ "Der Bolshevist" contains the following statement concerning the Left S. P. G.:

"The arguments of the 'Left' S. P. G. in East Thuringia will be better understood in these districts by S. P. G. workers than the 'abstract Communist standpoint'. Of course we will have to adhere to the latter, but the arguments of the 'Left' are more likely to set the S. P. G. workers thinking and to mobilise them against the coalition politicians."

Thus, firstly differentiations in the S. P. G. in order to make use of their arguments: where the right predominates we are to use against it the arguments of the "Left" and we are to abstain at the same time from bringing "the abstract Communist standpoint" into forefront of every day struggle. A regular mix-up! The more Social Democracy develops to the Right the greater are the dangers of deviations which have their origin in the main danger which is at present the Right danger in the Party. We have designated the ultra-Left as a petty bourgeois conception which deviates from Communism. But inasmuch as "Left" tendencies and moods exist in the Party, they can only show themselves by inadequate concretisation of the application of the united front tactics. This, of course, does not constitute as great a danger as that which we had in 1924 and also in later years.

We have in Germany an old, experienced social-democracy with old functionaries and on the other hand a Young Communist Party which was born in the storm and stress of revolution. The Party has had considerable experience: The October crisis of 1923 which was overcome without much difficulty and the Ruth Fischer period. But although the Party has grown, these Right danger sources are more serious in Germany than even leading comrades in the German Party are aware of. Therefore, it is incumbent on the Executive to create Bolshevik guarantees against the penetration of Social-Democratic influences into the ranks of our Party. The Party must give an impetus to its struggle against Right deviations. In our Party the Right are certainly only a small group which has not much influence on the membership. But lately, the Right group has been acting in a fractional manner against the policy of the Party. Therefore, it is necessary to bear in mind also at the VI. Congress, the statutes, the 21 conditions which Lenin placed before the Second Congress and which were adopted unanimously. Point 12 of these conditions is as follows:

"The Parties adhering to the Communist International must be constructed on the principle of democratic centralism. In the present epoch of accentuated civil war the Communist Party will not be able to do its duty unless it be organised in the most centralised manner possible, unless strict discipline reigns in its ranks and unless the Central Committee of the Party has the confidence of the membership and is endowed with authority and full powers."

This point applies also to the present situation, not only for the German Party, but for various other Sections of the Communist International. To a certain extent, the situation in the Polish Party is another example in this direction. Everyone is aware of the role of Poland in connection with the growing war danger. Here, at the VI. Congress, we must endeavour to find some form for the unification of the Party, because the present internal position of the Polish Party benefits only the bourgeoisie and, with it, Social Democracy (loud applause).

In the 21 conditions implicit subordination of the minority to the majority, subordination of the parliamentary and trade union fraction and of the press to the Central Committee, is mentioned. Of course, the 21 conditions do not mean that we are to abstain in the Party from efforts to get away comrades from an erroneous standpoint with all the ideological means at our disposal. This is the foremost task of the Central Committee and the whole Party. But one cannot apply these ideological measures when there are no sufficient guarantees for execution of the correct policy of the Party. What we want is more comprehensive Party democracy. We must strengthen collective work throughout the Party from top to bottom and from bottom to top. But this does not mean that strict discipline is to be relinquished; on the contrary, it must be strengthened.

At the ninth Plenum, the Russian and German delegations made a joint decision in regard to tolerance for the bearers of the Right danger. There is a certain tendency in the German Party to disassociate oneself politically from Right deviations and at the same time to under-estimate the Right danger. Above all, these comrades under-estimate the ideological influence of comrades who have already indulged in a whole series of deviations. They do not see that under present conditions the growing influence of reformism in our Party, that this Right ideology affects especially some of our functionaries in trade unions, parliaments, mass organisations and even in Party executives. Owing to this erroneous political appreciation, these

comrades oppose sometimes very necessary measures. Some leading comrades in district committees minimise the importance of the theoretical deviation of the Right group and endeavour to put a good complexion on it; they do the same in regard to opportunist actions which border frequently on treachery against the C. P. G. and the revolutionary movement. There was divergence of opinion on this question also in our delegation to the VI. World Congress. However, the overwhelming majority of the comrades spoke against tolerance for the bearers of the Right danger. In the meantime, the Russian delegation has handed in an addendum to this question which, with the permission of the Russian delegation, I will read here:

"The Communist Party of Germany which is one of the best detachments of the international proletarian army is face to face also with the best Social Democracy which is still deeply rooted in the country. This creates a favourable ground for Right deviations in the movement itself. Therefore, the order of the day is: consistent struggle against Right deviations (slogan of control over production at the present juncture, opposition against the decisions of the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U., compromise-attitude to the Left Social Democracy, etc.); unreserved opposition to a conciliatory policy in regard to these deviations and at the same time inclusion of the best Party forces who have accepted the platform of the Comintern and of the Essen Congress of the C. P. G. into Party work (who are all the time for the consolidation of the Party) accompanied by the co-ordination of all the forces of the present Executive and by the consolidation of its collective character as well as by unconditional subordination of the minority to the majority, etc."

The majority of the German delegation agrees with this proposal. On these lines the Executive of the C. P. G. will pursue and intensify the course adopted by the Essen Congress for the consolidation of the Party. Moreover, the Party must do its utmost to develop new forces and draw more proletarian elements into Party work. We are of course aware that there are many defects and shortcomings in the organisational work of the Party and in the execution of its policy. But these defects are merely sins of omission. Self-criticism is not yet sufficiently developed in the Executive and throughout the Party. Nevertheless, we cannot allow the Right group to utilise any weak point in Party work for fractional purposes, for attack on the policy and leadership of the Party.

Comrades, we look upon the theses which were endorsed by the Russian Delegation and the E. C. C. I. and laid before you, as a new basis for the tasks which we will have to carry out in Germany in the immediate future. I hope that the delegates to the VI. World Congress will support our standpoint and will help us thereby to make further progress in the development of the German Party.

In the present situation which is fraught with war danger, it is incumbent on all sections, including the German Party, to utilise to a greater extent than before the anti-militarist tradition of the proletarian youth and the Young Communist League in the struggle against imperialist war (applause). Through its energy, enthusiasm, spirit of self-sacrifice and general initiative, the Y. C. L. is one of the most important revolutionary factors with which the Communist Party must pursue its revolutionary work against imperialist war, and in the imperialist war, the work of transforming it into civil war.

Another question: through the social re-shuffling which is taking place in the process of production women are drawn more and more into the struggle against the growing danger of another imperialist war. Therefore, we must turn our attention in the most important countries to the capture and organisation of women.

In conclusion, a few words concerning all our Sections including the German Party. I am sure that no one at this Congress doubts that very serious events are imminent. No one can tell today if imperialism will give us time to meet for the VII. World Congress of the Communist International while peace is still reigning. Capitalist stabilisation is rotten to the core. A new period of revolutionary upsurge is maturing. In such a situation we want more than ever before, internationalism, revolutionary solidarity of the workers of the world and close

alliance with the oppressed colonial peoples (applause). For several years we had to carry on a struggle against Trotskyism. In this big struggle Leninism is the undisputed victor throughout the Communist International (applause). The spirit of internationalism, the spirit of unconditional loyalty to the Communist International and firm confidence in its leading Party, the C. P. S. U., have emerged from this hard struggle stronger than ever before (loud applause). We must keep alive this revolutionary spirit in all our thoughts and actions. Given revolutionary energy and firm belief in the revolutionary strength of the proletariat and all workers under the leadership of the Communist International, the only genuine International in the world, our victory is assured.

(Loud and prolonged applause.)

Comrade SPECTOR (Canada):

Comrades, the line of Comrade Bukharin's thesis is the clearest possible answer to those Social Democrats who pretend that there is no real difference between our conception of capitalist stabilisation and theirs. The difference as it is defined in the draft thesis is the difference between opposite sides of the barricades. The stabilisation that we have in mind in the draft thesis is the stabilisation in an epoch of imperialist war and proletarian revolution, in a period of the most powerful development of contradictions as a result of the very measures capitalism has taken to achieve this stabilisation. It is a stabilisation which opens up the perspective of another world war, of struggle for mastery between the Soviet Fatherland and the surrounding hostile capitalist world.

This is fundamentally opposite to the conception of a fresh organic development of capitalism on the basis of the so-called "new industrial or technical" revolution, world trustification, etc. The latter is the theory of Hilferding, Bauer, MacDonald and their satellites in every country. This theory leads them to throw all their energies into its justification through class collaboration, and towards the promotion of the ideology of state capitalism; hence their support of rationalisation, of Mondism, of "industrial peace"; hence their support of the ham-stringing of the trade union movement; hence their hostility towards the U. S. S. R. and their friendship towards the League of Nations.

The role that America plays in the general crisis of capitalism today is obviously different from that of Europe. But America and Europe are the two complements of one world picture which is the general crisis of world capitalism today. I emphasise this because there is undoubtedly a tendency in Canada on the part of some comrades to consider that this analysis of stabilisation does not apply to North American conditions generally, nor to Canadian conditions especially. This view is disseminated by the Social Democracy in Canada among the wide masses and it is a view that we must emphatically combat.

In Canada for instance, there has been in the last few years an expansion of the productive forces, a whole new series of industries have developed. There have been more mergers within the past year than for several years taken together. The workers have been speeded up. In the closing months of 1927 the employment index in Canada stood about 10% higher than in the period between 1921 to 1924. But in the meantime the industrial output increased more than 50%; hence along with this further increase in production we have a phenomenon in Canada of an increase of commercial failures and of permanent unemployment.

The Canadian bourgeoisie depends upon Canadian agriculture and upon the international market. The European market is one of its chiefest and it is obvious from this that while there can be no assertion that there is any crisis in the present moment in Canada, at the same time the prosperity of Canada is of a very precarious order. The industrialisation of the dominion accentuates this situation because our bourgeoisie is beginning to compete in the world market.

At no time is more than 75% of the productive apparatus in Canada used to capacity. Hence even in the present period of prosperity in Canada, even the slightest attempt for wage increases on the part of the workers is being resisted by every means, by a direct counter-attack on the part of the employers or by a reference of those workers' demands to Boards of



Conciliation. I cannot think of a single wage struggle of the workers which can be boasted of as resulting in a substantial wage increase. On the contrary, I can think of a number of wage struggles in Vancouver, in Nova Scotia, among the lumber workers, in the mining fields, in the building trades — where the increases have been so slight as to be of a vanishing point character, or where the workers have been tricked out of their demands by the joint action of the employers and the bureaucrats. Hence, I think it is one of the chief tasks of the Canadian comrades, on the basis of this draft thesis of Comrade Buharin, to emphasise the relative character of the present expansion in Canada as well and to prepare the minds of the workers for the looming struggles.

I think that such a perspective is the more necessary since at the present time in Canada there is a strengthening of the Right wing forces in the Labour movement at the same time that there is a ferment among the unorganised workers. The Labour Party in Canada has now a new stage in its development, or rather a stage of disintegration. Where at one time leaders like Simpson were willing to form a united front with the Communists, it is symptomatic that Simpson has now adopted the typical attitude of the British Labour Party. He says it is impossible now to work with the Communists. At the same time this social democrat has reached a rapprochement with the bureaucracy of the A. F. L. Trades Congress. The result has been that Simpson has split the Labour Party in Ontario, and in conjunction with the I. L. P. is now working throughout the country for the formation of a national social democratic party, whether they call it that outright, or the Independent Labour Party. They are now on the way to a split in Alberta: there has already been a split in British Columbia: the Communists have been expelled in Quebec. This split on the part of Simpson is undoubtedly bound to accelerate the strong anti-Communist drive on the part of the bureaucracy in Canada.

The comrades should note that the I. L. P. now has four parliamentarians in the House of Commons, with its representatives in the Manitoba Legislature and in the Winnipeg City Council. The programme of the I. L. P. has consistently been to oppose the formation of the Canadian Labour Party and to sabotage the Canadian Labour Party because of our participation in it. The programme of this I. L. P. in Canada is an out and out programme of refined social democratic treachery. The ideas which are advocated in Parliament, and which are finding a wide circulation among the masses, are now the ideas of Labour imperialism. It is significant that at the Commonwealth Labour Conference there were present Tom Moore, President of the Trades Congress, Tallon, a leading bureaucrat and two I. L. P. parliamentarians, all working in close collaboration with the British Labour imperialists. In the instance of the Indian demonstration, when the Indian delegates left the hall, the Canadian delegates supported the stand of Lansbury and the British Labour imperialists against the colonies.

In the trade union field, our party is confronted with a problem of two trade union centres; the Trades Congress, which is A. F. of L., and the newly formed centre of the independent unions. I must say, that our party has not understood how to grapple with the consolidation of this new trade union centre and that by and large, our Party, through a false orientation on the trade union question, has lagged at the rear-end of trade union developments. Only recently have we become orientated towards this task of not only agreeing in principle with the formation of this new centre, and not only criticising the leaders of the new centre for not organising, but also of considering ourselves obligated to go ahead and tackle the problem of the organisation of the unorganised.

In Canada the united front is largely today a problem of the organisation of the unorganised. The bulk of the workers in the country are still unorganised. They are the lever of the two congresses. The Trades Congress of the A. F. of L. in Canada works hand in hand with the A. F. of L. bureaucracy so far as North America is concerned, and so far as the British Empire is concerned, in the direction of Geneva, and in both is opposed to the Left wing and the Communists. The result has been that the attempt of the Communists to establish a Left wing has been followed by actual expulsions of prominent workers in the trade union movement. The A. F. of L. in Canada has signally failed to grapple with the problem of the organisation of the un-

organised. And this is a problem which is becoming more and more acute in Canada with the rise of a new series of new industries which are completely unorganised. It should be the task of the Communist Party to throw all its available forces into strengthening the new Congress, and so giving reality to the slogan of unity. Our understanding of the slogan of trade union unity in Canada has been far too abstract in the past. It has been the too narrow slogan of the amalgamation of the two Congresses.

It is utterly out of the question that at the present time the Trades Congress in Canada will consider resolutions for the unity with the new trade union centre, since the new trade union centre takes its position on the ground of Canadian trade union independence.

Trade union unity will only become a real achievement in Canada when we have succeeded in changing the co-relation of forces between these two Congresses; when we have succeeded in taking upon ourselves, and realising the organisation of the unorganised into the new Congress. Also the unity movement must be built up from below, by joint unity committees, by joint programmes of actions, by joint councils, a little experience of which we have already had in the struggle between the United A. F. of L. Brotherhood of Carpenters and the Independent Amalgamated Carpenters.

It is imperative to recognise this growing Right wing consolidation in Canada, the growing anti-Communist drive inside the Trades Congress of Canada, because of the fact that we are faced with war danger on an international scale. Canada stands today between Great Britain and the United States, both of these powers are competing for a strategic foothold there in the event of war. The Canadian Party has before it the task of mobilising the workers against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union, against the pressure of two imperialisms, American and British. The I. L. P. is spreading fast its pacifist ideas, that the workers can combat the war danger by establishing official governmental departments and committees, by support of the League of Nations, by compulsory arbitration, etc. It is necessary for the Communist Party of Canada to mobilise the workers under the revolutionary slogans of "Defence of the Soviet Union" and "Civil war". It is necessary for us to take advantage of Canada's position and bring it closer to the Pan Pacific Secretariat, along with Australia and the United States, and those countries that participate in that movement.

Just a few words about the inner Party situation. Unfortunately it must be recorded that our Party has lagged behind events in Canada, that we have been mesmerised also by the stabilisation and by the prosperity to the extent that we have underestimated the fight of the workers, and have overestimated the position of the bourgeoisie in its capacity for holding the workers down.

In Canada it is a fact that our Party underestimated the effect this campaign would have on the workers because without any directives from the centre, without daring to organise such a thing as a General Strike or to call for 24 hours strike, our Central Committee was surprised one morning to read that 5,000 miners had laid down their tools in Nova Scotia on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti, a strike improvised by a few militants — and our Party had nothing to do with it.

Take another example: the Hollinger disaster. The miners in Northern Ontario have been difficult to organise for years. There was a great mining explosion and the workers turned out en masse against the policies of the Hollinger Company. There was a splendid opportunity for organisation. We lost that opportunity because the Party was not sufficiently responsive, because we underestimated the potential fighting willingness of the workers. As a matter of fact where the Party has been alive to the situation and has tackled the organisation of the unorganised in Nova Scotia, on Vancouver Island, in the organisation of the Miner's Union in Alberta, in the organisation of the lumber workers, whatever organisation of the unorganised in Canada has been achieved, has been under the auspices of the Communist Party.

Now comrades, I think one of the most important contributions the C. I. can make to the situation in Canada is actually to give us assistance in a way that has not been done before. I think it is absolutely necessary that the C. I. should intervene

directly in the Party life of the Communist Party of Canada to an extent that has not been done before. We are faced with the most urgent problems of our present time: the war danger, etc.

Comrades, it is with feeling of pessimism that I give you this picture of the situation in Canada, but with a conviction that if this Congress meets in a spirit of self-criticism, it is the task of all our comrades who come here and participate in the discussion to give an outline of the Party shortcomings and failures. Comrade Bukharin in his thesis has not been able to refer to Canada as it does not hold such a position as countries like Germany, France, the U. S. A., etc.

#### Comrade KHITAROV (Y. C. I.):

I am instructed by the delegation of the Young Communist International to this Congress to declare our full agreement with the line of the Comintern in the past and with the theses submitted by Comrade Bukharin to this Congress. You know that the Young Communist International and its sections in the past have always been one of the most reliable supports of the Comintern. We hope that we shall continue to play this rôle in the future.

We of the Y. C. I. and of the Y. C. Leagues are sometimes reproached with "carrying on too much politics". We believe this reproach to be thoroughly unmerited. It is our very distinction from the social democracy that we conceive the rôle and the tasks of the youth movement in the sense that we cannot think of educating the young people to the class struggle otherwise than in politics and through politics. We resolutely reject the detachment of the youth from politics. Another argument consists in the fact that it must be clear to everybody that the Young Communist Leagues, by the whole of their revolutionary activity in the course of these years, have grown into an important political factor in their countries and for their Parties. Even for this reason alone we should not think of restricting our political activity. There are cases, however, when our Y. C. Leagues sometimes dabble too much in Party politics, and even in the narrow sense of the term, and consequently in its improper application. I will mention here two instances. In Poland the severe factional controversy has drawn in also the youth League, and the C. C. has carried the factional strife so far that it has dissolved the Central Committee of our League. It strikes us that the Y. C. League in Poland has been too much drawn into the turmoil of inner Party strife. We have frequently warned our young Polish comrades that they were confronted with definite factional activity. Nevertheless it ought to be said that even such strong influence of Party factional strife upon the Polish Y. C. L. did not prevent the latter from carrying out extensive revolutionary activity among the masses.

Somewhat different is the situation in America. Perhaps our American comrades will be displeased, but I must say here frankly, we believe our Y. C. League in the United States is meddling too much in Party questions. Already the percentage of Party members in the Y. C. L. is unwholesome. More than one-half of the Leaguers are Party members. All the inner-Party factional fights are carried into the Y. C. L. to the great detriment of the Youth movement. This hinders the Y. C. L. from taking up its proper activities. Nevertheless this does not mean to say that it does not do any work at all. In the last few years it has steadily learned to do this work in ever improving fashion. There are many other instances to be quoted. I shall only mention here China and France. Everybody appreciates the rôle played by our Leagues in these two countries. No one in this Congress will dispute that it was both proper and necessary for our Youth Leagues in these two countries to take such energetic part in the policies of the Party as they did. When the life and welfare of the Party are at stake, as was the case in these countries; when the fate of the revolution is at stake, as was particularly the case in China, we believe it to be the primary duty of the Y. C. L. in such countries to take up directly the work of the Party.

Sometimes we are reproached that we always want to teach the Parties, that we always correct their mistakes, and that we wish to play the part of schoolmasters. Comrades, this is not true, we do not wish to be schoolmasters, we do not fit this rôle at all. Why, sometimes we commit the same mistakes as

the Party. Nevertheless it is an unquestionable fact that the Youth Leagues have been quicker in putting right their mistakes. This is due simply to the fact that the elements of which the Y. C. Leagues are composed are free from the old Social Democratic traditions with which some of our Parties are still afflicted. If we enumerate the cases of deviations from the proper line by Parties or sections of Parties in the Comintern, we shall find that such cases were more frequent in the Parties than in the Y. C. L.'s.

In the Communist International there are such remote corners which must sometimes be subjected to the searchlight. And sometimes it is impossible for the Comintern itself to apply the searchlight to such corners in time. And here it happened sometimes that the Y. C. I. or its sections did raise the question sooner than it was taken up by the Comintern. I might mention the Greek question as a case in point. We were first to raise it. Now we find that the Comintern is tackling the Greek question with all seriousness and attention. This we are going to do also in the future. Let us take, for instance, the Austrian question. We are convinced that if the Comintern does not give more attention to what is going on in our fraternal Austrian Party, if it does not help the Party in clarifying the inner situation, there is danger that the Austrian Party will dwindle more and more in the face of a big and mighty social-democratic Party.

Another question is the Czechoslovakian question. Czechoslovakia is at any rate no distant corner in the Comintern, and the Czechoslovakian question is by no means of minor importance, but rather of big importance. Our Reporter has already touched upon this question in his speech. It occurs to us that the story of the Red Day signifies a big crash for the activity of our Czechoslovakian Party, a big defeat which, we believe, was not dealt with by the Comintern with sufficient rigour and attention. We believe that the fiasco of big action by a big Party should positively get more attention at this Congress. I can only give my full support to the declaration made by Comrade Hrsel, the representative of our Czechoslovakian Y. C. L. We only wish to raise one question: if it should really come to serious events, if we should really be thrown into war, on the threshold of which we are standing, what would such a Party be able to do in answer to the call of the Comintern, of the international proletariat?

The Young Communist International has to bear the brunt of the fight within the bourgeois army and to carry on the anti-militarist work, and we say that we have the right to demand that the Parties be in the position to fight and to act, that they be able to reply to the blows of the reaction, and not to fail so miserably as was the case on the Red Day.

Therefore, comrades, we cannot allow ourselves to be deprived of the right to take an attitude upon individual Party problems. This is one of the vital questions of our Young Communist movement.

It is the first Congress of the C. I. which deals so thoroughly and at length with questions of the Young Communist movement. We welcome this fact. Whence this increased interest in Youth questions on the part of the Comintern and its Sections? There are two chief reasons. In the first place, the Parties have grown to appreciate the proper rôle and value of the Y. C. Leagues and their activities. We may say now that we, the Y. C. I., have fairly conquered our place in the sun in the Comintern and that we are not entirely inactive in the position we have gained. Everyone will admit this.

The second reason is that owing to the increased danger of war, owing to the rationalisation in the factories which has led to an increased specific weight of the young workers in production and among the working class, owing to the increased bourgeois offensive for the purpose of ideologically capturing the youth, the questions relating to the Youth activity have acquired unusually great political importance. Suffice it to point to the anxiety displayed by Fascism to subject the youth to its influence. Fascism is quite aware of the fact that the battles of the future will be decided by this Youth which presents a vital question. On these grounds alone the Comintern should devote even more attention to the Y. C. L. than hitherto.

This Congress should furnish the guiding line to our coming V. World Congress of the Y. C. I.: it should give us the important instructions which will serve as the basis for our Congress.

Are we satisfied with the situation of our Y. C. I.? I must say frankly and clearly: No! It is not true when some comrades believe or say that there is not sufficient room for self-criticism in the Y. C. I. We criticise our mistakes with no less thoroughness than in the Parties, and perhaps even more sharply. We realise our weak points, and Comrade Schüller has quite clearly pointed out the chief defects and shortcomings of our movement. They consist not in that — as already said — we carry on “too much politics”, but rather in that we have not yet learned to render these politics understandable to the young people, to adapt these politics to the Youth. We have not yet learned to lead the large masses of the young workers in their daily struggles upon the grounds of the properly understood political events and tactics of the Parties. It is therefore our task to increase the political activity among the young workers, conceiving its importance in the attraction of the largest masses to action. Along this path we must try to improve our methods, and in this sense we should also carry on our Congress. We promise the C. I. Congress that we are going to carry out our Congress in the spirit of the utmost self-criticism, and that we shall do everything to overcome our weak points in the future, to look for new ways and improved working methods wherever our methods have been inadequate or our ways have perhaps proved faulty.

We request the VI. Congress to give us the necessary guidance for our Congress. We are fully confident that with the assistance of the C. I. we shall succeed in solving our problems in the future even better than in the past, so that we might succeed in becoming a real mass organisation of the young workers and peasants throughout the world. And we declare that when the C. I. will call its battalions to the final fight, we of the Y. C. I. will turn up in the front ranks.

#### Comrade MANNER (Finland):

Comrades, on the grounds of our experiences in Finland, I should like to raise the following three questions.

The first question concerns the development of the Social Democracy in a country with a white guard — nay, even properly speaking, a Fascist regime, into an active part of this regime, and how this white guard Social Democracy unscrupulously resorts to the use of Left Wing phraseology to shield its fascist ways.

The present Finnish Social Democracy and its leading group, which was formed ten years ago after the defeat of the workers' revolution and was “based” upon the 30,000 dead bodies of murdered workers, — has become a definite legal part of the regime of white terror which it has systematically supported ever since its inception. The task of the Social Democracy was to rally the industrial proletariat and the proletarian and semi-proletarian rural population and educate them in the spirit of loyalty and submission to the white guard regime.

The Social Democracy began to carry out these tasks by applying two methods:

1. It pretended to fight for the working class against the persecution of the counter-revolution. In some cases, shortly after the revolution, it ostensibly played such a part.

2. Yet, at the same time, the Social Democracy denounced its opponents in the revolutionary camp to the political police etc. in its official publications.

By means of these dual tactics it endeavoured to both coax and terrorise the masses into following the Social-Democrats. Nevertheless these tactics brought no success.

Now there are certain changes taking place in the attitude of the Social Democracy. The ideological fight against Communism is being thrown overboard. It is becoming more and more rare for social democrats to take up even a pretended defence of the persecuted revolutionary elements. The Social Democracy recognises the persecution of the “criminal” Communists as perfectly legal and permissible. The Social-Democratic press and its political exponents are more and more frequently furnishing the political police with information concerning the activities of the revolutionaries. The Social Democracy does not take a single step to counteract the measures

of persecution taken by the Government in dissolving the revolutionary Socialist Labour Party and two revolutionary Young Socialist Leagues.

The Finnish Social Democracy has thus developed from a secret supporter of the whiteguard regime into an open one. The following knavish tricks are characteristic of this period: it robs the workers of their People's Houses with the aid of the bourgeois justice; it grabs the control over the workers' sport associations by the simple trick of cancelling the mandates of 50 legally elected Left Wing representatives, denying their admission; it keeps on telling the political police that the Trade Union Federation — whose unity has been maintained in spite of everything and which stands upon the class struggle — is a Communist organisation: it lends the aid of its press to the bourgeoisie in securing blacklegs, and frequently furnishes them directly; generally, the Social Democratic press serves as the mouthpiece of the political police.

So far the culminating point of the white guard activity was reached in 1927, when a purely Social Democratic Government was formed by the Social Democrats. This was due partly to differences of opinion among the bourgeois parties, and partly also to the fact that the labour movement was in the ascendancy. It is also very probable that the British imperialists recommended a Social Democratic Government considering the latter to be the most reliable adherents of the British Anti-Soviet policies.

This was the classical period in the sense that it afforded a splendid opportunity to study the possibilities of Social-Democratic development. As late as in 1926 the Social Democracy declared itself in opposition to the political police and refused to vote on the budget of the political police. In 1927 the budgetary estimates submitted by the Social Democratic Government contained a grant of three million marks for the maintenance of the political police. The Social Democracy had conducted a campaign against military preparations but as the Government party it placed an order for the first two submarines. In 1926 it had declared its adherence to the Eight-Hour Act, in 1927 it allowed and even caused the violation of the Act. It had declared itself against the fascist Schutzkorps (special constabulary) but in 1927 it made substantial grants from State funds to that military organisation. It had formerly spoken in favour of friendly relations with the Soviet Union, but as the government party it refrained from continuing negotiations for a pact of nonaggression. Formerly it dissuaded the bourgeoisie from employing measures of violence against Communism, now as the government party it has caused the arrest of over a hundred revolutionary proletarians the majority of whom were sentenced to terms of imprisonment, and at the head of this work was among others, the social-democratic leader who filled the position of social-democratic Home Minister.

Thus, the Social Democracy is quite openly and actively helping the white guard regime and the British imperialists in strengthening their positions. The Finnish “liberal” professor and ex-Premier Vennola has admitted in an interview that the Social Democracy during its term of office has strengthened the political prestige and economic credit of white guard Finland among international financiers and among the imperialist powers. The influential bourgeois economic review of Finland — “Mercator” — praised in its December issue the Finnish Social democrats for their “moderation” and for their “consideration” of the existing political contradictions.

The fascist leader Donner has openly declared that “a big and welcome change has taken place in the Social Democracy”, and he went on to express his confidence that in future the fascist organisations would get direct help from the social-democrats.

The task of the Social Democratic Government was, on the one hand, to curb the revolutionary labour movement, and on the other hand, to prevent the radicalisation of the masses. In this task Social Democracy has signally failed. What is more, the masses in Finland have got to know the Social Democrats in their true light, knowing them now as the companions of the fascist generals in preparing all the technique of murder to be used against the working class. The social-democratic ex-Minister Tanner declared in a speech at the close of the government period among other things:

"It used to be said that the best system of government is that of enlightened despotism. And this may also be true, providing that a really enlightened and far-seeing person be at the helm."

This sounds like the language of a Mussolini in the making.

It is easily conceived that a part of the masses, particularly the industrial proletariat, are turning their back on the social-democrats. The white guard gentlemen in the S. D. Party saw that they had unmasked themselves too much, and they began to look for a way to save the situation. It is a fact that the criticism of the masses contributed to the downfall of the government. So the ex-ministers began to accuse one another, thus helping in the exposure of the real nature of the Social Democracy. They are now again resorting to the use of Left Wing phraseology. Of course, this is the purest swindle. The purpose is once again to conceal the fascist and white guard character of the Social Democracy and of the reactionary Social Democratic leaders, in order to prevent the desertion of those masses which still follow them.

On the other hand, the period of Social Democratic Government, coupled with a partial stabilisation of capitalism, was bound to lead to some confusion and vacillation in the revolutionary ranks. Certain comrades thought it was not necessary to take any special steps to expose the bourgeois character of the social-democratic government. This standpoint led to a passive attitude. Other comrades thought that even such a Social Democratic Government was better than the usual bourgeois government, and that its activity should not be hampered with criticism. There was yet a third tendency which urged the possibility of a fascist putsch in the course of the social democratic period of government. Those comrades wanted to spare all the forces for the eventual struggle against the fascist putsch, and were thus reluctant to fight against the social-democrats. These Comrades ignored the fact that the social democratic government was really the reserve force of fascism. These erroneous tendencies were revealed during the first weeks of the social democratic government in the ranks of the legal revolutionary movement. Our Party could see from the very outset the danger involved in such an attitude, and it gave the proper characterisation of the social democratic government. Owing to the activity of the Party these tendencies could only to a very slight influence the campaign for exposing the social democracy.

The second question I should like to deal with, is the Trade Union Unity Conference of Copenhagen. Naturally, the reformists have done their utmost to have the Copenhagen decisions remain on paper, as it was said by Comrade Heckert. Thus, it is a fact that the Finnish Trade Union Federation has not yet ratified the Copenhagen pact. Nevertheless it is **wrong** to say that the Finnish comrades have hesitated to ratify the pact for the reasons mentioned by Comrade Heckert. The same is probably true in regard to the Norwegian Communists.

The Conference was so quickly organised and held that the organised masses in the trade unions had not been mobilised nor sufficiently informed. The social democracy carried on a vast campaign both before and after the Conference, threatening with a split. In 1926 a threat to wreck the trade union movement in Finland was thwarted chiefly by a wide mass movement. However, we cannot deny that we were bound to make some concessions. Nevertheless neither the Comintern nor the Profintern have reproached the Finnish Communists on this score. It ought to be taken into consideration that the splitting of the trade union movement in Finland, now more than ever before, would mean

that the opportunities of activity for the revolutionary elements in the trade union movement would be curbed to the utmost, and that the social democrats would gain the monopoly in the trade union movement with the aid of the political police. At the present time the social democracy has not reached this position, because the great majority of the members in the trade unions are in sympathy with the **Left Wing**. Nevertheless, it is clear that the class-conscious elements in the trade union movement must carry on energetic activity to achieve the aims contained in the Copenhagen pact. This is all the more possible since the reformists and the centrists are forced to admit that two thirds of the organised workers in the trade unions are in favour of the Copenhagen pact. What is necessary now is to mobilise the masses in the trade unions and to win for these decisions also the social democratic workers, whilst rendering it impossible or extremely difficult for the fascist-social-democratic leaders to provoke a split. The mobilisation is going on, the questions are raised before the masses, and resolutions are passed in support of the Copenhagen Conference.

The proposal of the Norwegian and Finnish Trade Union Federations for a joint conference of Amsterdam and R. I. L. U. corresponds to the decisions of the Copenhagen Conference. Also the central council of the Soviet Russian Trade unions could agree to this, whilst at the same time they made their standpoint clear. The Fins believed that the Copenhagen pact, at least in Finland, may serve to expose Amsterdam as the opponent of international trade union unity upon the grounds of the class struggle. The negative reply given by Amsterdam will render it easier for the social democratic workers to understand that the policy of Amsterdam and the Second International upon this question is profoundly contradictory to the interests of the working class. If everything be done internationally by all the parties to expose Amsterdam with the aid of this particular question, the results would be even greater. It is certain that the Finnish comrades have entertained no illusions about Amsterdam, neither do they entertain any. The same should be said about the Norwegian comrades.

The Finnish Delegation observes that the process of radicalisation is making good progress among the Finnish workers. This is shown among other things by the **election results of 1927**. The membership in the trade unions has increased by 50% in the last two years. A great wave of strikes is to be registered in the course of the last two years. The strikes have ended either in complete or partial victory for the workers. The militancy was shown also by the imposing **demonstrations and sympathy strikes against the imprisonment of comrades**, which went on for weeks. In the country the agricultural labourers and small peasants are rallying more and more to the revolutionary industrial proletariat. The influence of our Party has grown. Just now about **50 comrades are on trial** before bourgeois justice, and the best among them are heroically upholding the cause of Communism, cheering the Comintern, the Finnish C. P., and the world revolution before being sent to jail. The bourgeois press is compelled to advertise the cause of Communism because it cannot hush up the courageous stand made by our comrades in court. On the other hand, the offensive of the white guard regime is growing more and more reckless. The social democracy has become part and parcel of the white guard bloc. If one bears in mind also that the stabilisation process of capitalism shows a great tendency towards declining, it is clear that in Finland, too, we are moving towards ever sharper struggles of the masses, and towards a revolutionary solution of the contradictions of capitalism.

(Close of Session.)

## Twelfth Session.

Moscow, 27th July, 1928 (morning).

# Continuation of the Discussion on Comrade Bukharin's Report.

Chairman: Comrade Sikander (India).

Comrade LUMLEY (Great Britain):

Comrades! On behalf of the British delegation I wish to bring to the Congress some of the experiences of the British Party.

If we review the events that have taken place in Great Britain during these last two or three years, and especially from the period of the General Strike, we can say that the great fight that is going on at the present time is the fight between the Communist Party and the reformist leadership of both the Labour Party and the trade union movement for the leadership of the working class. Up to the period of the general strike we found the stock-in-trade argument of the Labour Party and of the trade union leaders was that the masses of the British workers believed in the constitutional piece of machinery known as "parliamentarism". But the experiences of the General Strike proved that the British working class were just as militant, just as courageous and just as willing to fight as any other working class throughout the world. It also proved that the reformist leaders were not prepared to fight even with a militant army of workers as that of Great Britain.

That particular period was the turning point of the British working class movement. Ever since that period we have found the reformist leadership utilizing every means it possibly could to stop the British working class from struggling. They have helped the capitalist class of Great Britain in the passing of the Anti-Trade Union Act, an act which showed that the capitalist class understood the full significance of the General Strike and were determined to prevent another strike. The Labour leaders, when the Anti-Trade-Union Act was being discussed in the British House of Commons, found that their own arguments were used against them by the capitalist class and the Baldwin Government to prove how it was necessary in the interests of the Community for the trade unions to be stopped once and for all from rallying the masses of the British workers in their struggle against the capitalist class.

The next move of shackling the British workers was made at the Trade Union Congress. There one of the so-called Leftists, W. Geo Hicks, in his presidential address issued an invitation, to the British capitalist class, to the Imperialists and Industrialists, to take part in a Conference. This invitation was taken up by Mond, along with other prominent captains of industry and they initiated what is known as the "Mond Conference" to discuss the question of Industrial Peace for Great Britain.

Here again we find the whole reformist labour leaders on the side of the capitalist class, and making every preparation of handing the Trade Unions over as appendages of the capitalist state, to be used against the workers. Yet, at the same time as these discussions are taking place the Class War is being savagely waged upon the workers. Speaking, from my own experience in the mine field of Durham, here the miners are being victimised, forced to suffer further wage reductions, and in a number of villages evictions are taking place. Comrades, these things are connected and are steps necessary to be taken in order to carry through the process of reorganising and rationalising British industry. In Durham, the leaders used the trade union movement as a strike-breaking organisation against the miners who were struggling against the drastic reductions in wages inflicted by the Plender Award. Here we had unofficial strikes taking place and the miners accepting the leadership of the Communist Party.

Another example of how things are changing can be found in the fact that since 1926, from the General Strike, the leaders

of the trade unions and Labour Party have made a united front with the capitalist class, in an intensive campaign and drive against the Communist Party. Then again we find at the Miner's Conference which has just recently been held, that there was no discussion upon ways and means of helping the miners to win back some concessions, and to put up an organised struggle against the coal owners. But the leaders have decided to come out in the open and have a full time job trying to smash the communists and Minority Movement members by a policy of expulsions and by taking away their trade union rights, etc. But this is an indication that while the British Communist Party is numerically weak, our influence is very strong and it is strong owing to our persistent work inside the trade unions. It is on that account that the workers have taken our slogans and followed our lead, in times of acute struggles, as against the old reactionary and reformist leaders. But you will realize that it is a fight for existence so far as the reformist leaders are concerned and they will use any weapon in order to defeat and discredit the Communist Party. Still we have the advantage of the workers becoming more and more revolutionary. They are beginning to see through the policy of Industrial Peace and class collaboration. Owing to the fierce World Competition for markets, the British capitalist class, in order to keep its head above water must continually attack the British workers. That being the case, then the British working class must of necessity continually resist these attacks. The reformist leaders are not prepared to lead the workers in their struggles, so the workers are forced more and more to come nearer to the Communist Party and accept the leadership of our members inside the trade unions. The British Communist Party will lead the working class in the struggle.

The members of the Communist Parties in other countries have got to try and understand the conservative ideas that have been prevailing in the minds of the British working class. They have always been brought up with the idea of acting constitutionally. Our job in Great Britain is to utilise the reformist movement as far as we possibly can, realising its limitations. We have to utilise it only in order to get in contact with the masses. Through their own experiences, the masses will learn that they must carry on the struggle against the capitalists in spite of this demagogic reformist machinery. The masses will then realise that we are right in telling them that they must adopt extraordinary methods, unofficial strikes, like the Durham Miner's strike against the Plender Award, etc. In this way it will be possible for the British Communist Party, through the application of the new line of policy, to become a mass Communist party.

We see that the British workers are continually going further and further to the left, while at the same time the reformist leaders are moving more and more to the right. We find that the reformist leaders are prepared to help British Imperialism in China, in every part of the British Empire. The British Labour Party has appointed two members of its party in the House of Commons to co-operate with the imperialists on the Simon Commission. One of these is a M. P. for a mining constituency, and has been repudiated by the miners of his constituency.

Our difficulties in Great Britain are very great. We have got one of the oldest capitalist classes to contend with. They have a huge experience behind them, they are very sly and cunning. They are supporting the Labour leaders and the trade union leaders in their attacks against the Communist Party. These people will be prepared at any time in the future practically to scrap the parliamentary machine as soon as the working class see the futility of it. They are actually now pre-

paring for the fascist regime, and in this they are getting the support of the reformists. Take, for example, **Spencerism** in the county of Notts, which is nothing more or less than fascism in another role. We find also that the union leaders in **South Wales** are actually utilising the discontent amongst the Welsh miners in order to form a united front of the Welsh miners with the coal owners, for the purpose of forcing down the conditions of the railway workers.

It is on account of these things, that the Communist Party of Great Britain welcomes the new line of policy that was laid down by the 9th. Plenum of the Comintern. We are prepared, with our small membership, to fight more tenaciously than ever the reformist leadership. We are prepared to fight them openly, while recognising the need for the united front slogan still being retained in the armoury of the Communist Party. We know the masses are inside the labour movement, inside the trade union movement. Consequently it is more necessary than ever, in spite of expulsions, to keep inside these organisations, to have a united front with the proletarian elements inside these organisations, stirring them up against the bureaucrats.

It is also necessary at the present time to spread the idea among the British working class of the importance of forming **workshop committees**, of forming factory committees, so that in that way we can mobilise the masses of Great Britain directly at the point of production; and more clearly expose the treachery of the labour leadership; so that in that way when the mass struggles develop in Great Britain — the Communist Party will be able to lead the masses, first against the Social Democrats and the reformists inside the working class movement, who are actually supporting the capitalist class, and against the whole capitalist state machine.

We are very optimistic so far as the future prospects of the British Communist Party are concerned. At its next Congress, the British Communist Party will be able to record a substantial increase in its membership and that it is on its way to becoming a mass Communist Party.

#### Comrade NISCHWITZ (Germany):

There is one question which, although not mentioned either in the report or the theses, is closely connected with the problems raised here at the Congress, namely **work among proletarian women**. That is why the German delegation thought it necessary to introduce an addendum to the theses on this question.

Comrades, I would like to say something about the position of **women workers in Germany**. As a result of the progress of rationalisation which is accompanied by technical improvements and sub-division of labour, skilled labour forces are becoming superfluous and must make room for unskilled cheap woman labour. Another consequence of rationalisation is the enormous difference between men's and women's wages. The result of all this is a considerable lowering of the standard of living of workers as a whole. **Woman labour has increased** not only in so-called women's industries, for instance, the textile, garment making industry, etc., rationalisation has enabled women to penetrate also into the specialised modern branches of industry, the most important among which are: the electro-technical, wireless, artificial silk and chemical industries. While the share of woman labour in the textile industry has increased by 31%, we witness an increase of 79% in the chemical and of 495% in the electro-technical industry. These figures show to what extent capitalism has been able to draw women into the process of production, to increase its profits by employing women under conditions which are nothing but unlimited exploitation.

In Germany, there are no provisions for the **protection of woman labour** in factories, no regulation of working hours, no protection for mother and child. The capitalist State, instead of developing social service, is intent on reducing the present meagre provisions. We have in Germany a law regulating working hours which is supposed to be based on the 8-hour day. But this law is so elastic that in practice the 8-hour day is seldom adhered to, overtime has become normal in Germany.

We have in Germany a law for the protection of mother and child. Although it entitles women workers to stay away from work six weeks before and six weeks after confinement, the social premises for this are lacking. No wages are paid for this period, and these women draw from the sickness fund only two thirds of their already small wage. This compels women workers to remain at the bench almost to the day of confinement. This is bad for the health of women workers and hence for the health of the proletariat and the health of the people as a whole.

This brutal exploitation on the part of employers has roused the woman proletariat as shown in women's fairly strong share in the **industrial struggles** of the workers. In Germany, women employed in the textile industry have carried on **independent struggles** for weeks and even months. In the last years women have been not a passive but an active element in the common struggle. There have been even cases when women were at the head of the struggle. Also in the women workers movement reformist trade union leaders have played the shabby role of lackeys of capitalism. Even the most elementary demands of women workers receive no support from them; on the contrary, they do everything in their power to suppress any spontaneous movement among women workers. The reformist trade unions failed to do their duty in the wage question, they signed unfavourable long term wage agreements. Neither have they done their duty in the working hours question, for they left the regulation of working hours to the arbitration courts.

In spite of the treachery of the reformist trade union leaders and the social democrats, the latter have succeeded, by radical phraseology and cultural and pacifist propaganda, to secure influence in women workers' circles, and to take them in tow. The best proof of this are the recent **Reichstag elections**; the nine million votes polled by the social democrats include a big percentage of proletarian women votes. But not only social democrats are wooing women workers, the bourgeoisie, too, does its utmost to secure their support. It uses every possible means to dissociate women workers from the working class and divert them from the class struggle, in order to be able to educate them in their national and Christian unions in an anti-labour spirit, and prepare them systematically for the coming wars. We must set against this intensive recruiting work of our opponents energetic recruiting work by the Communist Party. In industrial districts our foremost task should be to get hold of **women workers in factories**. In this connection the delegate system has proved successful. Russian women comrades have achieved considerable success with the delegate system, whereas we in the other countries, including Germany, have not got beyond the initial stage in many districts. The reasons of this weakness are: firstly, the mode of the application of the delegate system and secondly the inadequate factory nucleus work of our comrades.

We have not yet been able to get hold also of the social-democratic women workers in factories, and to dissociate them from the Social Democratic Party. In the meantime women delegates have carried out practical tasks set by us; for instance, literature sales have been organised, propaganda material as well as special recruiting material for trade unions has been produced. This material includes the political slogans of the Communist Party. This educational work has borne fruit; women delegates have taken a very active part in the various campaigns of the Communist Party.

The **Red Women and Girl's League** has also set itself important tasks. In spite of its youth this League has succeeded in drawing into its ranks non-Party women and girls, giving them systematic training and carrying on among them educational work.

The most important tasks confronting us are; energetic factory and trade union work, increased activity in factory nuclei, development of the delegate system among women workers. If we do justice to these tasks, we will be able to get hold of factory women workers and housewives, and to draw them into the class struggle and into the ranks of the Communist Party. The Communist Party should be able to revolutionise women, for without the army of revolutionary proletarian women world revolution cannot be victorious. (Applause.)

### Comrade KOSTRSZEWA (Poland):

On the whole, the Polish Delegation agrees to the Theses of Comrade Bukharin; nevertheless it proposes a few amendments.

As regards the sub-division of the post-war period into three parts which is made in the Theses, we believe the chief distinction between the second and third period to consist not in the gigantic technical progress, which should have constituted the direct consequence of the restoration period of capitalism after the war. The essential technical changes took place already to a large extent during the second period. The distinction consists rather in the fact that those contradictions which arose upon the ground of the process of stabilisation in connection with the strong development of the forces of production (which were already based upon a more improved technique) have now come to the surface, and that the whole of the system of capitalist society has been shaken up.

The second amendment relates to the characterisation of the relations between the United States and other capitalist countries. As regards the question of the upsetting of the equilibrium between Europe and America, the intensification of the Anglo-American antagonisms unquestionably takes up a prominent place.

The rapid expansion of the United States brings its interests into inevitable conflict with those of rotting yet still mighty British imperialism, which is continuously threatened with being reduced to the state of a secondary factor in world politics. Next to the scramble for markets and the control of raw material bases, there is going on an essential contest for naval supremacy, i. e., for the control of mercantile shipping in time of war. This contest has already led to the holding of the Naval Disarmament Conference.

The third amendment relates to the need of outlining more concretely the process of the incorporation of the trade unions into the apparatus of the State.

The fourth amendment relates to the question of the ideological degeneration of the social-democracy. In the first place, besides referring to the final drift of the social-democracy towards the liberalism of the Labour Party, we might accentuate its evolution in the direction of purely fascist ideas. The pacifism of the social-democracy should not be confused with the impotent pacifism of the petty bourgeoisie. The social-democracy in the post-war period reflects the interests and tendencies of the big bourgeoisie.

Finally, a paragraph ought to be inserted in the Theses relating to the policy laid down by the XV. Conference of the C. P. S. U. in regard to the Soviet Union, which was approved by the last Plenum. We must lay stress upon the importance of this policy which shows the way towards the industrialisation of the country and towards the acceleration of socialist construction in the village, in the shape of collective economy and the co-operation of individual peasant farms. We must welcome the pursuit of the rigid Leninist line which consists in a systematic campaign against the Kulak, in alliance with the middle peasants, and relying upon the poor peasants.

And now I should like to draw the attention of Congress to the special significance of the Communist movement in Poland: 1. The Polish C. P. is fighting in a country which constitutes the jumping-off ground for world imperialism against the Soviet Union. 2. The class antagonisms have reached here greater strain than in other countries, so that the experiences of our struggle may be also of great value to other sections. For instance, such experiments as the combination of legal and illegal activities as is to be found in the radical political peasant parties, such an experiment as the formation of a large net of Communist organisations in the villages as we have succeeded in establishing chiefly in Ukraine and White Russia, such an experiment as the building of nuclei in the army — these are things which go to enrich the armoury of our international movement.

A third feature consists in the great revolutionary traditions and in the revolutionary steeling of the Polish proletariat in the course of many years, through severe hardships, imprisonment, torture, maltreatment, etc. Nevertheless, most essential is

the actual situation in Poland. We are on the eve of a coup d'Etat which will serve as the signal for increased terror against the working class, the signal for the war which is being prepared for in every branch of State activity. Preparations for the war are made along the lines of diplomacy, inner policies, and militarism. We are particularly impressed, however, by the centralised extension of the civil organisations for military training and by the closer connection between the latter and the army; by the extensive agitation for the enlargement of these organisations particularly among the peasants; by the growth of technical preparations and the replenishment of the army cadres; by the sundry disguises under which the active development of the army is taking place. The occupation of Lithuania is in the air. The entire internal and external situation of Poland is of the kind that more than any other country she is likely to become the starting point for tremendous upheavals in the near future which are going to shake the whole world.

Under these circumstances the course of the struggle in Poland, and the ability of the C. P. in carrying on this struggle, become a matter of tremendous significance to the whole of the Communist International.

In spite of the ferocious reign of Fascist terror, our Party follows in the glorious footsteps of the Bolshevik Party; it is the real leader of the whole of the strike movement, and of all the political mass actions. Our Party is the real leader of the mighty movement for national freedom among the oppressed national minorities. The Party penetrates into the village, particularly in White Russia and the Ukraine, where it is really leading the majority of the peasants. After the big opportunistic mistakes committed since the coup d'Etat in May, our Party has straightened out its political line and has entered with a firm step upon the proper path, as has now been recognised by the entire E. C. C. I.

However, this was not easily achieved by the Party, and I wish to draw the attention of Congress to the internal strife in the course of which the policy of the Party was finally worked out. Under the circumstances in which the struggle of the C. P. in Poland is proceeding, in view of the right wing mistakes of the minority of the Party, followed by the ultra-Left mistakes which harbour particularly grave and immediate dangers, the struggle of the Party leadership in applying the proper line of policy should claim the decided support of the whole of the Communist International.

The proper line for a proletarian party is based upon the proper judgement about the situation, and the forming of the proper tactical conclusions. The fascist regime constitutes a symptom of a grave political condition in the development of capitalist society, when the bourgeoisie is compelled to resort to extreme measures to save itself. Elements of Fascist development are to be observed everywhere. Yet in the most developed and concrete form, one should say in the classical form, Fascism makes its appearance in backward countries with backward capitalism and a strongly developed stratum of the petty bourgeoisie, complicated at the same time by intense social contradictions.

The fascist regime in Poland betokens the consolidation of the whole bourgeoisie under the leadership of the big bourgeoisie and financial capital which is endeavouring to eliminate all the existing contradictions between the individual branches of industry, between industry and agriculture, and between the Polish bourgeoisie and the national minorities. The economic programme of Polish Fascism upon which the whole of the bourgeoisie is united is as follows: foreign loans, high prices on corn, credits for industry and agriculture, furtherance of the cartels and syndicates, the bitterest exploitation of the masses, and the wiping out of the agrarian reforms. Pilsudski's international programme implies — expansion, combined with submission to the imperialist and counter-revolutionary plans of Great Britain. It is the policy of fighting against the revolution, of fighting "against the external as well as the internal foe".

A link in the Fascist policy of stabilisation and war preparation is the policy of attracting the Ukrainian and White Russian bourgeoisie to the Fascist plans of war and stabilisation by means of modifications in the national policies. In the social domain we find Polish fascism pursuing an artful policy of

combining the most brutal terror against the working class with the demagogy of Left wing phraseology, with the enrolment of the petty bourgeois elements in the State apparatus, as well as flirting with the ostensibly democratic political parties, in order to hoodwink the workers and the toiling masses. The fascist government is building a whole series of organs to embrace the working class, having for their express purpose to deprive the masses of the possibility for concerted action. Such institutions are the arbitration commissions, the courts for industrial disputes, the quite reactionary legislation concerning collective agreements, etc.

The Party has rejected a number of wrong theses of an opportunistic character concerning the fascist coup d'Etat which were brought forward by the comrades of the minority.

It was asserted by the minority comrades that the fascist coup d'Etat had been a victory of the petty bourgeoisie which had taken up the offensive against big capitalism under Pilsudski's leadership. This mistake meant the continuation of the mistake committed in the May days, which was in its turn the result of over-estimating the independent role of the petty bourgeoisie. Another no less wrong and opportunistic conception of the minority was rejected by the Party which consisted in looking for the real fascists only among the National Democrats, and in the inclination to agree with the P. P. S. in considering Pilsudski a sort of lesser evil. Finally, the Party rejected the economic conception of Fascism as a simple re-shaping of the cartels, which meant ignoring the whole of the social situation and separating fascism from the whole situation of the period of social revolution.

An important aspect in regard to the definition of the political situation in Poland is the **Role of the Social Democracy.**

In Poland the situation is quite different from Italy, where Fascism immediately after the successful stroke began to consider the Social Democracy as a menace, and to persecute it accordingly. As against this, the Social Democrats in Poland formed from the very outset a direct branch of fascism, becoming the direct paid hangmen of fascism in regard to the Communists.

Yet, whilst making use of the reformist parties, fascism is endeavouring to absorb them directly into a new mass party and to submit them entirely to its command. The whole of the former and of the quite recent past of the P. P. S. dooms it to complete submission to this process, and the frictions incidental to this process, such as the anxiety of the P. P. S. to retain the outward socialist sign board, result only in a sham fight for democracy, which is connected with no real struggle for independent existence.

The so-called "Left" Reformist leaders have hopelessly and completely discredited themselves in the eyes of the masses more than ever before, as they come forward as the "opposition" in the P. P. S. in palpably insincere fashion, aiming only to deceive the masses for the moment, so as to check the desertion of the masses. The practice of these "left" jugglers in the P. P. S. affords the possibility to study closely the real role of "Left" reformism.

Highly essential to a proper judgment of the Polish situation is a careful study of the **process of stabilisation.**

Certain successes of the stabilisation process in Poland cannot be denied: as regards increased production, the balancing of the budget, the relief of unemployment, a certain rise in agriculture, etc. I am merely going to cite a few figures which point to a certain development of the home market and of internal consumption. The consumption of pig iron has increased by 95%, that of steel by 50%, and that of coal by 25%. The aggregate output of all the chief industrial branches in Poland (steel, pig, iron, coal, and textiles), has increased to a large extent. The relatively prosperous situation has been in existence already for nearly two years. The fascist government can also record some successes in the rural districts and in the borderlands as a result of bribing the upper crust of the peasantry and a section of the intelligentsia. Fascism has succeeded in White Russia and in the Ukraine in splitting the national movement and in bringing under its influence a section of the middle peasants, not to speak of the big peasants.

Yet the contradictions created by the stabilisation process in Poland are more numerous, deeper and sharper than anywhere else.

Nowhere has stabilisation been accomplished so much at the expense of the workers whose wages even now, in spite of relative prosperity of trade, are shown by official data of the League of Nations to be the lowest in Europe, standing at the level of 1925 which was the period of grave crises and unemployment. By deception and terror the fascist government has so far succeeded, with the help of the reformists, in stemming the tide of the strike movement and in keeping down wages at the starvation level. In no other country is the permanent reserve army of the unemployed so large as it is in Poland, and nowhere does it exercise such a depressing effect upon wages. Suffice it to say that the number of the unemployed in the country normally fluctuates between 15 and 25%, and in 1925 it reached even 50%. The difficulties caused by the technical backwardness of the Polish industries, the colossal sums which have to be paid in interest on foreign loans to bolster up the fascist regime, and to enable it to spend the borrowed money on war preparations and non-productive purposes, — all this is bound to lead to the exploitation of the toiling masses, to increased taxes, to high cost of living, and to an increased offensive against the wages of the workers.

Since landlordism continues to exist in Poland, whilst the holdings of the peasants are unusually small, the Polish village remains essentially a pauper village. Unemployment in the country districts serves to swell the ranks of the unemployed in the towns. All this goes to show that the basis which the fascist regime has acquired among the privileged elements of the village and working class cannot be extended any farther. Even the penetration of fascism among some sections of the desperate elements of the working class which have been placed under direct dependence upon the fascist system does not alter the general fact of the steady growth of the revolutionary wave and the systematic spread of discontent. The realisation of this fact prompts the fascist regime to look for a way out of the situation in military adventures.

To this should be added the purely economic difficulties. The country is menaced with a severe failure of the crops. The balance of foreign trade is growing steadily worse. Foreign capital pours in rather sparingly, and at usurious rates of interest, which means increased burdens of taxation.

Instead of grasping the whole dialectics of the complex process of fascist stabilisation, our comrades of the opposition show the tendency to trace the sources of the revolutionary development exclusively to the decay of industry. These comrades believe that only the complete decay of industry creates the pre-requisite condition for revolutionary development and the growth of revolutionary tendencies. This frequently causes these comrades to overlook the contradictions where they really exist and to wander from the prediction of the complete economic breakdown to the inability to shake off the stabilisation illusions of fascism. This was bound to influence the whole tactics of the minority, particularly in regard to the strike struggle, which were the tactics of pure phrase-mongering and virtual passivity.

Under the conditions of Polish reality, the economic struggle of the proletariat acquired exceptional importance in the whole policy of the Party. The maximum of activity, was the basic principle of the Party in this respect. Although the strike movement in recent years was greatly checked by the fascist practice of arbitration and by the systematic treachery of the social-opportunists, nevertheless it must be observed that quite a number of industrial fights had been waged upon the territory of ethnographical Poland, almost completely upon the initiative and organisational activity and leadership of our Party.

Our principle was: the organisation and preparation of strikes. We refrained from declaring strikes without due preparation.

The question of strike tactics was one of the controversial points in our Party in the recent period.

The central task of our Party is the struggle against the preparations for an attack upon the Soviet Union, the defence of the Soviet Union, the popularisation of its achievements, the elucidation of the whole import of the imminent war so as to make it understandable to the masses. At the same time the Party endeavours systematically to link up the whole of the



anti-war campaign with all the mass actions arising from the daily defence of the interests of the proletariat. Secondly, our Party endeavours to furnish to the masses the most concrete idea of the whole course of the war preparations which are going on.

It is this very tremendous conflict of the entire capitalist world against the socialist world that the minority comrades are trying to reduce, with inconceivable obstinacy, to the extent of a purely economic local conflict connected with the need of the mines of Upper Silesia for selling markets in Russia.

One of the biggest campaigns recently conducted by our Party was the electoral campaign.

In spite of unparalleled terror, our illegal Party came out in every part of the country in the course of the Sejm elections, and it was recognised even in Europe as a tremendous real factor in politics. The Communist lists of candidates and those close to them have polled about 850,000 votes throughout the country, including many tens of thousands of votes recorded upon cancelled lists. The last fact shows how little the masses can be taken in by parliamentary illusions. Suddenly the Party came forward, unexpectedly to outsiders, as a deciding force in the industrial centres, but it showed also a wide influence in the villages, particularly in the White Russian and Ukrainian villages where the Communists and their associates polled over 400,000 votes.

But, comrades, in the course of the electoral campaign there were some differences revealed also in our Party which had to do with our relations to the reformist parties. It was proposed by the minority that our Party should form a united front with the reformist parties from the top. This proposal was considered by our Party leadership as a Right wing opportunist mistake and was rejected accordingly. At the same time the minority failed to understand the manoeuvre of our Party in regard to the Parties of the radical peasantry with whom it formed a political bloc upon the platform of the following slogans: Defence of the Soviet Union, workers' and peasants' government, the land for the peasants, the right of self determination to the extent of secession.

The need to dispose of the inner-Party crisis is growing to the extent that tremendous events are maturing. Fascism has set to itself the purpose of literally exterminating the whole of the vanguard of the working class. Our Party will have to answer to the imminent danger of war and to the new attacks by big and serious political actions in which the central point will inevitably be the general strike, and it should not dissipate its forces in bitter factional strife.

I believe that the proposals and suggestions made by the Russian Delegation in regard to the German Party may be properly and entirely applied in regard to the Polish Party too. We too need vigilance and the combat of Right wing deviations. But the road in this direction is the consolidation of the Party upon those proper political lines which it has not taken up and upon the Maintenance of an iron political discipline.

A few words about the Young Communist League. It has fought valiantly, shoulder to shoulder with our Party. Yet a considerable section of the League was rendered by the minority into a tool of factional strife against the C. C., thus side-tracking it into becoming a tool of the struggle against the Sejm faction whose conduct has been commended by the Comintern as a model of revolutionary parliamentarism.

The proposals made from this Tribune, to liquidate the crisis in our Party by removing the whole of the present leadership, I consider to be wrong. There can be no distinction drawn between factory workers who are bravely fighting and leaders who are supposed to be unable to fight. Our whole staff of officials and our leaders are fighting like simple soldiers; all our officials have undergone not only long terms of imprisonment, but have also suffered torture and maltreatment. Such a distinction has nothing to do with the reality of the conditions in our Party, and no one will, therefore, agree with it. There is also no sense in trying to allude to the fact that there are virgins who have held aloof from the factional strife.

The problem of disposing of the crisis is above all a problem of a firm leadership. The proper line, which is maintained by the leadership, has been vindicated by the Party. But it has been carried out in the course of a struggle against the minority with its Right wing mistakes. This leadership must

be given the opportunity to continue its proper policy in the future, but it must be less handicapped by strife and controversy, and assured a real Bolshevik discipline. This, and this alone, will guarantee the conditions for fruitful collaboration with the minority. I hope that the Communist International will help us to find a proper way out of the crisis, and that with the aid of the consolidation of the Party, with the aid of reaching a Bolshevik unity, we shall be able to carry on the revolution in Poland towards the ultimate triumph.

Comrade EWERT (Germany)

(greeted with applause):

Comrades, the Communist International had already dealt very fully at previous World Congresses with the problems and questions of the German Party.

There are also before the VI. World Congress questions which must be cleared up, divergencies of opinion which need not lead to a crisis in the Party, differences arising out of definite difficulties which confront the Communist Party of Germany in the present stabilisation period. The main thing in the Party is crystallisation and development of a wide united front so as to be able to take advantage of the past experience of the Party and to utilise the present concrete situation with the best possible results. The best organised capitalism in Europe is German capitalism. A number of new phenomena and contradictions are making their appearance, and our Party must and can solve them provided it is united. But in this connection we are face to face with a definite danger. In view of the whole traditional development of the Party there are still in its ranks certain tendencies which at every difference of opinion, at every attempt to clear up objective questions, demand immediately drastic measures without trying to settle the question by means of discussion.

A few words on the analysis in Comrade Bukharin's report and theses. In this connection one can ask: is there serious divergence of opinion on this question? The answer must be in the negative although it is a fact that according to a considerable number of German comrades the perspective, as given in these theses, is too pessimistic, that it is — as suggested by some comrades — a morass-perspective.

(Interjection by C. Thälmann: To whom does this allude?)

I have in mind the discussion in the delegate session.

(Interjection by Thälmann: You are wrong there!)

Is there in this period of stabilisation a phase which could be defined as reconstruction, accompanied by an extension of the basis of capitalism. If one considers facts objectively, I think that one cannot ignore the technical and organisational development which has taken place lately. We witness everywhere attempts to associate labour organisations, and thereby big sections of workers, with the capitalist system by all kinds of methods of class collaboration. Of course we can make things very easy and simple by describing the perspective as "bright" and brief, by giving the present phenomena a certain impressionist touch. A considerable number of comrades are doing this. But we know that Lenin warned revolutionists more than once not to fall into this error and we also know that the main premise for the development of a correct tactic in the Communist Party is a correct and real perspective which implies of course determined rejection of any attempt at Menshevik conclusions or liquidatory palaver.

Marx has already shown that antagonisms become accentuated through the higher forms of capitalist development. What is taking place now in the highly developed capitalist countries leads simultaneously to an accentuation of antagonisms in all domains — in external and internal politics. In regard to external politics, there is the question of war, and in regard to internal politics accentuation of class differences in the direction of revolution. This process, too, is not so simple that one can brush it aside with a few simple formulae. Concentration and monopolisation of industry has no doubt also certain retarding and impeding effects on the struggle of the working class. Anyone can see that especially in regard to sections of workers who are not yet class conscious the pressure of the capitalist

regime is much greater than in the pre-war period, all the more so as capitalists are endeavouring to tie sections of the working class itself to the capitalist system. But at the same time — and this must be emphasised — the situation is accentuated by the aggressiveness of this powerful capitalist concentration. Although we find it more difficult today to launch big working class struggles especially owing to the treacherous policy of trade union executives, these struggles assume enormous dimensions, they are of a more ruthless character and their effect is more revolutionising. Although for a time it is possible to form big international cartels of the most important industries, the struggle for markets, the predatory imperialist policy and aggressiveness in regard to the Soviet Union are becoming more accentuated.

I will deal now with the criticism of some comrades that not sufficient emphasis is laid in the theses on the decline of Great Britain and the dissolution of the British Empire. I think that the fact of the decline of Great Britain has never been disputed in the Comintern. But the main thing is — to make the working class realise the danger of British imperialism for the revolution.

Some comrades accuse the theses of representing the new revolutionary wave only as the consequence of a new war, a war of the imperialist states among each other or a war of the imperialist states against the Soviet Union. I think that this accusation, too, should be refuted. No communist will assert that there can be no revolution without a war. However, war and revolution are closely connected. War and revolution are two attempts to solve the contradictions of the present capitalist social system, attempts made by the two classes which are competing for power in the present epoch. War is the solution of the imperialists and revolution is the solution of the working class. The accentuation of internal and external politics, the growing revolutionary ferment of the working classes leads simultaneously to an intensification of the tendency and determination of the imperialists to try solution by means of war, and vice versa. In all probability the development in a considerable number of countries in the near future will be: struggle of a character which will bring us in some parts of the world to the threshold of the struggle for power. I mean by this that in view of the present consolidation of the bourgeoisie Communist Parties cannot be victorious all of a sudden. This would be a much too simple solution. We must be rather prepared that the transition of a wide mass movement which is still on a relatively low level, to higher and more definite forms will be in all important capitalist countries via a series of revolutionary and semi-revolutionary struggles, which will not necessarily end in immediate seizure of power. The insurrection of the Vienna proletariat seems to contradict this, and so does the great struggle of the British miners. But I think that it would be wrong to apply to big industrial states the situation in Austria which is a one-town state. It was precisely the general strike and the coal strike in Great Britain which showed the strength and heroism of the working class and at the same time the still existing and rather solid and strong stabilisation of the bourgeoisie (interjection: solid and strong?). Certainly, solid and strong, for it took up the struggle against the working class without any exhibition of nervousness. I have laid stress on these incidents because a decisive stage is setting in now for the Communist Parties in which we must consolidate the foundation of our movement so as to be able to lead the masses to revolution and victory in the event of a sudden revolutionary crisis.

Some comrades demanded that more emphasis should be laid in the theses on the successes in the Soviet Union. I think that no one can have anything against this, and I would like to supplement this proposal a little. We must draw the attention of industrial workers in the capitalist countries to a greater extent than before, not only to the success, but also to the special difficulties connected with the construction of socialism in the country of proletarian dictatorship, because industrial workers in particular are only too inclined to look on conditions in Soviet Russia with the eyes of "their own" country and are frequently deceived by the reformists. It is enlightenment such as this which enables the working class to understand the problems connected with the proletarian dictatorship. By a full understanding of them the working class will be guaranteed against reformist war preparations and against the war ideology which reformism is now imbuing the working class.

I think that the general line of the theses, the perspective, is correct.

Just a few remarks on the situation in the labour movement. If the general situation were not so complicated, how differently we could explain the contradictory character of the Left movement! This contradictory character is general. In all capitalist countries we witness a general swing to the Right in the Social Democratic Party and among its leaders and at the same time a swing to the Left among the masses by which the Communist Party and also social democratic parties are benefiting in various degrees. For instance, the elections in Germany show a rapid, and in some districts, predominating advance of the Communist Party in all important industrial districts. We witness a different process in semi-industrial semi-agricultural districts; a relatively smaller growth of the Communist Party, partly stagnation, partly regression; on the other hand a general strong growth of social democracy in these districts. This indicates that in Germany the entire industrial proletariat is swinging to the Left in some form or other. At the same time a differentiation process is taking place within this class, which cannot be, however, considered satisfactory in general. We have in Germany 16 million enfranchised purely industrial proletarians if we include women. There are also several million agricultural labourers, a few million minor civil servants, office workers and shop assistants. Although these strata who are proletarian in character are already disassociating themselves openly from the bourgeois parties, there are still millions who follow these parties and are not yet affected by the general swing to the Left. Although we must not minimise our enormous election success, we cannot, of course, assert that every vote given to the reformists is straw and every vote given to us is lead. I think that many votes given by the workers to the social democrats are still lead as far as the other class, namely, the bourgeoisie, is concerned.

What is the meaning of these 9 million votes given to the social democrats? Are they merely an election success or are they built up on organisations which are still deeply rooted in the life of the working class of Germany through their traditions and functions? This success of the social democrats rests on a Party membership of 800,000, a Party apparatus associated with the capitalist state, municipalities, communes, etc. This fact alone means a better proportion between organisational strength and the number of votes than exists in our Party. Moreover, the Social Democrats control the powerful apparatus of trade unions, consumers' co-operatives, sickness funds, all the cultural organisations by means of which they influence ideologically and also co-ordinate organisationally millions of workers who do not belong to their Party.

It is the fact of this reformist influence which makes the situation so serious and which makes it necessary also for us to accentuate our struggle against reformism in general, and against Right deviations in the Party in particular.

Although the German bourgeoisie admits its election defeat, it is consoling itself with the idea that the Social Democratic Party is now taking upon itself certain functions of the bourgeois parties in the government.

Comrades, I do not want to say our attitude is determined by this fact. But in the analysis made our Parties, all these matters are frequently taken too lightly, the magnitude of the problem is not fully recognised. This must necessarily lead to a minimising of the magnitude and difficulties of our work. Don't we see today that the Social Democrats, for instance, have succeeded in Germany to induce millions of workers to adopt the platform of defence of the capitalist republic, upkeep of the capitalist state, bitter opposition to the communists as enemies of this state and this capitalist republic.

Comrade Heckert said that we have in our Party and also in a number of other Parties a considerable percentage of labour aristocracy elements, some of them — as he says — with a petty bourgeois ideology. It is a fairly well known fact that also in revolutionary parties, as the example of the Leningrad Bolshevik Party before the revolution, whose cadres consisted mainly of skilled metal workers shows, that skilled workers are to a great extent amenable to our influence and that particularly under the present technical development and rationalisation which are threatening their position and are depriving them of their special rôle in the process of production, they are

very amenable to revolutionary ideas. On the other hand, most of the unskilled workers — and this is the peculiar feature of the Present situation — are very difficult to move in a whole series of industrial countries, they cannot be induced to initiate big mass struggles which are of an utterly different character today than in a directly revolutionary situation.

Comrades, why have I laid such stress on this question? Because I wanted to lead up to a decisive question connected with our present work: at present, when we are not directly confronted with revolutionary struggles, the Party and the working class must break down the barrier of reformist resistance in the organisation itself before they can initiate independent struggles. This is one of the main roots of the objective causes of Right errors. Our Party is weakest in mass organisations where Communists are frequently not determined enough and are unable, because of their ideological weakness, to mobilise the workers for the various struggles and to get them away from reformist surroundings. In these organisations our comrades come face to face with workers who are determined to fight and also with less class conscious and more backward workers; but they are also face to face with elements who are combating energetically the Communist policy and the Communist Party.

Another difficulty in this great general swing to the Left which is getting nearer to revolution step by step and in a roundabout way, is the fact that the consolidation of capitalism, its relative stabilisation has reached in a number of countries a stage which gives the reformists enough room for manoeuvring. In Germany, reformists issued the slogan "expropriation of foundries" and prevented at the same time the strike movement of the workers for higher wages and shorter hours in that very industry. On the one hand, opening of the safety valve in the form of strikes of a medium size which do not undermine the system, and on the other hand entry into the coalition government and introduction and application of conciliation machinery to sabotage strikes. Our trade union movement is frequently committing the error of still using typical social democratic methods. The main thing for us is: we must adopt better methods of work which can place initiative into the hands of the workers themselves; at the same time we must do more for the exposure of the social democratic trade union leaders by demanding again and again that trade union executives should carry out the work laid down in the resolutions of the workers at trade union and factory meetings. This means creating uniform methods, laying stress on independent mobilisation of the masses for the various struggles and at the same time compelling local reformist executives to consider the decisions of the workers in order to discredit thereby the leaders and get away the social democratic workers from their influence.

One can say in general that there is the danger of tactical questions and their solution overshadowing the problems of the German revolution. Partly, the Party itself is to blame for this because among the many tasks connected with our daily work it does not single out sufficiently the prospective problems of the German working class, for special elaboration and discussion.

In this objective sphere there is a third danger: definite dissenting conceptions brought forward by a **Right group** which has issued at this juncture the erroneous slogan: "**Control over production**" and caused thereby ideological confusion in certain Party circles.

We are at present confronted with the task of creating the greatest possible clarity in all questions of principle and of raising the ideological standard of the whole Party.

The next important task consists in developing the tactical and manoeuvring capacity of the Party which must react more rapidly, energetically and effectively to every step taken by the reformists and the bourgeoisie. In many parties and executives we still have a state of affairs when instead of leading the work, the work is leading them, when they show no foresight, but allow events to take them by surprise and limit themselves subsequently to criticising their mistakes. I think that the charges made by the Czech comrades against their own Party show that just in this sphere we have to remedy considerable defects. This is mainly the business of the Executive, but the latter cannot do justice to this unless it establishes the closest possible connection with the members and encourages their initiative.

Thirdly, it is essential to improve preparation and leadership of struggles which add to the experience of the masses, promote their organisation, and give them confidence in the Communist Party.

To do justice to these tasks we must, of course, create the necessary atmosphere in the Party. Comrade Bukharin said in his report that in various parties a peculiar tendency is noticeable: fractional struggles develop without a sufficient political reason and impede the development of the Party. In my opinion, it is necessary to create certain premises in order to secure maximum principal clarity, the necessary manoeuvring capacity, preparation and conduct of struggles, increased revolutionary determination and better organisation. The foremost premise is: correct Party policy. The policy of the Party is correct in general. As I already said it must take a more concrete form and be made more adaptable to all circumstances.

(Interjection by Thälmann: The policy correct in general?)

Yes, correct in general. Comrades, I think that it goes without saying that every Party makes mistakes in regard to its policy and that it is, therefore, not wrong to say that the policy of the Party is correct in general or to criticise individual errors, just as it is not wrong to accept the draft theses on the main and in general. This leaves the way open to improvement, and we have very much to improve.

The second premise is a **correct inner Party course**. Is there any tendency to deviate from this course? Comrades, we had controversies in regard to the Right problem, the expediency of the return of Brandler and Thalheimer. Our views in this connection were rejected at a delegates session of the C. P. S. U. and C. P. G. after the IX. Plenum. It is a fact that since then this question had nothing to do with our differences. Nevertheless, a struggle began to develop against elements in the Party who represent and carry out the policy of the Party as laid down at the Essen Party Congress. It came to a pass that the interpretation put on the decision which declares inadmissible tolerance towards the bearers of Right deviations — it was made after the IX. Plenum — was: that it is necessary to take organisational measures also against elements who are actively representing the policy of the Party, raising against them the false charge of "tolerance". In the delegate session held here in Moscow it was furthermore stated that the **Right danger** is not represented by the Right group but by comrades who exhibit tolerance to this Right group. Although no attempt was made to prove this, a number of comrades adhering to the Party platform were branded as such a group and organisational measures against them were advocated. Such a policy constitutes a danger to the internal policy of the Party and will necessarily lead to a revival of group struggles on an inadequate and unjustifiable political basis. We must nip this danger in the bud because it is already making itself felt and will throw back the German Party. Such a policy is bound to divert the Party from the important tasks confronting it, must lead to an orientation towards purely organisational questions within the Party. Such a policy is bound to lead to **group monopoly** in the Executive and **group ideology** in the party. Such a state of affairs makes more difficult an unprejudiced estimate of political questions, it leads to mutual distrust, to struggle about formulae which could be easily settled under normal conditions, to the utilisation of differences which are inevitable in all Parties and executives, for a struggle for power and important posts in the Party.

It is clear that even a majority in the Executive can degenerate into a group. This has already happened in several parties. To a certain extent this danger exists in the German Party. The question arises: can the decisions of the VI. World Congress and especially the amendments of the Russian Delegation prevent this? I will give a clear answer to this question. Only if there be real determination on all sides to change the present state of affairs. It goes without saying that — and I have emphasised this in my argument, that struggle against Right deviations is an absolute necessity. It is perfectly clear that this struggle excludes all tolerance. But the exclusion of tolerance does not mean application of organisational measures **Only**, in the struggle. Organisational measures are only in extreme cases to be used against comrades who try to bring erroneous ideas into the Party. Organisational measures are intended to limit their influence and combat effectively false theories. But

side by side with this there must be education of the masses, application of means of persuasion. Another premise for the recuperation of the Party is ridding the atmosphere of the poison which permeated it lately. By this I mean refutation of a conception on the strength of which a whole number of comrades who represent the policy of the Party are declared to be the main danger in its ranks. An attitude such as was given expression at the session of the German Delegation must lead to the accentuation of this struggle.

We agree with the decision brought forward by the Russian Delegation (Dengel: This is consistent!) and say at the same time that if the "majority comrades" continue to uphold the views which they represented in the Delegation — and which in my opinion are inadmissible — the state of affairs cannot improve, it must get worse. It should be pointed out that the struggle against Right deviations and conceptions must be carried on by the Executive and the whole Party in a manner to effect the consolidation of the Party. This means, of course, that in the Party the minority carries out the decisions of the majority, the majority being at the same time under the obligation of applying methods of Party democracy which leads to the selection of the best Party workers, the best cadres.

I think that the prospects for the consolidation of the communist movement in Germany as well as in the other imperialist countries are favourable. The working masses are rallying, although slowly, for mighty revolutionary struggles. The bourgeoisie has become more aggressive and is preparing an attack on the Soviet Union. History places all communists under the obligation to do their utmost for the revolution and to smooth the difficulties for the Party. It is impossible to predict how much time for individual parties will be given before the decisive trial of strength takes place. I think that this congress should declare that two premises are necessary to rally the masses in all future struggles, and to carry these struggles to a victorious conclusion. The first premise is unity in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the basis of the policy to which it has always adhered: alliance between workers and poor peasants and also a section of middle peasants, as one of the most important guarantees of the unity of the Comintern and its sections. The second premise is adoption of a policy which will enable us in the capitalist countries, European countries in particular, to get hold of new sections of workers, especially social democratic workers and to lead the struggle of the working class for a better social order.

I think that this Congress will give also to the German Party the following direction: no pessimism but correct appreciation of the dangers which are threatening us. At the same time preparation of revolution by earnest work, rejection of conceptions in the Party which might bring about a repetition of certain old group struggles which the Communist Party of Germany seems to have outgrown.

(Applause.)

#### Comrade STRAKHOV (Tzui-Vitor, China):

The immediate and main task of the Communist International is struggle against the war danger and defence of the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese Revolution. In this connection there is, in my opinion, one defect in the Theses. In the analysis of economics which deals with the growth of the forces of production in industry and improved technique, etc., the influence of this new economic situation on agriculture and the standard of living of the peasant masses is not sufficiently emphasised. Not only in Eastern and colonial countries but also in Europe the peasantry will play a very important role in the coming war. In West European countries and America the new economic situation is effecting a further class differentiation among the peasantry. On the other hand, concentration of land in the hands of "monopolists", landlords and usurers is increasing in the colonies. Peasants are deprived of their land with the result that the agrarian question is assuming an enormous importance in Eastern countries. For India as well as for China the agrarian question is the central question, the substance of the revolution in its present stage of development. If it comes to war, especially if the theatre of war is to be on the Pacific, Chinese and Indian peasants will have their say in the matter.

The Theses gives an excellent analysis of imperialist antagonisms in Europe. But I think that the question of the Pacific should have been dealt with in greater detail. There is every reason to believe that the Far East will play a role similar to that of the Balkans in the coming war.

I think that these questions must be discussed and popularised at the Congress and that the E. C. C. I. should in future issue directions to the countries which these questions concern most.

Although we do not pretend to understand these questions — not because we have no knowledge of international affairs but because of Chinese modesty — it seems to us that the so-called Third Period in the post-war history of capitalism differs very little from the Second Period (hear, hear). Nevertheless, I think that the definition of "Third Period" should remain in the Theses; one should only state more clearly why all the Powers have begun to make serious preparations for war against the U.S.S.R. just at the present juncture and, why, the Pacific has become the centre of a number of international differences.

I will deal now with the Chinese question. The Chinese Revolution has suffered serious defeats. I will not discuss just now the opportunist mistakes of our Executive, but will merely say that one of the objective reasons of these defeats is the enormous strength of imperialism which was and is the organiser of counter-revolution in our country. The revolutionary Labour Movement in Europe has not proved strong enough to stop the game of the imperialists in China. Therefore we must ask our brother Parties to undertake in this Third Period, the period of possible wars, especially war on the Pacific, that task of co-ordinating Eastern and Western actions against world imperialism.

Owing to a thorough regrouping of class forces the leading role of the Chinese proletariat has increased. The Canton insurrection showed certainly many errors and defects, but it also put an end to Kuomintang illusions, and is the beginning of a new stage in the Chinese Revolution. After the Canton insurrection the Chinese Revolution has been marching and will henceforth march only under the Soviet banner. There has been lately much depression in towns and in the Labour Movement as a whole. The Movement has gone through terrible times and has suffered serious defeats. On the other hand, the peasant movement is going on. It has been breaking out here and there since the autumn of 1927. Many village and provincial Soviets were formed by the peasants; their total number at present is 131. Many were destroyed by reactionaries but many have survived or have been reconstructed. Those which asserted themselves have driven away the landlords and gentry and are confiscating the landlords estates etc. The question arises: If a victorious insurrection of the proletariat, such as that in Canton, does not take place and if this victory cannot be stabilised — would in such a situation a victory of the Chinese revolution, at least in a few provinces, be thinkable? We must answer this question in the negative. We are confronted with the task of more energetic mass work in trade unions so as to strengthen the Labour Movement and enable the Chinese working class to place itself at the head of the Chinese workers.

In this connection I should like to make a few remarks about our errors.

When we were in Wuhan our tactic in regard to the peasantry, the petty and big bourgeoisie was entirely non-Bolshevik. This is at the root of all our mistakes. (hear, hear). If there was a time when we had to ally ourselves with the national bourgeoisie, this does not mean that we ourselves should become transformed into a national bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie. But this is what happened when we were in Wuhan; we ourselves became a petty bourgeoisie instead of only allying ourselves with it, and leading it in the struggle against the national bourgeoisie, the gentry and the landlords. If we have today the question of alliance with the peasantry, this does not mean that we ourselves must become peasants. But there are comrades who think that if the peasants demand equitable usufruct of land, our Party, the Communist Party of the proletariat, must also adopt this Programme. They seriously believe that this "equableness" is socialism. On the other hand, there are comrades who continue to underestimate the role of the pea-

santry and rail against "partisans, Blanquists and anarchists". I maintain the standpoint: that we must be loyal to our independent class position. Only thus will we be able to lead the peasantry. "Only by taking up a correct Leninist attitude to the peasantry, by overcoming all deviations in regard to underestimating the peasantry and also in regard to petty bourgeois 'peasant socialism'. Will the Party be able to lead the Chinese Revolution to victory."

The revolutionary struggle is not only directed against imperialists and militarists but also against the Chinese bourgeoisie because the liberation of China from imperialism is impossible without the overthrow of the counter-revolutionary power of the Kuomintang, without the overthrow of all militarists, without carrying out the agrarian revolution. The possibility of stabilisation of State Power in China is not excluded. But of course no "possibility" is excluded. However, struggle is the only solution of this problem. It is utterly impossible for the Chinese bourgeoisie, even with the support of American capitalism, to make agrarian reform in China a reality. Apart from the peasant question, there is the so-called soldiers question. These soldiers are simply ruined peasants who cannot find employment in factories or anywhere else. There are enormous masses of peasants and soldiers, they rise every day and everywhere. But when one day they will rise under the leadership of the proletariat, fully organised and conscious of their aims, no-one will be strong enough to overcome them, provided they have not been murdered before by the militarists. But the inability of the Chinese bourgeoisie to solve the agrarian question does not mean that the victory of the Chinese revolution is near. This is not so, for our enemies are strong. There are certainly dissensions among them, but at the same time they have a united front against us, they use against us white terror, a terror the like of which you, comrades in the Western countries, have not seen.

The question of Fascism, of fusion of the trade union bureaucrats with the State apparatus, has been thoroughly discussed here. To us this seems a mere trifle. When so-called trade unions are formed in China, this is simply done by order of the Kuomintang, the Nanking, the Peking Government, etc. Their actions are nothing but white terror, they murder people, they murder workers as for instance in Canton where 5,700 workers were murdered in three days by the Kuomintang, by Li-Ti-Siang and Tso-Han-Fak. These were not ordinary murders, incredible Asiatic barbarism was brought into play — I cannot find in the Russian language words strong enough to describe the horror.

I agree with the analysis of the political situation in China and with the appreciation of the Chinese Revolutionary situation in Comrade Bukharin's Theses. In this situation our general line is struggle for the masses, preparation of a new revolutionary wave, preparation for armed insurrection which is inevitable, because the working masses of China have no other choice but overthrow of the whole dastardly gang by armed force. I think that this task of ours should be dealt with in greater detail in the theses.

It was said here that the danger of Right deviations exists in West European countries. In the East and particularly in China we have, on the contrary, the danger of Left deviations — putschism. It is true that the danger of putschism is great in China. But at the same time, after the Tzinan incidents which were followed by a certain revival of the anti-imperialist movement in the cities and a radicalisation of the petty bourgeois masses a new opportunist deviation made its appearance. Unfortunately, we received the material connected with this only after Comrade Bukharin's report. We have in our possession documents which show that lately, end of June, some comrades have not only imagined but have also passed resolutions in Party organisations to the effect that henceforth our slogan must be convocation of the national assembly through the Kuomintang, that we must demand that the Kuomintang should re-establish the mass movement. But what does "re-establishment of the mass movement" mean? You have probably read yesterday in the "Pravda" that the bankers and capitalists in Shanghai demand the revival or the re-establishment of the mass movement. Why? Because they see danger in the workers' and peasants' revolution, because they must do something "to pacify the masses", "to give a favourable complexion" to the Kuomintang regime, to gloss over terrorism.

Side by side with terrorism against Communists the Nanking Governments begins to organise trade unions. There are comrades who want to issue or "utilise" a slogan of this kind which can only foster illusions and create confusion in workers' and peasants' ranks. As to the National Assembly, I am sure this question needs no further explanation. Even if we do not issue the slogan of Soviets, is it admissible to issue a slogan such as, "convocation of the National Assembly" without raising the question of armed insurrection, of final victory over the Kuomintang? The National Assembly will be convened by the militarists, all sorts of shady characters will attend it, perhaps also a few representatives of "trade unions" who are sure to be Li-Ti-Tsing's and Chiang-Kai-shek's creatures. On no account must we issue now the slogan "convocation of a National Conference" or "National Assembly" for this would be tantamount to abandoning or rejecting the slogan of Soviets. We think that attention should be drawn also to these Right deviations (Hear, Hear!).

In conclusion, I invite the Congress and the comrades of all countries to turn their attention to the question of the Far East, and to develop as much as possible the connection between us, the C. P. of China, and other Parties. In the event of armed collision among the militarists of the Far East, all Comintern Parties must be fully prepared for anything (applause).

#### Comrade RUST (Great Britain):

Comrades: The question of the past work and future tasks of the Young Communist International has occupied an important part in the proceedings of this Congress.

Comrade Bukharin took great pains to speak carefully and with considerable emphasis on the present position of the Y. C. I. and the necessity for taking decisive steps for the widespread introduction of new methods of activity, whilst at the same time preserving the militant political features of young Communist work. It is recognised that the Y. C. I. Congress must also mark a very definite stage in the introduction of these new methods. But I think at the same time we should recognise that a commencement has already been made in the introduction of new methods of work, and further, that the extension of activity in mass organisations has already commenced. I say that only in order to bring out the fact that the basis for new methods and the extension of mass work is already being laid down and it only requires energetic measures on the part of the entire membership of the Young Communist International to make these new methods in the future, regular and permanent features of activity.

Comrade Schüller, in his report, already referred to the fact that the practical experience of the Young Communists within the trade unions had caused them to recognise that the decision of the II Congress, namely, that special forms of youth organisation in the trade unions are not necessary, is incorrect. Practical experience has shown that it is necessary to develop special forms of work in the form of youth sections, youth committees and youth representatives.

If we take the position now of the trade union activity of the Young Communist International and compare it with the situation at the time of the IV Congress of the Y. C. I., we can clearly see a very big advance. At that time the work was only being discussed, but at the present time the Young Communist Leagues are taking an increasing part in the daily struggles of the young workers.

For example, in Germany, where at the time of the IV Congress we held only about 200 positions in the trade unions, the members of the German League now occupy 700 positions within the trade unions. Moreover there are 120 youth sections which are under the leadership of the young Communists.

In Great Britain also we have had experience of the ability of the young Communists to work within the reformist trade unions through the medium of developing special youth organisations. In the Metal Workers' Union and the Miners' Union, it has been possible to secure either the election of special youth committees which have been elected on the basis of young Communist propaganda and have been charged to fight for the immediate programme of the Young Communist League, or we have succeeded in electing youth representatives to the various

Committees of the trade unions. Moreover, both official and unofficial youth conferences within the trade unions have been held which have given valuable experience not only to the Young Communist League in Great Britain, but also to the Young Communist International; so far as methods of work are concerned inside the trade unions.

In the Red trade unions, the work has been easier insofar as our comrades working there had the support of the officials of these organisations. For instance, in France, where there are half a million organised workers in the C. G. T. U. we have youth representatives in the Central Committees of nine important unions.

In addition to this, there are youth representatives in all districts' committees of the various trade unions. These youth representatives organise youth conferences, and are charged with the carrying through of youth activity in the unions, and it is easy to see that as a result of the development of these special forms of youth organisation it has been possible to extend mass activity in the trade unions.

But it must be said that the work in the Red trade unions has been conducted too much from the top, in the way of appointments by leading committees of youth representatives instead of being based upon the activity of the young members themselves. And this is particularly the case in Czechoslovakia, where the progress of the Y. C. L. within the trade unions has been very limited indeed and where organised youth work is conducted only in one union, namely, the textile workers union.

At the last Congress of the Profintern a resolution on the youth question was carried and a Youth Commission worked out this resolution. Further, youth delegates were in attendance and youth representatives were elected on to the General Council of the Profintern. I want to take this opportunity of emphasising the importance of the Communist Parties seeing to it that the resolution on youth work carried at the Profintern Congress does not remain on paper, but is energetically applied by the Communist fractions within the trade unions.

This is important especially in light of the fact that during the recent months the Amsterdam International has been paying close attention to youth work. Of course this arises from an endeavour to combat the growing activity of the Young Communists within the Trade Unions. The Amsterdam International has put forward a programme and set up a Commission maintaining very close relations with the Young Socialist International. This emphasises the great importance of securing active Party support for the work of the Young Communists within the trade unions and in the direction of organising the unorganised young workers into the trade unions.

At the present time the reformist leaders in Great Britain are deliberately sabotaging our efforts to organise the young workers into the unions because they know that the young workers are a potential revolutionary force and moreover it means that they will raise their demands there and increase the revolutionary opposition within the trade unions against the reformist bureaucracy.

In connection with these endeavours to organise the young workers, here again we must pay attention to developing new methods of work and claiming the assistance of the Communist Parties in this direction. For instance, in Great Britain, there is developing in the textile area, the movement of the young piecers (a section of the textile workers) who, with committees, under the name of the Piecers Reform Movement, are endeavouring to mobilise the young workers for the right to join the reactionary trade unions which refuse to admit them or for full rights in such cases where they are admitted but not with full rights. The development of this movement as a reform movement of young workers is an important method which is necessary for the Parties also to take into consideration.

In connection with the organisation of the unorganised young workers, I think it is necessary to emphasise the importance of organising the youth and also child labour in the Eastern countries. The Young Communist International has already paid attention to this and steps have been taken in the

direction of organising the youth and children employed in the factories in the East.

We must frankly say that the tremendous importance of the sport organisations to the Young Communist International has not been fully understood within our Leagues. The work in the sport organisations has been largely neglected. The Y. C. I. intend at their Congress to lay the utmost emphasis on the necessity for carefully organised planned activity within the sports organisations. Even in those countries where sections of the Red Sports International exists, our Leagues and also the Parties, have not carried on organised fractional activity within those sections of the Red Sports International and consequently the leadership of the Communists within these sections has not been sufficiently strong. It is therefore necessary that the Parties should appreciate the significance of the sport organisations for the Young Communist International and assist them in this work, — sports organisations being important not only as a means of extending the influence of the Young Communist Leagues and providing a recruiting ground for them but also as mass organisations of the working class, which under the influence and leadership of the Communists can be drawn into the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie and particularly against the social democracy. The social-democracy has paid great attention to the sport organisations and at the present time the social-democrats in Germany are deliberately conducting a campaign for the expulsion of the revolutionary elements and adherents of the Red Sports International within the reformist sport organisations. This is being done of course to further isolate, if possible, the Communists from the mass organisations of the workers.

The Spartakiad which is to take place in August in the Soviet Union should be the rallying point for the inauguration of a big campaign for the development of the Red Sport International. Further, in those countries where so far there is no workers sports movement existing at all, it is essential that the Parties, together with the Leagues, should take action in order to develop such a movement. In Great Britain, we had no working class sports movement, despite the fact that England is alleged to be the home of sport. There did exist a British Workers Sports Federation which carried on little or no activity and although recognised by the reformists they nevertheless did nothing to assist it. The Young Communist League worked within this organisation and as a result of intense activity within it and establishing relations with the Russian Sports movement, we have been able to develop it to the extent that it now has a membership of approximately 5,000 and shows great signs of promise for future development. Within this organisation, the Communists have been able to secure the participation of this organisation in the Spartakiad despite the decision of the Lucerne Sport International that such participation is forbidden. We have been able to secure the leadership of this organisation and to develop it despite the fact that the Trade Union Congress in pursuit of their policy of suppression of all militant movements, withdrew their recognition and are taking steps to set up a scab organisation in collaboration with the bourgeois sport movement.

Finally, so far as this question of sports is concerned, we should stress the importance of sport also from the angle that the bourgeoisie, particularly with the introduction of rationalisation are concentrating on the organisation of factory sport clubs, company sports clubs which are developed in order to suppress the growing class consciousness of the young workers, to divert them from working class organisations and also to introduce such exercises which will improve the physique of the youth and overcome the fatigue caused by intensification of the production process due to rationalisation. Here again it is necessary, as in the trade unions, that the Young Communist Leagues should intensify their activity.

The steps already taken by the Young Communist International in the sphere of mass work are the guarantee that we will relentlessly and in the most determined manner possible, carry out the directives for the development of our work as laid down in the thesis that has been presented to the Congress.

(close in session.)

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