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

(FULL REPORT.)

**Sixth Session.**

July, 23<sup>rd</sup> 1928.

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

Chairman — Comrade Carlton (Negro).

Comrade SEMARD (France):

Comrades, the French delegation agrees on the whole with Comrade Bukharin's exposé, It proposes at the same time certain formal modifications and recommends that that part of the thesis which deals with French Imperialism be given more emphasis.

In regard to North America, the French Delegation thinks that more emphasis should be laid on the Kellogg pact and its consequences. Bukharin said quite rightly that the axis of international differences lies between North America and Great Britain. We think that one should emphasise the growing aggressiveness of American imperialism, pointing out that it disguises imperialist policy by a show of pacifism, by bringing forward a project which aims at "outlawing war".

Although the working class is politically well-informed and our Communist Parties are able to expose the true character of the Kellogg Pact, one must admit that this move on Kellogg's part is likely to foster pacifist illusions among the wider masses. Besides, it is characteristic of imperialists to prepare war while talking peace.

We propose that the passage in the Thesis which deals with American imperialism and which only says that it is donning the toga of pacifism, be supplemented by a brief exposé and criticism of the Kellogg Pact.

What is actually the policy of the French Imperialism? French Imperialism plays a very important rôle as a colonial power. It occupies second place among colonial empires. It occupies a preponderating place in China, from the economic as well as the strategic view-point, through its possessions in Indo-China. It plays a very important role in the Balkans where it is competing with Great Britain and Italy. It plays an important role in the Mediterranean where it wants to dominate and is interfering with the interests of Italy and Great Britain. Finally, also it plays a predominant role in the struggle against the U. S. S. R. side by side with other imperialisms by the support it gives to the Border States, particularly Roumania.

What is the character of its present policy? It is a policy of colonial expansion and reinforcement of its military apparatus. The reasons for this policy are: French imperialism has increased its production which is not commensurate with consumption which has been reduced through the shrinkage of the internal market, the inaccessibility of the external market through foreign competition. It needs cheaper raw material, new outlets, hence its policy of colonial expansion. Moreover it must decrease its cost of production, hence a policy of industrial rationalisation with all its consequences: low wages, a longer working day, conveyer system, high cost of living, accentuated struggle against the proletariat etc.

I want to deal specifically with the role of the French imperialism in the colonies. If French imperialism is to consolidate itself, if this is to make its financial stabilisation durable

and is to carry its policy of rationalisation to a conclusion, it must first of all make the most of its colonies. Therefore its entire policy is directed at present towards increased exploitation of its colonial possessions.

This policy of strengthening the French colonial empire has been discussed in the French capitalist press. There is complete accord between all the parties, Left, Right and social democratic. The social-democrats contribute their to share this imperialist policy.

One can also say that this increased exploitation of the colonies does not only aim at discovering new sources of raw material and new outlets, it also aims at **military organisation**; reinforcement of the army of the mother country by means of native and black troops. The tendency of French imperialism is to defend its colonies by colonial troops and to pursue its colonial expansion by fomenting enmity and strife among native troops. There were examples of this policy in the Moroccan war when subjugated Moroccans were used in the fight against rebel Moroccans.

Thus, in the discussion which took place in connection with military reorganisation in France provision was made for colonial self-defence by the colonial troops themselves, which will be officered by Europeans. Thus the aim is to create a formidable colonial army which in the event of an imperialist war will also be able to send its regiments to the mother country, an army which will intervene also in the internal conflicts which pit the working class against capitalism, because it will be of course easier to bring out colonial troops against workers on strike than European workers dressed in uniforms.

For several years French imperialism has been trying to find means of connecting West Africa and North Africa, not only to create economic ties between these two colonies, but also to provide the self-defence of West as well as North Africa. The trans-Sahara railway line is to be the means of transporting West Africa troops to North Africa and, in the event of a world war, of directing them towards France via the Mediterranean. Thus, the construction of this trans-Sahara railway is of enormous importance to the economic and military development of French imperialism, and this is one of the reasons for continuous war against the southern tribes in the Atlas and Talifet regions.

Comrades, it is self-evident that this increased exploitation of the colonial peoples results in rebellions and wars which are a cause of alarm to the French imperialists. We had in the last years the Riff war and the war in Syria. We had also colonial rebellions, for instance, peasant rebellions in Indo-China. We witness now the continuation of the war for the alleged pacification of Morocco, namely the war against the insurgent tribes in South Morocco. Just as the rationalisation policy means increased class antagonisms in the interior of the French state, this struggle pursued in the colonies increases the difficulties of imperialism by aggravating the rebellions, movements and wars against French imperialism.

It increases also antagonisms between the various capitalist states. I wish to single out the struggle between France and Italy, for instance in the Balkans, and also for predominance in the Mediterranean, for the possession of Tunis, which Mussolini intends to annex. Then there is the question of Tangier where Mussolini is also bringing forward his claim by right of occupation. It also increases antagonisms between French and British imperialism in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean, and between Germany and France because Germany has been deprived of its colonies and wants colonial mandates for its economic expansion; it has already lodged its claim in the League of Nations.

But this policy which is becoming more and more imperialistic and more and more provocative, requires increased armaments, and in this respect we witnessed in the last years a considerable reinforcement of our imperialism. First of all, the almost total reorganisation of the army, the creation of a permanent army composed of new recruits and re-engaged soldiers, more intensive military training of the youth, creation of a colonial army, erection of fortifications in the East of France, and finally creation of a powerful navy.

Comrades, it will be as well to lay stress on one of the recent manifestations of French imperialism: its naval demonstration at Havre. The general tone of the press was that French imperialism wanted to display there its enormous strength from the naval viewpoint. Comrades, it is clear that French imperialism requires a powerful navy for the security of its maritime routes; it requires it because it is getting ready for war which is bound to break out owing to the antagonism between the imperialist powers or owing to the struggle of all the imperialists against Soviet Russia.

This policy also requires brutal repression, not only against workers in the mother-country, who are rising against it.

This brutal repression has repercussions at home and manifests itself by violent attacks on revolutionary organisations, by imprisoning militant workers French imperialism wants to cripple our Party.

This policy is all the more dangerous to the working class because it is carried on with the collaboration of the social democrats: collaboration in the introduction of rationalisation, in the reorganisation of the army, in the colonial expansion and "peace policy" pursued by the League of Nations and in the moral and military preparation of war against Soviet Russia. The socialist Paul Boncour defended in the League of Nations the plan for the reinforcement of the army. He opposed in Geneva Soviet Russia's Peace Proposals. This man can be a pacifist in the League of Nations and a militarist in the Chamber of Deputies where he supports the plan of the General Staff. This is characteristic of the role played by social democracy and by the socialist party in France.

To the social democrats, the colonies are part of the French Empire; they do not make any distinction between them and the rest of the state.

Moreover the socialist party identifies itself with this colonial policy by voting colonial credits and passing votes of confidence in the government in regard to the colonial wars in Morocco and Syria. On the other hand, the C. G. T. declares itself for rationalisation in the colonies, for what it calls forced labour for the "indolent" native populations by saying "that the industrial world cannot renounce making the most of distant territories", meaning colonial territories.

This shows us how consistent social democrats are in their policy and to what extent they help imperialism to consolidate itself not only in the mother country, but also in the colonies. The social democrats are the best auxiliaries of French imperialism at home as well as abroad. Has not Paul Boncour declared that Poland is the guardian of civilisation, which means that Poland, supported by French imperialism, is the best champion of Western civilisation against Soviet Russia.

Therefore we must emphasise in the Theses and also before the Congress that, for the benefit of our Party and for the information of the working class, the role of French imperialism, the manner in which it jeopardises peace, and participates in the war preparations against the U. S. S. R.

If I insist on this point from this platform, I do so because the working class is still underestimating war dangers, and because there is within our Party, divergence of opinion re the imminence of war and the role of French imperialism. Some say that the imperialists will hesitate to let loose war, for it would be the signal for revolution. Others again assert that the antagonisms between imperialists are too serious for them to establish their united front against the U. S. S. R. for the purpose of declaring war.

Well, we know that imperialists are not masters of the situation in this respect when divergencies become very acute, armaments are carried to the extreme, ideological and military preparations are complete and when social democratic help is forthcoming in regard to drawing political backward workers into a war for national defence.

The numerous attacks on the U. S. S. R., the provocations, the internal sabotage, attacks on external institutions, and the economic boycott pursued by all the imperialists show that they intend a military attack. Moreover, the class differences which exist between the imperialist countries and Soviet Russia overshadow the differences between the imperialist powers.

Thus, the danger of war against the U. S. S. R., is the most immediate danger and we think that the participation of French imperialism and its important role should be more emphasised in the theses.

Comrades, I will take just a few minutes to tell you about our anti-war actions.

There is first of all our ideological work to determine the attitude of the proletariat in imperialist and counter-revolutionary wars, and to transform imperialist war into civil war.

This work has been done in our Party, and it should be pursued by all the Parties adhering to the Communist International.

We have done good work among army recruits, by establishing the "amicales". We have also worked in the army and navy where we have basic organisations. This anti-militarist work inside and outside the army is carried on by the Party together with the Young Communist League. We also work among reservists. This activity is of the utmost importance, for it gives us an opportunity to disintegrate the bourgeois army. We have been particularly successful last year in our work among the reservists; we have succeeded in rousing them against the military drill periods; in many camps they sang the international and demonstrated against French imperialism.

We have been also very active in our agitation against colonial wars and colonisation. In this domain, owing to our propaganda for fraternisation in Morocco, a company of native troops went over to the insurgents.

There is finally one more point which I want to stress: our anti-war action runs the risk of being superficial if it is not linked up with economic work in the factories. We say that anti-war struggle is at the same time an everyday struggle for immediate demands; only to the extent that united front committees spring up in factories can the struggle against war develop; resistance to rationalisation and its consequences can be closely linked up with struggle against imperialist war and for the defence of the U. S. S. R. In this domain our Party has progressed, we have to our credit the formation of Friends of the U. S. S. R. Committees in the factories.

Comrades, the main object of my speech was to point out that in our Party we have opportunities of inducing the majority of the working class to resist war in an effective manner, and to go over to the side of Soviet Russia if the French and other imperialisms decide to declare war against it. (Applause.)

#### Comrade DE VISSER (Holland):

Comrades, on the whole, the Dutch Delegation fully agrees with the political lines of Comrade Bukharin's report. Comrade Bukharin did not say much about the actual activity of the E. C. C. I. during the report period, though he did introduce a certain amount of self-criticism concerning this activity. I mean by this that in connection with some important international actions, the Executive did not intervene at all or intervened too late. Another defect in our international work is lack of timely information which was particularly evident in the struggle against the Trotskyist opposition. It is absolutely necessary to improve the international information service in regard to important facts, above all, in Russia.

Comrade Bukharin spoke about bureaucratic symptoms in individual Parties and also in the International. We think with him that the apparatus of the International should be "rationalised". It is also necessary in connection with this, to strengthen the political executive of the International by adding to it a considerable number of good forces from the sections. We have at present a state of affairs when a few prominent leaders are overburdened with work, which can only be detrimental to the International in the long run.

Comrade Bukharin drew our attention to tendencies towards state capitalism, and this is on the whole correct. But we must not forget that there is also an opposite tendency. In Holland, for instance, we meet frequently with proposals on the part of bourgeois parties to give up state enterprises, tramways, gas-works, etc., to sell them to private companies or to establish so-called mixed enterprises instead of state and municipal con-

cerns. We are combating this tendency with utmost energy, and we think that it would be expedient to say something about this tendency in the Theses.

A few words on auxiliary organisations. We recognise in general the usefulness of such organisations. But it would be a mistake to see only advantages and to overlook disadvantages, particularly for the small sections. One of the dangers connected with auxiliary organisations is that they can become a weapon against the Party failing correct leadership, and this at times has been the case.

A few words on trade union policy. The Thesis No. 37 contains the following statement: Organisation of the unorganised, capture of reformist trade unions. Organisation of the expelled and under certain circumstances (in countries where a split has taken place in the trade union movement) secession from one's "own" captured local organisation and affiliation to the revolutionary trade union federation. Such are the tasks on the programme. These "certain circumstances" — we must make this perfectly clear here — do not exist in Holland. The N. A. S. has left the R. I. L. U., carries on a syndicalist-reformist trade union policy and even opposes the Comintern and the R. I. L. U. It is utterly impossible for us to advocate the transference of the local organisations from the modern trade union movement to the N. A. S. In Holland our task is to create a revolutionary organised minority movement in the N. A. S. as well as in the N. V. V. and to maintain the slogan of the organisational unity of the trade union movement, with full freedom for revolutionary criticism.

In conclusion, we think that the International should pay more attention to the protection of small sections. For instance, the International should have intervened in Belgium sooner than it actually did. One could see already a long time ago that the majority of the former executive was following a wrong course, and therefore the International should have intervened sooner. We hope that the Congress will take note of these remarks, so as to enable the Comintern to do justice to its historical task: leadership in the struggle against the world bourgeoisie and its lackey — social democracy.

#### Comrade ROGITCH (Yugoslavia):

The Delegation of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia fully agrees with Comrade Bukharin's report and Theses on the international situation and the tasks of our world Party, the Communist International. Comrades, the delegation of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia would like to express from this platform its gratitude to the Executive Committee of the Comintern for the measures it has taken to put an end to the disintegrating fractional strife in the Party. After the criminal fractional strife the Open Letter of the Comintern to the members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia rallied all the sound elements of the Party. After the discussions on the Open Letter in Party nuclei and organisations, we can already say with the utmost satisfaction that factionism was poisoning only the intellectual leading group and was not affecting the proletarian members of the Party. We feel confident that with the help of the Comintern the Communist Party of Yugoslavia will do away with the last vestige of this disintegrating factionism at its forthcoming IV. Congress. The recuperation and consolidation of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are all the more necessary as the war danger is more acute in the Balkans than anywhere else. The big imperialists (Great Britain, France, and Italy) are getting the Balkan states gradually under their financial and political control and are endeavouring to cause strife among them and to drive them into war against the Soviet Union. The tension in the Balkans; the Italian-Yugoslav conflict, the Yugoslav-Hungarian conflict, the Yugoslav-Albanian conflict are not of a purely local, Balkan, but of an international political character. An outbreak of war in the Balkans will inevitably lead to a conflict on a world scale.

Comrades, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is confronted with great and difficult tasks also owing to the internal situation which is becoming more and more complicated. Yugoslavia is a multiple state. After the war the Serbian bourgeoisie usurped hegemony, supported by the bayonets of its own army and the armies of the victorious allied powers. The working

population of the Croatian, Slovenian, Montenegrin and Macedonian nations and of the Hungarian and German minorities was despoiled by the Serbian bourgeoisie; this led to a serious crisis in industry and agriculture, which was still more accentuated by the crisis caused by national oppression. After the 59 Communist deputies were driven out in 1921, the Parliament of the Yugoslav so-called "democratic-parliamentary" monarchy became an obedient puppet in the hands of the Greater Serbian hegemons who replied even to the meek opposition of the Croatian Radic-Party by shooting the two Radic-deputies in the House of Parliament itself and who are now steering their course quite openly towards dictatorship through a fascist government of generals.

Even in these internal political questions of the Balkan states one feels the hand of the big imperialists of London, Paris and Rome with whose help governments in the Balkan states are formed and overthrown.

Comrades, it is in this economic and political situation that the revolutionary national and peasant movement was born in Yugoslavia. Big peasant meetings of all political shades, not only among the oppressed nations, but also in Serbia itself demand that all peasant debts and arrears in taxes be annulled and that an alliance be made between the peasants and workers. Revolutionary demonstrations took place after the assassination in the House of Parliament which led to barricade fighting in Zagreb which lasted two days. The police called out against the demonstrators refused to do their "duty". All these incidents which took place against the will of government parties and oppositional parties alike, bear witness of the revolutionary tension among the workers and peasant masses of Yugoslavia. It is self-evident that only a strictly disciplined, united Communist Party with a Leninist executive can carry out the policy of the Party and of the Communist International.

The Party, freed from fraction strife which hitherto incapacitated it for big actions and prevented it taking root among the mass of workers and peasants, will be able to place itself at the head of the labour and peasant movement.

We think that one of the most important tasks is to intensify internationalism in all Communist parties, which must be put into practice.

We draw the attention of the North American, German, French and Belgian sections of the C.I. to work among the millions of immigrants from the Balkans who have been hitherto under Catholic, nationalist or social democratic leadership. In conjunction with the sections of the native countries of the immigrants, the said sections must take up the work for the capture of the proletarian immigrants.

Comrades, on the strength of the rich experience of the Comintern, we are convinced that the Executive Committee of the Communist International will also liquidate fraction strife in the Polish Party with the support of the proletarian elements in that party; upholding thereby the fighting capacity of our Polish brother-party.

Comrades, for the co-ordination of the political, tactical and trade union lines in the Balkan states, it is incumbent on the appropriate organs of the C.I. to bring about closer contact between the Balkan sections. Hitherto there has been no proper connection between these sections. This is a serious defect which must be remedied.

#### Comrade FORD (America):

Comrades, the American Delegation in general is in full agreement with the general line laid down by Comrade Bukharin in his report. There are, however, two points which I should like to take up in connection with the report. First, to my mind, Comrade Bukharin's report did not sufficiently touch on the colonial question as it relates to Africa under British, French and yes, American imperialism; he did not sufficiently touch on the colonial question in reference to the West Indies and Haiti, etc., under British and American imperialism. Secondly, Comrade Bukharin's report did not give sufficient attention to the inner Party struggle that exists within the American Party and

its effect upon the activity of the Party in trade union work; on the question of the organisation of the unorganised, and the question of the Negro work.

The inner Party struggle has hampered more than any other section of our work, the Negro work.

As a result of the tremendous industrialisation of America there has been an increase of Negroes since the late 70's of 300,000 yearly, until at the present time we have over two million Negro industrial proletariat in the American basic industries of the North and East. We also have 1,500,000 agricultural Negro workers in America. Over one million Negro domestic workers. 66% of the Negro population of America is confined to the rural and farm districts of the South. Now, comrades, in view of this tremendous revolutionary force, this industrial proletariat, this force of agricultural and rural workers among the Negroes of America we have no more than 50 Negroes in our Party, out of the 12 million Negroes in America. We have not organised a single union in America among the Negro workers. We have had recently in America, the formation by a Socialist, of a reactionary trade union among the Negroes. This organisation has been going on for two years and our Party has not one iota of influence in this organisation because of a definite under-estimation of Negro work in general. Negro comrades have been driven out of the trade union movement, without the Party raising a hand or doing anything to counteract this situation. Negro comrades who are continually bringing this question before the Party are persecuted and driven out of the Party and into the I. W. W. and other organisations.

At the last Conference of the Miners in Pittsburgh on April 1st — one of the most active Negro comrades we have in the miners' field, because he violated the discipline in bringing before the conference the question of Negro work, has been persecuted and even accused of being a spy of the reactionary forces of America, and these charges have not been substantiated by facts and evidence.

Comrades, more than this, there has been evidence of white chauvinism even in the ranks of the Party.

During the convening of important conferences or congresses such as we have here, or such as the R. I. L. U. Congress, our Party always makes an effort to intensify its activity in Negro work. During the month of April, to give a small example — there appeared in the columns of the "Daily Worker" the amazing spectacle of 1,100 lines of written material concerning Negro workers in America.

You know, we in America are good advertisers, regardless as to whether we are Communists or capitalists. During the month of April, the Executive Committee of our Party in New York issued a famous document on Negro work. This was the outcome of the increased activity after the R. I. L. U. Congress, and during the period the Negro Commission was meeting and investigating Negro work here. Again, according to a news bulletin which is issued at this Congress, our Party is conducting a tremendous fight against white terror which exists in the form of lynching. This is hypocrisy to my mind. This is the first time our Party has carried on an intensive campaign against lynching in America. I hope it is a new turn in our Party, but as I see it, it is simply another case of advertising.

I realise that Comrade Bukharin's report could not cover everything under the sun. His report was of a general world character, but in view of his remarks concerning the inner struggles of the Czech-Slovak and Polish Parties and the effect upon the international situation and outlook, I also think that some drastic action should be taken in the American situation. Perhaps the remarks on the Polish situation should be taken as a hint by the American Party. I hope so.

By investigating the archives of the Comintern, we have discovered that during the last few years no less than 19 resolutions and documents upon the Negro question have been sent by the Comintern to the American Party, and not a single one of them has been carried into effect or brought before the Party. I say that the few Negro comrades we have in the Party have been making a fight for years to bring this question before our Party. And now we bring it before a Comintern Congress.

There are still millions of Negro workers in Africa — in East Africa and the Gold Coast, etc. In the West Indies and

Haiti there are rumblings of revolt against British and American imperialism. In general I think it is necessary for Comrade Bukharin to stress the need for activity in these territories, and where Negro workers generally live. I think the delegates of all the Parties concerned — the British, French and American — should meet at the Congress in a special Commission for the discussion of work among the Negro workers in these colonies.

In conclusion, the inherent contradictions of capitalism are leading the imperialist countries further and further into colonial spheres and fields. The next great revolutionary wave will come from the Negro workers and the exploited workers and peasants of the colonies in which Negro workers live. Under the banner of the Comintern the Negro workers will be found fighting for the overthrow of capitalism and the downfall of imperialism through the world. (Applause.)

#### Comrade VASSILIEV (C. P. S. U.):

In the course of the last years the discrepancy between the growth of the political influence of the Communist parties, on the one hand, and their **organisational work**, on the other hand, increased considerably and continues to do so. In the meantime the radicalisation of the masses is creating a very favourable objective situation for the consolidation of the Communist Parties. But figures re membership increase in the Communist Party show us that there is no proportion between their numerical development and the growth of their political influence among the proletarian masses. How is this to be explained? Two views on this subject are prevalent in our brother Parties, both of them are erroneous. One of them is: objective difficulties in the way of the development of the Communist Parties are steadily growing. Police, government and employers' terrorism is increasing. These difficulties set a limit to material and physical possibilities of the numerical development and general consolidation of the Communist Parties. It would be, of course, a great mistake to under-estimate the significance of the growing pressure of the employers and the government on the working class. It would be a still greater mistake to explain the organisational weakness of the Communist Party solely by these increasing persecutions and difficulties in organisational work. Everyone knows that in the elections of 1928  $3\frac{1}{4}$  million proletarians voted for the C. P. G., whereas it only has about 150,000 registered members. I want to know are there not among these three million and more proletarians who gave their vote to the German Communist Party, hundreds, thousands and ten thousands of workers who could be already now in the ranks of the C. P. G?

We know cases from the history of the recent conflicts in the **Ruhr industry** (and of last year) when for instance a strike was organised and carried out in a department of the Krupp works by non-party workers without the C. P. factory nucleus knowing anything about the preparation of the strike. It joined the strike after it had already begun.

In France over one million electors voted in the elections to the French Chamber in 1928 for the candidate lists of the Party. According to the material of the C. C. of the C. P. F. about 300,000 proletarians took an active part in the election campaign. And yet the C. P. F. had only a little over 52,000 members on January 1st, 1928. Has the C. P. F. increased its ranks during the election campaign by winning over a part of these 300,000 active participants in the campaign? On the contrary: in some organisations the membership has decreased.

The other argument is: the Parties are young, the leading cadres are weak, social democratic and anarchistic traditions have not yet been overcome, etc. It goes without saying that apart from difficult police conditions, these social democratic and anarchist traditions which the parties have not yet been able to shake off, have to be considered. We must also reckon with the weakness of the leading cadres. And yet this is not the question. It is rather: what are the Parties doing to overcome all objective and subjective difficulties?

In this respect we must admit that as a rule Parties are not doing all they could and should do for their organisational consolidation considering the forces and leading cadres at their disposal.

Since 1926 the Central Committee of the C. P. F., its conferences and congresses, have been repeating over and over again that the campaigns carried out by the Party have exposed the weakness of the lower party organisations and the inadequacy of the work in enterprises, that the campaigns were carried out mainly with the forces of the parliamentary fraction and of the editorial board of the central organ "L'Humanité". We think that these explanations are a reflection of the social democratic past; we witness lack of critical thinking and revolutionary will to overcome this social democratic Adam. This power of the past is particularly noticeable in the **trade union work** of our sections. Comrade Bukharin pointed out in his report that in countries where the trade union movement is split our revolutionary trade unions, i. e. unions which work under the guidance of the Communist Parties are frequently using in the course of their activity the methods of work of the reformist trade unions.

Comrades, I think that the Congress must give us definite and strict directions how to combat energetically these relics of the social democratic past in the organisational work of the Communist Parties.

The development of a general political campaign against the war danger is, of course, a great and important task. But what is of particular importance and what is a weak point in all parties, is energetic and successful organisational work in enterprises and in all the most important branches of industry. I reiterate, comrades, **this work is very weak in all our Parties**. This is one of the greatest defects in our entire party work. No one will gainsay that the Parties must use their whole energy and determination to capture positions in all important branches of industry.

Comrades, I would like to say a few more words about the youth organisation.

I think that no one in the Comintern will underestimate the importance of the Y. C. I. as one of its revolutionary sections in spite of various deviations in some parts of the communist front. But it seems to me that the participation of the Y. C. I. in the general political work of the Comintern does not always correspond with a correct appreciation of the internal position of its own organisations. I would like to remind the comrades of the resolution of the V. Comintern Congress on the Y. C. I. and to quote a few sentences from it:

"The V. Congress of the Communist International endorses the resolutions of previous congresses and declares that these resolutions have made possible the transformation of the Y. C. I. into a mass organisation of the proletarian youth, that the Y. C. I. has made enormous progress in this direction as shown by continuous qualitative and quantitative development and that this progress is all the more significant as a process of dissolution has been noticeable at the same time in the young socialist organisations".

However, if we consider the figures in Comrade Schüller's report we see that the Y. C. I. has in all countries (exclusive of the U. S. S. R.) a little over 100,000 members, which means that it is not actually a mass organisation. The continuous steady growth mentioned in the resolution of the V. Congress is conspicuous by its absence in a good many Leagues.

What about **factory nuclei** concerning which such fine words were used in the resolution of the V. Congress? The Org Department of the Y. C. I. gives the following figures about the changes in the total number of factory nuclei which certainly do not bear testimony of their growth and consolidation: 1924 603 nuclei, 1925 1,001, 1926 1,900, 1927 805, and of 1927 270. End of 1927, only 6% of the membership of the Y. C. L. of Germany organised in factory nuclei; in Czechoslovakia, 11%, in France, 8-10%, and only in Italy and Poland, that is, in countries where the Y. C. L. is illegal, 40-45%.

And what about the penetration of the Y. C. L. into **big enterprises**, — the main problem of its whole work? As to this question the Org Department of the Y. C. I. gives material concerning 131 newly made members in the course of 1927 in the Y. C. L. of Germany, 84% of whom were in small, and 16% in big enterprises.

Then there is the question of **fluctuation**. The Org Department of the Y. C. I. gives the following figures: fluctuation



amounted in 1927 in France to 40%, in Czechoslovakia, 35—40 per cent., and in Great Britain to 20%.

We have a whole series of Y. C. I. organisations which have no factory nuclei at all. One of them is the Y. C. I. of America which has not a single factory nucleus. We have for instance the Czech C. P. which is a mass party of 150,000 members. We have in Czechoslovakia Communist Party nuclei in big enterprises which have hundreds of members, and yet there are either no Y. C. I. nuclei at all or very feeble organisations.

I think that in the light of these figures and in view of the fact that enormous numbers of young workers are not only drawn into the capitalist process of production, but also into the struggle, that bourgeois youth organisations embrace hundreds of thousands of young workers, we must seriously consider in what manner the parties can help the Y. C. I.'s to alter this state of affairs so as to enable them to carry out to the full the decisions made at the fifth congress. (Applause.)

#### Comrade THÖGERSEN (Denmark):

The Danish Delegation has taken up the report and theses of Comrade Bukharin and declares itself completely in agreement.

The development which Comrade Bukharin designated as characteristic for the Social Democracy, and as determinative for our attitude towards it, is expressed with particular clarity in the Danish Social Democracy.

In our case also rationalisation is proceeding, and the Social Democrats are entirely in favour of it, just as in the whole question of stabilisation of capitalist economy they consistently collaborate with the capitalists.

Until 1923 Denmark derived certain competitive advantages from the low level of the German mark. After the Dawes Plan was carried out in Germany the restoration of the Danish krone was begun, and Denmark lost the favoured position which its low valuta had given it in comparison to the gold Parity of the German mark. The official unemployment statistics, which include all workers organised in the trade unions, clearly shows the influence of the stabilisation of the krone upon production. The percentage of unemployment, which in 1924 had declined to 10.7%, in 1927 had already risen to 22.3%.

In April 1924 the Social Democrats took over the government, after an election struggle in which they raised the following slogans: Heavy taxation of property worth more than 50,000 kronen, expropriation of big landed estates and their reconstitution into workers' recreation homes, improvement of social insurance, disarmament, etc. It was the task of the Social Democrats to effectuate the stabilisation of the krone and to divert the attention of the working class from the fact that they would have to pay the costs of this through an intensified unemployment. The Social Democratic government furthermore introduced new income taxes which heavily burdened the toiling population, and the State took over, with the consent of the Social Democrats, the guarantee for the debts of the collapsed Landmann Bank, with the result that up to the present day it has had to pay over 400 millions.

Of these great election promises, not a thing was carried out, nor was there even an attempt to carry them out. On the contrary, the Social Democratic Secretary of State, Stauning, acted energetically against the trade unions when in 1923 the latter waged a struggle against the employers' demands for wage-cuts. Stauning issued a provisional compulsory arbitration law which was intended to force the workers back into the factories.

By 1926 the Social Democrats had carried through the first phase of the stabilisation and had to give way to an Agrarian Government whose task it was to bring about the abolition of social legislation and the reduction of the wages of the State employees, as well as to assure the employers of State support for the reduction of the workers' wages.

During this period the Social Democrats conducted a sham opposition with the intention of preventing a struggle on the part of the workers against the brutal wage reductions.

The Social Democrats are now preparing to resume the reins of government once more, which may possibly occur already in the coming spring. In 1927 a Party Congress ratified the prevailing policy of the leadership and instructed it to resume governmental power under the slogans: taxation and rationalisation.

Our agriculture is today also in a serious state of crisis, which takes on particularly sharp forms in Northern Schleswig, where, after the separation from Germany, the peasants are all deeply in debt and are now forced to pay principal and interest on what they had borrowed at double the original rate. Furthermore, after the separation from Germany, they were forced to change from cattle raising to the production of butter and bacon, since the former live stock export southward was made completely impossible by the German customs legislation of 1925.

In Northern Schleswig we actually have a revolutionary situation. The Social Democrats and the bourgeois parties are attempting, wherever it is at all possible, to dam up this revolutionary movement by inciting national antagonisms.

The crisis of course hits the agricultural labourers hardest of all; despite the relatively low wages new wage cuts are repeatedly being forced through. The agricultural labourers are only 10% organised, in contrast to the industrial workers who are 100% organised. The unskilled workers in the provincial towns earn an average wage of 1.21 kr. per hour, in Copenhagen 1.39 kr.; while the average wage of the agricultural labourer only amounts to about 60 öre per hour.

To the extent that the Social Democratic leaders have become integrated in the capitalist stabilisation process, there has grown also the Opposition inside the trade union movement, which showed its greatest effect in that the "Arbeidsmänner-verband" (working men's union) with 80,000 members, left the trade union federation in 1926.

The immediate causes were the attitude of the Socialist Ministry during the big struggle of 1925 and the Stauning proposal for a compulsory arbitration law.

Today the Trade Union Federation contains only 50% of the trade union members, while the others are divided among 23 different unions.

The secession of the "Arbeidsmänner", which was provoked by the Ministry-Socialists, was opposed by the Communists.

The Socialists have now begun to carry out the splitting policy also internationally; the Trade Union Federation at its Congress held in May of this year, decided to apply to Amsterdam in order to see to it that the unions which are outside of the Trade Union Federation shall be thrown out of the Industrial internationals. It is their intention, partly, to rob the Left orientated masses of workers of support, and partly to make transport workers' strikes impossible. At the same time they broke off collaboration with the Norwegian Trade Union Federation because the latter is outside of Amsterdam.

The Danish Social Democrats had acquired international fame before the war by their proposal for complete disarmament and the training of the youth of school age in the use of arms. Naturally this point of view has long since been dropped, and today the Social Democrats share in the responsibility for the reorganisation of the army, as determined by the new constellation of powers in Europe.

The Danish army is now being reorganised under British control, with its front directed towards the East in order to complete the cordon around the Soviet Union. In the Sound, the channel to the Baltic, a dyking system is being undertaken and it was carried on also during the Social Democratic Government, in order to make possible the passage of British warships into the Baltic.

As to the inner Party situation I can say the following: In August 1927 our Party held a Congress, after a prior Party discussion with the Rightward, anti-Comintern leadership. With the help of the Comintern we succeeded in eliminating their deviations and in carrying out a new policy. Since that time

the new leadership has succeeded in consolidating the Party and partially in bolshevising it. The membership in this short period has increased by 100%, the circulation of our newspaper likewise by 100%. We have achieved a considerably better position among the industrial workers and the Party has initiated a campaign for approach to the agricultural labourers and small peasants.

#### Comrade SIKANDAR SUR (India).

Comrades, I wish to express appreciation of Comrade Bukharin's draft thesis on behalf of the Indian Delegation. At the same time I have to complain of the negligence of the Communist International as no definite step has been taken during this period of last nine years to bring about the formation of a Communist Party in India. It is high time that this Congress realises the potentialities of the formation of a strong Communist Party in India, in view of the unprecedented revolutionary wave now developing there.

The present situation in India is very complicated. British imperialism, in co-operation with the national bourgeoisie is oppressing the Indian workers. At the same time, British imperialism is endeavouring to break up the Indian industries and to disorganise all the important ones in order to facilitate the import of the commodities of Lancashire. A similar process is going on in favour of the Japanese textile goods. Simultaneously with this they have also closed down Railway Engine Repair Shops which employed 150,000 workers, thereby throwing 150,000 helpless Indian workers to the ranks of unemployed.

No doubt, the Indian capitalists are being humiliated and coerced by the British imperialists in order to advance British interests in India, yet both the British imperialists and the Indian capitalists unite together in repressive measures against the Indian workers, and are doing everything to provoke them to action. Wherever the workers do not heed this provocation, and continue to work even on the small wages they get, the employers are following a policy of lockouts all over the country. Up to the first week in June, there were the following number of workers on strike: 21,000 railway workers, 10,000 metal workers, 8000 jute workers (of whom 600 were women): 3500 textile workers in Cawnpore and other textile areas other than 150,000 textile workers in Bombay. Throughout this long period of strikes, British imperialism has been advising the Indian bourgeoisie to assume an uncompromising attitude towards the workers.

During this strike period the workers in **Bombay and Lilloah** who happened to protest against the repressive measures were shot down mercilessly. The Indian workers are struggling hard to resist the oppression of the employers, who are demanding cuts in wages and an extension of hours. The working hours in India are already ten per day. At some places the bourgeoisie are taking work for more than 11 to 12 hours, a day and yet they are not satisfied.

Alongside with the breakup of old stabilised industries, British imperialism is directing Indian capitalism towards new industries, as for example the aviation and hydro-electric developments. The iron industry, which had been given facilities to develop within recent years, has now come under the direct control of British imperialism so that they can utilise it in the next coming war. As to the next war, British imperialism is laying its preparations in India, and is creating a war psychology, also in the peasant areas. At present there is in India a strong movement which can be utilised as a revolutionary force against British imperialism. We are heavily suffering under the shortage of organisers. Without a band of organisers we cannot lead the masses in a revolutionary direction. It is, therefore, very necessary that the Congress here should give special attention to the movement in India, and to help us to organise a strong Communist Party there.

#### Comrade BODEMANN (Switzerland):

The Swiss Delegation will vote for the draft theses presented by Comrade Bukharin as a whole; it will however propose certain additions. I must remark that, according to our opinion, the Executive has paid utterly inadequate attention to the activity of the **smaller Parties**, and I should like to illustrate this by just one fact. Our Party had to make a decision on a question that was vital for its very existence. We called upon the Executive to take a stand on this question, but the Executive did not reply.

In my opinion there is also an irrational supply of material to the Parties through the apparatus of the C. I. I am convinced that while there is an apparatus, it does not have sufficient contact with the political leadership of the Executive. We get too much material, or else the material arrives at a time when it is no longer possible to concretise and work it up for the various campaigns. **Inform and Agitprop apparatus** are working very badly and we are not satisfied with their activity. This was shown especially crassly in the poor reporting service on the sending away of the Oppositionists. Our press was informed much too late on this matter.

In his report Comrade Bukharin also spoke about **bureaucratism**, and he mentioned that our Congress qualitatively was not of a particularly favourable composition: that at the Congress there were too few workers from the factories. I am in complete agreement with this criticism. But then the Congresses should be so organised that a worker would not have to stay in Moscow for weeks and weeks, for in this way we will destroy the future possibility of getting any workers at all from the factories as delegates to the Congress. In our opinion a reorganisation of the work of the apparatus of the Executive is a great necessity.

We believe that in the various points of the theses which deal with the practical work of the Parties, better and more concrete formulations should be undertaken. One point is the **question of the united front**. We must admit that on the field of united front tactics our activity hitherto has been utterly inadequate. If we now take a sharper position towards the Social Democracy, then there can be no question but that our previous work, inadequate as it was, on the field of the united front, will be still further weakened. We must therefore underline very sharply in the theses that despite this sharpening of our position towards the Social Democracy, we must try on all fields of everyday work to mobilise the united front of the working class against the employers.

The second question is the **trade union question**. This is certainly a matter which stands in the very centre of our entire activity. In discussing and presenting our tasks we must give the trade union question the central place, particularly because in recent times wherever the Communists have won influence in the trade unions the reformists are endeavouring to smash this influence with methods that risk even the destruction of the unions. We recognise clearly that we must defend the **unity of the unions** against these attacks. But I must emphasise that utterly unclear conceptions prevail in this question, even though not in the Executive nevertheless certainly in those parallel organisations of the E. C. C. I. which are responsible for the carrying out of these decisions. We had an interesting experience in our own case: a split has partially taken place, there were mass expulsions and the view of the Swiss Party was identical with that of the E. C. C. I. But it was precisely the auxiliary organs of the Executive which took a sharply deviating attitude as compared with our position. One view led in the direction of surrender to the reformists, and the other aimed at forcing a split of the Swiss trade unions and at giving up the policy of unity. Such a hodge-podge is impossible, it undermines the authority of the Comintern.

Another question with respect to the trade unions is this — that in our sharp campaigns against the reformists an anti-trade union mood is created among a part of the workers. It is our task to underline the fact that in the trade unions we must strive much more than hitherto to mobilise the resistance of the workers against the employers. As the situation is today, every major resistance to the employers leads to a sharp struggle against the reformists. It is clear that if we mobilise the workers for certain demands, and if the reformists come out against

these demands, the position of the Communists will be considerably more favourable than if we enter into disputes with them over general questions — political, international or even theoretical.

I want now to speak on the activity of the Communists in the sport movement. We have noted here, particularly Comrade Vassiliev has said this, that the youth movement in Western Europe has suffered a very serious relapse. On the other hand we have a powerful movement of the youth gathered in the sport organisations, which has not yet been infected by the reformists. We must penetrate among these thousands of young proletarians and work there in such a way that we will win them.

It appears to me a major omission that not a single word is contained in the thesis about our work in the sport organisations — they are the largest mass organisations next to the trade unions. We have a similar case with respect to the co-operatives.

I will close by expressing an urgent request for the reorganisation of the Comintern apparatus. The activity of the E. C. C. I. must be adapted to the work of the Parties; and the tasks which are bound up with our practical work, which must show the way for all ordinary workers, must be presented better and more clearly in the thesis. (Applause.)

#### Comrade KOPLINIG (Austria):

Comrades, the Austrian Delegation holds that certain amendments are necessary to the theses and report of Comrade Bukharin. These amendments should deal with the question of the appraisal of the July uprising in Vienna, and the question of Austro-Marxism. We believe that these questions are of importance for an estimate of the present period of capitalist stabilisation, and that they are also of general international significance. We are in general in agreement with the characterisation of the development of capitalist economy, as given by Comrade Bukharin, and with his presentation of the growing contradictions of capitalist stabilisation. We believe that in appraising capitalist stabilisation and its contradictions we must pay attention to the fact that in the various countries the stabilisation tendencies do not have identical effects, so that within the limits of the general stabilisation there are as a result weak spots for the bourgeoisie. There are a whole series of countries in which the bourgeoisie has not succeeded to this day in overcoming the post-war crisis, and where the re-establishment of capitalist economy encounters great difficulties. These difficulties consist partly in the general economic and organisational backwardness of the bourgeoisie in the individual countries, in the special class relations or, also, in the changed structure of industry as a whole, created by post-war conditions. Among these countries we must include also Austria. Even though in respect to Austria we must likewise state that the general economic situation has improved in comparison to the post-war period, we must nevertheless say that here the stabilisation bears a much more vacillating and a much more shaky character than in the big capitalist countries. A political expression of this weakness, and of these difficulties, is found above all also in the fact that particularly in these countries, and also in Austria, the bourgeoisie, in order to overcome these difficulties, is forced to utilise Fascist methods, and to base itself upon Fascism. It tries, not without success, to bring large strata of workers under the influence of these Fascist organisations. Thus we may note the interesting fact that, e. g. in Austria, the land of relatively the greatest degree of organisation of the working class, factory Fascism succeeds with the help of the Social Democracy to penetrate even important industrial districts, and to bring relatively large strata of the workers there under its influence. The question of the struggle against the Fascist movement, and the initiative of the Communist Parties in this struggle, is in our opinion, of greatest importance. This should be emphasised also in the resolution.

I will now also say a few words about the July uprising in Vienna. We believe that the lessons to be drawn from the Vienna July uprising are of great importance in connection with the unevenness of the stabilisation and the growing intensification of the antagonisms of capitalist development. After the Vienna July uprising, the Executive adopted a resolution in

which the Vienna revolt is characterised as a sign of that period which is designated in the draft thesis of Comrade Bukharin as the third period of capitalist stabilisation. This question is of great importance, all the more so because the Social Democracy takes here a diametrically opposite point of view. The Social Democracy designates July 15 as a last revolutionary flare-up which, in its opinion, constitutes the termination of the post-war crisis. We expect that in his concluding speech Comrade Bukharin will enter upon this question and upon the evaluation of the July uprising in greater detail, since in the Austrian Party also there are differences regarding the appraisal of July 15 and the ensuing period. Aside from comrades who take a position closely akin to a Social Democratic estimate, there are other comrades who in part deny entirely that July 15 is to be looked upon as an uprising, and in part have a position with respect to the general development following upon July 15, that is contrary to the position of the Party majority and the E. C. C. I. in its resolution on July 15th. The comrades say that the fact that the C. P. of Austria did not grow after July 15th, despite the betrayal of the Social Democrats, is not only to be accounted for by what, in our opinion, are the mistakes made by the Party, but also by the objective situation. They say that the Party, and also the Executive, incorrectly appraised the development following July 15th, and that it was overlooked that as a result of the July defeat, on the basis of objective conditions, there set in not a radicalisation of the workers, not a Leftward development of the working class, but on the contrary a development towards the Right.

The Vienna July uprising is of international significance also from another point of view, however. In our opinion the Executive was right, after July 15th, in designating as one of the mistakes of the Austrian Party, its failure to issue the slogan of **Worker's Councils** at the time of the upward development of the uprising, in order thereby to give to the uprising an organisational basis. This question was the starting point of the differences in the Austrian Party; the Opposition took the stand that the slogan of workers' councils in a situation such as prevailed at that time would have been wrong because there were no premises for it. We are of the opinion that the Congress should make a decision in conformity with the resolution of the Executive. Considering the perspective of increasingly growing contradictions in stabilisation and of the intensifying war danger, and in view of the fact that through the rationalisation offensive the class antagonisms are constantly being sharpened, the repetition of such an uprising is entirely within the bounds of possibility. Therefore a concrete treatment of the question of the conditions in the present period under which the slogan of Soviets, of workers' councils, shall be issued, unquestionably is of international importance, because otherwise there is the danger that the same mistake will be repeated.

Now as to the question of the appraisal of the Social Democracy — here I believe that in the theses something should also be said about Austro-Marxism, this particularly dangerous variety of reformism. The majority of our Central Committee takes the position that for Austro-Marxism in Austria, July 15th marks the beginning of its period of collapse, and that it has lost the basis for an upward development. The development of the Austrian Social Democracy after July 15, in our opinion, has further confirmed the correctness of this appraisal. There are two arguments raised against this view, first, the fact of the further organisational growth of the Austrian Social Democracy, second, the fact that the Communist Party of Austria has not gained influence organisationally after July 15.

As to the first argument, we are of the opinion that the organisational growth of the Austrian Social Democracy in recent years no longer takes place on the basis of Austro-Marxism, but in the process of the transformation of the S. P. of Austria into an open reformist party on a basis similar to that of other purely reformist parties. With regard, however, to the indisputable fact that also after July 15, the C. P. of Austria has not grown, that it has even suffered a certain regression, in our opinion this is for the most part to be explained by the fact that the Austrian Party has not sufficiently differentiated itself from the Social Democracy, and that it has made a series of grave mistakes, which were already discussed here. In its last plenary meeting our Central Committee discussed in detail the whole development of last year, drawing the lessons therefrom and also recording the Party's mistakes. We will now try to



correct these mistakes by a more active and intensified work among the masses. We believe that now, when the effects of Social Democratic treason during and after the July days is already clearly visible to the masses, we shall have greater success, provided we have a correct Party policy, precisely by our activity in fighting the Fascist reaction, in demasking the Austrian Social Democracy, this most dangerous enemy of the workers in practice. We believe that the complete unmasking of Austro-Marxism and all so-called "Left" Social Democrats must be a very important task of all parties of the International, and that therefore the questions we have raised are of importance not only for the development of the Austrian Party but also for a number of other Parties, and that they should be a subject for discussion also at the Congress.

#### Comrade MURPHY (Great Britain):

Comrades, permit me to make some observations and criticisms on the thesis of Comrade Bukharin's report in general and to represent the views expressed in the British Delegation.

First, it is impossible to read the description of the world situation presented to us by Comrade Bukharin without being struck by the absence of sufficient stress upon the development of the Communist International itself and the Parties which make up the Communist International.

Three periods are outlined for us describing the characteristic changes since the world revolution was unleashed in 1917. The first, we are told, culminated with the defeat of the German proletariat. That is true. But is it not important to observe and emphasise that precisely in this period, also, the Communist International was born and the Communist Parties of Europe took root in the proletarian movement?

The second period of partial stabilisation of the capitalist system also, was not only a period of defensive battles of the proletariat and severe defeats, but also a period of consolidation and Bolshevisation of the Parties of the Communist International. I believe that it is necessary to show this corollary in our summing up of the period because the same process is repeated in the colonial and semi-colonial countries in what is described as the third period. The rise of the Communist Party of China from the first great revolutionary movement into a real proletarian revolutionary Party is one of the greatest gains to be set against the defeats of the proletariat of China. Certain developments in the same direction may be seen in Indonesia, in India and other colonial countries. These are real and positive gains which it would be folly to ignore. They represent the cumulative experience of the struggles of the proletariat, and are a guarantee that the next world war will not find the proletariat so defenceless as they were in the last world war. It is precisely the recognition of this fact by the bourgeoisie of the whole world that determines their hatred of the Communist movement and the measures of repression they take against it. To omit the recognition of this in our summing up of these periods of historical development is to omit the most important historical confirmation of Leninist teaching that the revolution cannot be successful without the leadership of the Communist Parties steered in struggle.

Nor am I satisfied with the summing up of the third period or its expanded form under the heading of the Technique and Economics of World Industry. Our estimate of the instability of capitalism is transferred from a comparison of the inner-stability or instability of countries to a recognition of the sharpening of antagonisms due to an overcoming of inner instability. To deny that the United States has achieved colossal performances in the revolution of technique or that Germany has achieved wonders in a similar direction, of course would be foolish. But can these achievements be said to be universal? Is it permissible to speak so generally as does the thesis, of European capitalism on the one hand and American capitalism on the other, with Germany dominating capitalist Europe and the U. S. A. capitalist America, and leave this as a complete picture of the outstanding features of the world situation? If so, then it would be correct to say that

we have passed entirely from the second period to the third period. But the picture is by no means so uniform as it is presented to us.

What, for example, is the position of British capitalism? What profound changes have taken place in Britain's economic life to warrant any change in our fundamental estimates made at our recent plenums of the Communist International which confirm the decay and decline of British imperialism? I think the most outstanding feature of the economic life of Britain is its complete failure to stop the decline of its basic industries, coal, iron, steel, cotton, etc. Only this last week the British Government has been compelled to assist the export trade of the coal industry by a further subsidy, while the cotton industry is and has been for months the centre of severe internal crises. Probably more than in any other country rationalisation means in Britain a direct onslaught on the wages and hours of the workers and the universal development of the speeding-up process in industry. Indeed, I am strongly of the opinion that the possibilities of capitalist rationalisation on the lines either of American capitalism or German capitalism are extremely limited. In these two countries there is undoubtedly a technical revolution in the organisation of the basic forces of production. But in Britain this is extremely limited and is confined, to a very large extent, to those industries least in need of it, for example, the newest industries. The idea that decadence forces the capitalists into amalgamations and re-organisation needs to be put in its proper place, a successful expanding industry more rapidly accommodates itself to such developments than a declining industry.

The difficulties of rationalisation in Britain are enormous. Not only do the declining industries require a tremendous amount of capital to effect the replacement of old plants, but the fetters of the landed interests and the century-old economy, plus the burden of a national debt incomparable with that of any of its rivals drag at its heels. A declining rate of profit does not attract new capital nor do bad market prospects. This latter fact cannot be overlooked as a deterrent to the flow of capital to the heavy industries of Britain.

We think it would have gone far to show with more revealing clearness the basic character of the general crisis, the sharpening of the demand for the redistribution of the colonies, etc., had the theses shown the progress of the industrialisation of the whole world. It is this fact which lies at the foundation of the market crisis. When the Balfour Commission of Britain produced its report on the causes of decline of British trade, the central feature was the recognition of the industrialisation of countries which hitherto were purchasers of British manufactured goods, alongside with the growth of the productive power of her competitors. These are the factors which stand in the way of the basic rationalisation of British economy as much as the hitherto vested interests. These are the factors which increase the dependence of Britain on colonial exploitation and increase its parasitic forms at home. This finally makes clear and bold the contrast between the growth of industry and the limitation of the markets.

A further criticism I would make of this section of the report is that of omitting the immediate special position of Britain in world economy. It says nothing except by implication, assuming a previous knowledge of the critical period immediately ahead of us through the operation of the Dawes Plan. Next year is the most critical year of the operation of the Dawes Plan. Then the full payments must be made and, contrary to the thesis which focuses Germany and America as the principal rival competitors, I think that British capitalism will be the hardest hit by these developments. I must remind the comrades that Britain contributed on a large scale with America, who truly had the larger share, to laying the foundation of the Dawes Plan. From the first days of its operation it has affected most profoundly both the coal and iron and steel industries of Britain. It is this important fact which dominates the character of many of the rationalisation attempts in Britain today, making them not into means of increasing the forces of production but to means of limiting production; witness for example, the county schemes for coal marketing, limitations of the number of furnaces working in the steel

industry, limitation set upon the output of great groups of coal companies.

In these circumstances, we can hardly fail to see that the coming year is of the most critical importance so far as Britain is concerned. The British capitalists will be compelled by the intensification of German competition, caused by the operation of the Dawes Plan, either to retreat and come to some accommodation with regard to extending trade with Soviet Russia as the only possible market for her goods or make a more fierce drive still to the rupture of international relations and precipitation of war. I believe this to be the case whether the Dawes Plan is revised or not because the development of the forces of production of Germany to the capacity of launching the increased demands upon the markets still remains with all the advantage in favour of Germany against Britain. I believe that this explains the drastic relief in taxation that the Baldwin Government has made to the industrialists in the last budget and its grant to the coal industry today.

This shows clearly in my opinion, that the growth of the productive forces of capitalism is by no means as uniform as the thesis conveys, while a more revealing picture of the relative industrialisation of the world would make much more clear the fierce rivalries and conflicts which the thesis declares are manifest.

Still further, arising from this situation we must also observe another great omission from the analysis of this international situation. It is generally recognised that rationalisation produces unemployment. Is it to be ignored that we have about ten million unemployed today in the world? The fact that the United States of America is now faced with a stabilised unemployed army is bound to have a profound effect upon the relations of the classes. I certainly think that this important factor cannot be left out of account and must enter into our thoughts on the world situation.

Now turning to the political section of the thesis. First, there is not a single reference to the activities of the League of Nations during the last four years. We get a reference to the League of Nations a little further on in the report where we are told to knock hell out of it, but so far as its work is concerned during the last four years and the important role which it has been playing — there is no reference. This thieves' kitchen in which all kinds of plots have been prepared and staged cannot be ignored. It has been the storm centre of the rival capitalist powers of Europe, a symbol of the rivalries of European capitalism against American capitalism and the organiser of the capitalist united front against the U. S. S. R. It is under its banner that Great Britain has sought to mobilise forces against the Soviet Republics. To ignore its role would be a mistake. It would be equally a mistake to ignore the drive of the bourgeoisie during the last two years and now the latest Kellogg proposals. These are too reminiscent of the part played by the Hague Peace Drive in 1912 before the last World War. The Kellogg proposals are a part of the war preparations and should be recognised as such.

Permit me a few observations on the section dealing with the regrouping of the class forces. I think that the position of the trade unions and the co-operatives has been inadequately dealt with. In so far as the latter are concerned it is significant that the international co-operative movement does not appear to exist at all. There are no less than 50 million co-operators. There is an International Co-operative Alliance which in between our Congresses has held its Congress in Stockholm and played an important role — in preparing the isolation of Soviet Russia and of fostering the illusions favourable to the bourgeoisie. These omissions should be made good and the Party activities in this direction should be examined and directed.

The thesis and report do not so completely ignore the trade unions but they confine their reference to the national sections and give not anywhere the objective position of the trade unions internationally and the international directives for our work. Yet surely there is significance in the fact that the attacks upon the trade unions is an international phenomenon. The Trade Union Act of Britain is not peculiarly a measure of Great Britain, but is characteristic of the bour-

geois measures in relation to the trade unions throughout the world. It is of immense significance that the two forces which come under the hammer blows of the bourgeoisie by legislation and by persecution, are the Communist Parties and the trade unions as distinct from the Socialist Party and the II. International. That is an important fact not to be overlooked. The fact that the bourgeoisie are compelled to take action against the trade unions is an indication that there is a movement within the trade unions which is revolutionary in its character, and making for great changes which will prevent the trade unions from playing the role they played hitherto, in relation to war. They will not be easily used in the preparation of war upon the Soviet Union nor in the conduct of war generally. This is important.

I think also to make a review of the international situation with no reference to the general international position of the trade unions, the relative position of the R. I. L. U., the Amsterdam International, the American Federation of Labour, Pan-Pacific unionism, etc., to have no birds' eye view, so to speak, as to all this international movement of the unions and the processes which are going on within them, is to leave out of account numerous factors in an estimate of the situation of the forces of capitalism and the forces of the revolution, the forces fighting against war and the forces fighting for war. I think this ought to be amended in the final draft of the thesis.

Further, the English comrades cannot overlook the omission of Ireland from the picture of the international situation. If the Communist International can afford to omit any reference to Ireland, I want to assure you that British Imperialism does not neglect Ireland. Ireland has played, and will again play a tremendous role in the fight against British imperialism, of that there is no question. We have been looking for years for the development of an Irish Communist Party, but the Irish Communist Party does not appear to come into existence. Well, it is difficult for us to believe that the material forces and conditions do not exist in Ireland for the development of such a Party.

There is not only the Irish movement in Ireland, there is the Irish movement in England, and under the present conditions and relations between the Communist International and the revolutionary forces in Ireland, the British Party is hampered from going on with its work and developing the forces of revolution in Britain.

The Irish revolutionary movement played an important role in the last war in fanning the flames of revolution against Britain.

There is one other matter I would like to comment upon on behalf of our delegates, and that is with regard to the American Party. We have had in this Congress already some very strong words with regard to the development of factionalism in the Polish Party. We are also well acquainted with the long factional fight in the American Party. I was glad to be part of the Commission which practically liquidated, so far as political differences were concerned, the struggle between the rival factions of the American Party. We ought to have reached the stage when we can develop a real united Party, and we must do everything in our power to prevent this factional struggle from flaring up again.

I was very interested to see in the theses a paragraph referring to the position in the Communist International, to the internal situation in the Comintern headquarters; and a definite proposal was made there for a strengthening of the leadership in the International. I think that this is a question which every delegation should discuss most fully and most seriously. Speaking from experience, I want to say quite frankly that we are still a very long way off in our Parties from viewing things from an international point of view, and recognising the full obligations of the Parties to make the apparatus and the centre of the Communist International into a real functioning leadership. As for being real active participants in the leadership of the world revolution, I want to say quite frankly that this practice has not yet sufficiently developed inside the Communist International. Further, I think the situation during recent months has not got better in this respect, but

has rather gone into the other direction. I want to ask the Congress to talk this question over in the delegations, and to realise that this is one of the most serious questions before the International. The international leadership must be tremendously strengthened, and should function as an international leadership, instead of being simply a meeting of representatives of Parties who confine themselves to their own particular problems, and go off home again. We should regard the International not merely as a tribunal for our troubles, but as the guide and leader in our struggles for the world revolution.

#### Comrade MACDONALD (Canada):

The Canadian Delegation is in agreement with the general outline of the international situation as given by Comrade Bukharin.

The question of Canada's position has been approached by our Party and the C.I. in a very hesitating manner. The first line of policy laid down by our Party declared that the Canadian Party must direct its fight against the British bourgeoisie, against even the British monarchy. This policy developed the tendency to direct the fire over the heads of the Canadian bourgeoisie. It characterised it as more or less oppressed. This may have appeared so in 1924. The developments since then, however, have convinced us that we must regard the Canadian bourgeoisie, as represented at least by the Liberal Federal Government, as a "partner" of British imperialism.

In the developing imperialist struggles, Canada is destined to play a very important role. In the world war she contributed a well equipped army of 400,000. She has vast metal mineral resources. She produces over 90% of the world's nickel. The nickel interests are British, controlled by Mond. Comrade Bukharin states that "more and more Canada is in economic co-operation with the U.S.A. in which American hegemony is assured beforehand". Our problem however, is not quite so simple. Although there are over 3,000,000,000 dollars of American investments in Canada, British capital still plays an important role. Not only so but despite the relative weaker position of British imperialism, the British Empire through a whole network of Empire organisations, is conducting an aggressive ideological imperialist campaign. "Daughters and Sons" of Empire; Cadets, etc. right down into the schools is British imperialism extending her roots. Unquestionably whether it be an outbreak of war against the Soviet Union led by Great Britain, or an imperialist war between Britain and the United States Canada would be embroiled in a deep-rooted governmental crisis, owing to the contradictions which exist inside the framework of Canadian capitalism. The Liberal Premier MacKenzie King, stated during the discussion on Lausanne, that Canada had three alternatives: 1) complete independence, 2) incorporation with the United States; 3) to move towards "national status" step by step, and to secure complete autonomy "within" the Empire. He chose the latter. So despite the successive steps taken since the signing of the Versailles Treaty, all the utterances of the Liberal Premier breathe devout loyalty to the Empire and pledge a continuity of a policy which he claims assures the strengthening of the Empire itself.

In relation to the Pacific Canada occupies an important position. The appointment of a minister to Japan is significant. In 1926 Canada exported to China and Japan over 61 million dollars, an increase of 100% over 1925.

These developments compel us to stress the need for closer attention and a clearer line for the work of the parties in the so-called self-governing dominions.

So far as Canada is concerned the three periods as outlined by Comrade Bukharin are thrown into bold relief, in the development of Canadian capitalism.

There was the period of acute depression 1921-24 during which widespread rationalisation took place. Since 1925 there has been a steady expansion of industry. Employment today, compared with the index number of 100 over a period from 1919-24 stands at 105. There is also chronic unemployment. In the period of crisis 1921 there was an estimate of 200,000 unemployed. A conservative estimate today would be 100,000.

The productivity per individual worker has increased by 40% since 1917. The horse power per worker in industry in

1917 was 5.2. Today it is 10. There have been thirty important mergers in the past few years. Banks have been reduced to eleven. Two control as many assets as the others. In the field of distribution there is a great development of the chain stores.

Canada only imports 16.7% of her total from Great Britain. Within the Empire itself there is only a total of 22.3% imports. Her exports within the Empire are 39.5%, a considerable percentage, no doubt, but relatively declining. Her imports from the U.S.A. are 65% and her exports 38.5%. In steel, mining, textile and chemical production she has made vast strides.

Let us deal with the question of the tendency towards state capitalism and its parallel grafting and bribing of the upper layer of the workers. The production of electrical energy is mainly in the hands of the state organs, through government commissions, etc. Of the two main trunk railroad systems the Canadian National Railroads is government owned. The president of the Trades and Labour Congress (A.F. of L.) is a director of the National Railroads. The secretary of this same congress is chief of the Federal Government printing establishments. For the last ten years the Ministers of "Labour" of the Federal Government have been prominent trade unionists. In the intervention of the government in labour disputes, these ministers play the role of "conciliators".

The work of our party is particularly difficult. In our fight against British imperialism we have raised the slogan of "independence". It is true that diplomatically Canada has taken more and more an independent line from British imperialism. The signing of separate treaties, Chanak, Lausanne, Anglo-Egyptian crisis, etc. On the question of the break with the Soviet Union, MacKenzie King took the stand that this had been done on Britain's own responsibility, that Canada simply did not follow Great Britain, but that they had considered for some time the severance of relations.

Despite these steps, however, Canada is still tied constitutionally with Great Britain, by the British North American Act. The Canadian Senate, which is non-elective and whose members are appointed for life, holds the full veto over legislation. The existence of the Senate is guaranteed by the British North American Act. The fight for social legislation is linked up with the question of the repudiation of the B. N. A. Act. In the fight against American imperialism and its agents, the bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labour, we have raised the slogan of complete independence of the Canadian trade union movement. The greater number of the workers organised are in the A.F. of L. An intense campaign has been launched against the Party, with expulsions from the old unions because of our demand for independence from the A.F. of L.

Our main field of work lies in the organisation of the unorganised workers. There are approximately 200,000 workers in the steel, mining, textile, auto and pulp and paper industries who are unorganised.

The Cadet military training system is widespread in Canada, and is used to foster British imperialism. Even in the French-Canadian province of Quebec, which during the last war was the paradise of the draft evader, there are more Cadets than in any other province, not excepting the loyalist province of Ontario.

As far as the work for the defence of the U.S.S.R. is concerned more work must be done in this regard. Canada has vet. to send its first workers and Trade Union Delegation to the Soviet Union. During the famine relief campaign Canadian workers sent more per capita than any other section. We are hopeful that this bond already created will be strengthened and the workers rallied against the class enemies of the workers of the Soviet Union.

The Canadian Party has many weaknesses. Our party and the C.I. are fully conscious of these. We are hopeful, however, that we will play a greater and more important role in the proletarian revolutionary movement and the Communist International. We trust also that more attention will be given to the problems of the minor parties. In our estimation and analysis of the growing rivalry between British and American

imperialism and the imminence of war, we must appreciate the important position occupied by Canada. We must give more attention to our work in the future than in the past so that our Party, small as it is, may travel a revolutionary Leninist road, as a worthy section of the Communist International.

#### Comrade BUNTING (South Africa):

Comrades, I notice that all the speakers have been talking about Comrade Bukharin's speech and saying "we are being neglected", etc. I suppose we are going to say the same thing about South Africa, for we too, think our affairs are important. Africa as a whole is a continent with 120 million inhabitants, but I want only to speak of the proletarian character of the subjected races of South Africa. As regards the proletarian value of the African workers I agree with Comrade Ford that to neglect the value of the Negro proletariat is a very great mistake. It is in the field of industrial strikes that the greatest militancy is shown and the greatest power exercised in South Africa, as in India too, I think.

Of course, the bulk of the Negro population of Africa, even of South Africa, is not proletarian, but peasant, non-proletarians are more numerous than the proletariat in most countries, e. g. in the U. S. A. But in Africa at any rate, far more of the population are exploited than just those who would be strictly called working class. In West Africa, peasants nominally independent, are exploited in regard to their rubber. In South Africa again, our large "peasantry" is continually drawn upon to supply workers for the mines and other large industries or for the farms. These workers are part of the time peasants and part of the time workers, so that the working class is really very widespread, and it is also by far the strongest section of the native population when it comes to action.

In our country the gold industry is a first class capitalist undertaking. It is highly developed. The iron and steel industry is also about to be launched and other big enterprises of all kinds show that ours is not just a mediaeval, feudal, peasant country. The power of labour therefore, is of very great importance. I do not know if we ought to say that the colonial section of the labour movement in general is the most important, but I think we can say that it is an important weapon for the overthrow of capitalist rule. Moreover, colonial labour is responsible for a great deal of the unemployment in the "home" countries of the capitalists.

Of course, the native labour movement in South Africa is only an infant movement; but it is a good, healthy, lusty infant, very responsive to our propaganda and is growing fast. The first native strike in Johannesburg was a strike of "sanitary bucket boys", i. e. engaged in the most degraded "kaffirs' work". In a native school which we are carrying on in Johannesburg, we use the Communist Manifesto as a text book, reading it with the workers, and they always agree, after arguing and studying about what they have read, how completely and correctly every single characterisation applies to themselves: And they have this advantage over the European workers, that they are not greatly sophisticated with petty bourgeois or imperialist ideas; which all helps greatly in the work of making them revolutionary. It is true that the I. C. U., which hitherto has been a strong union of natives in South Africa, is affiliated to Amsterdam; but the Communist Party, has found it necessary to form fresh trade unions which have already been baptised in the fire of strikes, and which are ready to apply to the Red International for affiliation.

I should like in all modesty to point out that the Communist International gives insufficient attention to this aspect of the colonial masses. I was reading the draft programme of the Communist International, where it says that there are two main revolutionary forces; the "proletariat" in the countries at home, and the "masses" in the colonies. I beg to protest against this bald distinction. Our workers are not only mere "masses", they are as truly proletarians as any in the world. The draft

programme assigns to the colonies the one task of revolting against imperialism. It may say that such nationalist revolt as we have had so far in South Africa has not been on the part of the black workers, but on the part of the Dutch nationalists. The Dutch nationalists have had their fling, and now have made their peace with Britain, and have agreed on a formula which gives them nominal independence; there is not much more to be expected from them. By all means let a nationalist movement carry on. But we can do more as a working class movement in South Africa. There is no reference in the draft programme or in Comrade Bukharin's speech to the colonial proletariat, as such, to the class power of these colonial workers: as a class they are relegated to inactivity.

Is not that distinction between European "proletariat" and colonial "masses" exactly the way our "aristocracy of labour" treats the black workers? The prejudice of the white worker is not that he wants to kill the black worker, but that he looks upon him not as a fellow-worker but as native "masses". The Communist Party has declared and proved that he is a working man as well, like anyone else, and I want to bring out that experience to the notice of the Communist International.

I might say that the Red International of Labour Unions seems to adopt a more matter of fact view of the colonial working masses than the Communist International. It takes account of the facts and it invites the native workers to join its ranks, as workers, in trade unions.

We also want better communications between the different sections of the C. I. I could illustrate this in the case of several strikes. We had a shipping strike three or four years ago in South Africa, which affected also Australia, and to a certain extent Britain, and in which our Party took the leading part. We had practically no communication either with the Communist International or even with the British Party. The exchange of information is quite as necessary between party and party as it is between one party and the E. C. C. I. But there has been very little facility for that so far. A great deal more has got to be done.

Another thing with regard to Africa is that a very thorough study of African conditions is required. Out of that huge continent, the South African Party is the only one represented here. At the last Congress I was at, there were representatives from Egypt and I believe there have been in the meantime representatives from West Africa. Conditions in South Africa are different from any other part of that continent. South Africa is, owing to its climate, what is called a "white man's country" where whites can and do live not merely as planters and officials, but as a whole nation of all classes, established there for centuries, of Dutch and English composition. I hope, when the next Congress is called, there will be representatives of every part of Africa, from North, South, East and West, who — far better than we, — can put the needs of the whole of the population of Africa. There is a great amount of ignorance. There was recently in the *Inprecorr* one of the most astounding articles on South Africa which could only be called a fairy tale. It was full of the most crass mis-statements about the conditions there. Such things tend to discredit our official organ, if it can be called such.

Further, we should not forget the achievements of the white working class in South Africa, for they have conducted big strikes of a quite revolutionary nature and I think are capable of carrying them out again. Both sides can contribute very powerfully to the weakening of imperialism.

We, in South Africa, are at present a vulnerable link in the Communist chain. If we are properly strengthened and developed, and if we are treated as we think we deserve to be, we hope to become strong and thus be able to take advantage of the fact that countries like ours are also vulnerable spots in the imperialist chain.

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The continuation of the Discussion was then adjourned to the afternoon of July 24.



## Seventh Session.

July 24th, 1928.

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

Chairman, Comrade Jilek.

Comrade DUNNE (United States of America):

Comrades, I want to endorse the main line of Comrade Bukharin's speech and to emphasise: 1. the war danger and the struggle against it, America v. England, America v. Japan; the struggle against imperialism and the defence of the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution. 2. The sharpening of the class relations and class struggle. 3. Militant struggle against the trade union bureaucracy and the Social Democracy. 4. Concentration upon organisation of the unorganised in new unions with a special application to the United States. 5. Developing the Communist Party as the leader in the daily, as well as the more significant mass struggles of the proletariat. 6. The main danger in this period comes from the Right, bringing with it the necessity for an energetic struggle against Right tendencies and Right dangers.

For that section of the thesis dealing with America I propose the following points to be elaborated: especially the sharpening and maturing of the **inner contradictions of American capitalism**, the increasing exploitation of the masses and their drift to the Left; the great significance of the uneven development of capitalist industry; the increasing readiness of the workers to struggle; the increasing favourable conditions for the Party's growth and leadership; the correction of the Right line of the Central Committee, and an intensive re-orientation of our Party to correct this line by the Comintern; the energetic application of the resolution on America of the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U.; — in this period no agitational campaign and struggle for the organisation of a Labour Party — the slogan to be used only in a propaganda way; — strong emphasis on Negro work and ruthless struggle against tendencies of white Chauvinism inside and outside of our Party; the urgent need for the building up of underground and illegal apparatus for the coming period. Finally, elaboration in the section dealing with the labour movement in America in special relation to the crisis in the labour movement and the tasks of our Party in this connection.

The distinguishing feature of the present situation, so far as the United States is concerned, is the appearance, in a sharper form than ever before, of the main factors making for the undermining of American imperialism. There is obvious preparation of the American ruling class to force its programme of world domination upon the rest of the world, an intense militarisation of industry and the masses, the division of the whole country into military corp areas, the sharpening international competition against American commodities, the narrowing of its world market, the shrinking of its domestic market and the intensive rationalisation process carried on to put the burdens for the reorganisation of industry upon the shoulders of the masses. Trustification and re-trustification have built up combinations which together with the power of the State, face the workers even in minor wage and hour struggles. The desertion of the struggle by the trade union bureaucracy and the Socialist Party leadership is complete. All of these factors together are tending more rapidly than for a long period, to disillusion wide masses of the American proletariat with the traditions of American democracy, the illusion of "permanent prosperity", and with the supposed integrity of the leaders of the trade union movement and the reformists, Liberals, Social Democrats and so forth.

The indications are for a sharpening of class conflicts and for the development of wide mass struggles. Our Party must be prepared to take the leadership in these struggles. We must emphasise in this connection the sharpening of the inner contra-

dictions of American imperialism which, together with the development of world conflicts, is making it extremely difficult for the ruling class of America to carry on its expansion of industry, its domination of the thoughts and acts of the masses of the workers with the same ease that it did in an earlier period. There is no longer in the U. S. any free land or any scarcity of labour (despite the practical stoppage of immigration) two factors of primary importance (as Marx, Engels and Lenin pointed out) in accelerating the tempo of capitalist development in the United States. Mechanical inventions now serve only to add to the insecurity of the workers. Permanent and growing unemployment is present for the first time. American imperialism now finds itself forced to take extraordinary measures in order to prevent the outbreak of great mass struggles and to suppress these struggles when they arise.

It is no answer, I think, to the statement that we can look for increasing radicalisation of the American masses in the coming period and for the development of wide mass struggles to say that there is, as yet, no mass political party of the working class in America. It is possible, and it is highly probable, that due to the peculiar conditions in America there will be great struggles, even of a sharply revolutionary character, before a workers' mass party develops in the United States. Out of these struggles will come the mass party of the working class, and many of these struggles will surely come before such a party develops.

Now for a few specific questions:

1. **The organisation of the unorganised into new unions.** I think in the thesis, that this question must be dealt with very sharply and very clearly because in our Party there is not only considerable confusion on this question, but there is also a strong and very definite tendency to pervert this plan; this programme for the organisation of the unorganised, into dependence upon the existing reactionary trade unions.

Comrade Pepper bases himself on a theory of "an influx of new masses into the existing trade unions". In his article in the "Communist" he mentions this possibility no less than eight times. I think this theory for our programme of organising the unorganised in America must be rejected. On the contrary, we must concentrate on the building of **new unions** in the heavy industries. This tendency to base our campaign principally upon the existing unions neglects entirely the developments of the last two years, the experiences of our Party and the Left wing in the trade union movement and in my estimation constitutes a Right tendency.

As the thesis correctly states, in the work among the Negroes in America our Party has been lacking; not only slightly lacking but very badly lacking and many serious errors have been made. For instance, the misconception in regard to this work which is at least partially responsible for the fact that no serious Negro work has been done for two and one half years. The reference to the Negro masses in the South as "a broad social reserve for capitalist reactions" — shows an entire misconception and misunderstanding of the role of the agricultural workers and peasantry as the allies of the proletariat in speeches and articles of leading comrades. We have here in this Congress an example of just this kind of misconception. We have here in the "Negro Worker", the information bulletin of the R. I. L. U. an article by Comrade John Owens, one of the contributing editors of the "Negro Champion". This article represents a capitulation to the Negro petty bourgeoisie as well as to the white bourgeoisie and the same tendency that was expressed in a statement prepared by Comrades White-man, Phillips and other supporters of the Central Committee;



in which they demand the liquidation of the struggle against lynching, the struggle against segregation, against Jim Crowism.

And in this connection I want to say a word or two about the speech of the South African delegate here. This speech was a Social Democratic speech and I think the Congress must take note of such reference as "South Africa as a white man's country, etc.". I believe that the Congress must take action against this comrade and that an example must be made of this instance to prove to the colonial people and especially to the millions of Negro workers and peasants that the Congress of the Comintern does not and will not approve of such utterances from this rostrum.

Now a word or two in conclusion relative to the internal struggle of the American Party.

We consider that the danger from our Party in America comes from the Right. Right errors have been made by many comrades but it is in the line of the C. C. that protection is found for these errors. Self-criticism has been made a farce. We consider that there are strong Right tendencies that express themselves in Right policies in our Central Committee. Right errors have been made on the Labour Party question, in anti-imperialist work, in Negro work, in trade union work — in mass work generally. A struggle must be carried on against these tendencies with the help of the Comintern. Especially are these right tendencies a menace in this period when the war danger is the centre of the international situation. With the application of the line of the thesis carried out energetically, our Party in the United States will, in the coming period, develop a mass following and give growing leadership to the increasing struggles that are developing as big sections of the masses in the United States organise and resist the pressure of American imperialism.

## Greetings from the Delegation of the German Red Front Fighters.

Comrade JILEK, presiding:

The Delegates of the Red Front Fighters will deliver greetings to the Congress; Comrade Olbrich will speak on their behalf. I now give him the floor.

The Delegation consisting of 10 Red Front Fighters were greeted with stormy applause upon entering the tribune.

There were shouts of: "We greet you, comrades, Red Front! Red Front! Red Front!"

Comrade OLBRICH:

The R.F.B. Delegation replies to the greetings with the triple cry of, "Red Front! Red Front! Red Front!"

Comrades, the German Red Front Fighters Delegation which is now on a visit to Moscow upon the invitation of the trade unions of Northern Caucasia and will proceed southwards tonight, delivers fraternal militant greetings to the general staff of the world revolution on behalf of the Red Front League of Germany. All of you are familiar with the activities of the Red Front League in Germany. Born in the struggle against fascism and the imperialist war, we have mobilised huge masses of German proletarians during the four years of our existence.

During the past years we have seen tremendous progress of the Red Front Fighters in Germany. On the third national meet last year the mass organisation in its hundreds of thousands took the oath for the first time "to be ready always and everywhere to defend the Soviet Union", being fully convinced that the fight against the imperialist war menace and against fascism today implies the most vigorous fight for the defence of the Soviet Union.

In delivering to-day the greetings of the Red Front League to the VI. Congress we recall the fact that the fight against the imperialist war menace is going to be the central and deciding point in the revolutionary movement throughout the world, just as it has been until now. We also see an intense imperialist offensive waged by the German bourgeoisie with the aid and active support of the social-democratic leaders.

Hence the Red Front League becomes confronted with a tremendous and most exacting task of fighting for the preven-

tion of imperialist war, and for the defence of the Soviet Union. It is this realisation which prompts us to declare here today, before the representatives of the Communist Parties of the world, as a delegation of the Red Front Fighters:

The Red Front Fighters League, formed in the fight against fascism and imperialist war, stands firmly and unitedly together and is prepared to keep on fighting in the future. And in this sense the Delegation hands over on behalf of the 200,000 Front Fighters and the Jungsturm the picture which shows our last march through the country under the slogan of the defence of the Soviet Union and against imperialist war. We present the picture to the Presidium of the VI. World Congress with the declaration that not only shall we wage the fight against the imperialist war whenever it may be started but that also today the best reply to all the war preparations consists in that we should win the masses of the social-democratic workers for the revolutionary anti-imperialist front, that we should develop our practical revolutionary activity day by day in all the factories and in all the mass organisations, that we should direct our work towards the successful consummation of the proletarian revolution in Germany, and throughout the world. In this sense may our presentation be accompanied by our militant and fraternal salute which has become the revolutionary salute of all revolutionary proletarians in Germany, the mighty triple shout: "Red Front! Red Front! Red Front!"

(Stormy applause.)

Comrade CACHIN (France):

Comrades, the Presidium acknowledges the greetings of our comrades of the Front League. Each one of you has learned with the greatest joy that the last attempt of the German bourgeoisie and of its social-democratic associates to attack the organisation of our German Red Front comrades has turned out a miserable fiasco.

Today our comrades are in our midst, and their presence here constitutes a mighty symbol. The Red Front, which they have built up in powerful fashion in their own country, is now extending day by day.

Comrades, in the event that the imperialists, driven by their desire for expansion, should start a new war, they will soon find out that things are not going to shape themselves the same way as in 1914. We see here again the Red Fronts reunited, and the word "fraternisation" which came first from the Russian trenches, has not remained an empty sound for the whole of the proletariat throughout the world: it has most profoundly re-echoed in the workers' hearts throughout the world.

And in connection with the occupation of the Ruhr by Poincaré, the military expedition to China, as well as the Morocco expedition, this word "fraternisation" has grown more and more into a term of living reality. Already in 1919 it aroused the French blue-jackets, to mutiny on the Black Sea!

Comrades, you have gathered here not only in order to form far-reaching plans, but you are gathered here from all corners of the earth in order to discuss the most urgent and most vital problems affecting the working class. The most essential and the most immediate of all problems is that of the war menace, with which our comrade of the Red Front League of Germany has dealt just now.

It is the task of the VI. World Congress to lay down the attitude of the proletariat in the event of the catastrophe; in that event it will be the duty of every one of you and of every one of us to strain all our forces, even to the extent of staking our very life, to carry into effect the resolutions which will be passed here and to cause the international bourgeoisie and world imperialism to tremble with fear.

Comrades, this is the significance of the presence here of our comrades of the Red Front League of Germany. And we, the French and the Germans, who have once allowed the workers of our two countries to be pitted against each other, we find it to be our duty to lay stress upon the grand activity of our German comrades, we must give our pledge that such things

should never be allowed to occur again; we must vow on our part that among the French proletariat there is the sincere and determined desire to form a similar Red Front and to translate the slogan of international fraternisation of the proletarians of all countries into real deeds.

Comrades, with these words we greet our German comrades and I am firmly convinced that I am expressing the sentiment of all of you when I grasp fraternally the hand of our friend from the Red Front.

(Amidst stormy applause Comrade Cachin and Comrade Olbrich shake hands.)

## Greetings from Delegation of the Red Army.

Comrade JILEK:

I now give the floor to a delegation from the Red Army which will deliver greetings.

Comrade IVANOV:

On behalf of a group of supply officers of the Red Army now undergoing a course of instruction here, we deliver greetings to the VI. World Congress. We watch every step in the intrigues of the western capitalists who are preparing for a more extensive and more devastating capitalist war. We also watch every step in the struggle of our eastern and western fraternal Communist Parties. We greet the peace policies of our own C. P. S. U. and of the Soviet Government, and we believe that it is the only proper policy. If, however, all the peace efforts should fail and a war be forced upon us, in that event we assure you, comrades, that upon the first call of the Soviets we shall be at our post of duty. (Cheers.)

Long live the Socialist world revolution!

Long live the Communist International, the general staff of world revolution! (Cheers.)

Comrade STEWART (England):

Comrades, in accepting the greetings of the makers and defenders of revolution this Congress must place on record the appreciation of the world proletariat, not only for the tremendous victories achieved by the workers and peasants of Russia under the leadership of the Communist Party and the hundred times tested Red Army, but must express their appreciation of the defence of the conquests of the revolution during the last ten years by the combined forces of the Russian working class of which the Red Army is a significant and component part.

We greet the declaration from Germany of the "Rote Front" and from Russia of the "Red Army" and look forward with pleasure and hope to the time when the great capitalist countries, still, lagging behind in revolutionary fervour and activity, will be able to emulate the example already set by our Russian Party, and follow with the same sterling courage and invincible determination the road followed by the Red Army that has made of the Soviet Union the centre and citadel of world revolution and the hope of the downcast, outcast and oppressed peoples of the whole world.

Therefore, in the name of the VI. Congress of the Communist International I wish long life and strength and power to the Russian Red Army.

Comrade Jilek: Comrade Remmele has the floor to read a telegram.

Telegram from Max Hölz.

Comrade REMMELE (Germany):

The Presidium has received the following telegram:

"Ardent fraternal greetings to VI. World Congress. The tremendous march of 500,000 people in Berlin shows that the German C. P. is leading the proletarian masses, just as the C. I. leads the revolutionary proletariat throughout the world. Max Hölz." (Stormy Cheers.)

Comrade RAZA (India):

On behalf of the Indian Delegation I welcome the thesis put forward by Comrade Bukharin though I must admit that it is not without faults and shortcomings in some respects, especially where the Indian question is dealt with.

Firstly, in his thesis Comrade Bukharin puts that "the policy of British Imperialism hampers the industrial development of India" by the Indian capitalists, but nevertheless he totally ignores to mention the new industrialisation policy of the British Government, inaugurated during and immediately after the World War. The statement is a bit unclear and ought to be elaborated, in as much as chronologically speaking, hampering of the industrial development followed the industrialisation policy.

Secondly, he makes no mention of the war agrarian policy adopted by the British Government, called the "Uplift Movement", the aim of which is to import agricultural machinery and modern systems in agriculture with a view to developing capitalist methods of production and thereby creating a wealthy class from among the peasantry with the ultimate object of raising the consuming power of the peasantry.

Thirdly, he does not mention anything in his thesis about the existence of the several workers and peasants parties working in the different provinces of India, though it cannot be overlooked that they have so far been the organisers of the workers in their present struggle against the bourgeoisie. I must say that in this struggle every credit must be given to our comrades who are Communists and who are influencing the whole movement through the Workers' and Peasants' parties.

Regarding the organisation of the Indian Communist Party, I, personally, and the majority of the Indian delegates, stand for the immediate organisation of a strong, highly disciplined Communist Party. In view of the fact that there is a strong militant working class already existing in the country, side by side with a pauperised virile peasantry it will be quite ridiculous even to think of the working class fighting without the historical leadership of the Communist Party. It may be argued that workers' and peasants' parties are playing quite the same role for the present. But these parties can only be regarded by the Indian Communist Party as auxiliary forces. Taking into consideration the experiences gained in China as a result of the betrayal by the Kuomintang of our Chinese heroes, we must not be so optimistic with regard to the co-operation of the bourgeoisie. I am convinced that in India we must have a strong Communist Party whose business will be to organise the working class and peasantry, capture the trade unions, utilise the auxiliary forces, create the revolutionary youth movements and direct them properly and also exploit the antagonism existing between the nationalist and foreign bourgeoisie and expose the national bourgeoisie on every step they take against the interests of the toiling masses and finally, organise propaganda work in the army with the ultimate view of shattering to pieces the foreign domination and usher in its place a democratic proletarian dictatorship.

I ask in the name of the toiling masses of India that some definite policy must not only be adopted by the VI. Congress but also given full operation. The emancipation of India from the yoke of the British Imperialistic domination is an international problem and I request all the organs of the Communist International, in general and the British Communist Party in particular, to come into closer contact with us for the achievement of our common goal.

Comrade KOLAROV (Bulgaria) (Received with cheers):

Comrades, the Bulgarian Delegation fully and generally agrees with the Theses of Comrade Bukharin on the Report of the activities of the E. C. C. I. and will vote for them un-animously.

Nevertheless, our delegation finds some flaws in the Theses. One of the most outstanding flaws is the lack of an analysis of the agrarian relations. In Point 39 mention is made of the necessity for profounder and wider activity by Communist

Parties among the peasants. Nevertheless, there is not a word in the Theses as to the chances of such Communist activity among the peasants or any objectively favourable circumstances for such profounder and wider activity.

Comrades, the agrarian question is one of the most important questions engaging the attention of Communist Parties. No doubt, stabilisation has ensued also upon the agrarian field. We are witnessing a growth of the productive forces. However, whilst this growth is taking place upon a world scale, it must be pointed out quite clearly that in Europe the development of agriculture is still far behind that of industry. Therefore, special measures are taken in a number of countries to mitigate the agricultural situation. In Germany the question of protective agrarian tariffs is already on the order of the day, whilst in Austria protective tariffs on some agricultural products have already been introduced. But in South Eastern Europe we find agriculture today in the very thick of a severe crisis. The producing costs of agriculture in these countries are far above the world level of prices of agricultural produce. This signifies a profound crisis of agriculture in this agrarian section of Europe which is also of importance to the world market.

Comrades, along with this fact we see also a process of class differentiation going on in the rural districts, and a complete re-grouping of the social and political forces. In the first place, there is the prosperous peasantry which was to a considerable extent opposed to the capitalist bourgeoisie immediately after the world war, but has now turned back to it. This section of the peasantry, next to the big landowners, enjoys powerful backing on the part of capitalist governments to whom it increasingly gives its allegiance. If the movement for the formation of a farmers' party in the United States has now subsided, it is the result of the increased influence of big capital over the farmers.

In England, after the adoption of Lloyd George's agrarian schemes by the Liberal Party, the farmers have again joined the bourgeoisie. In Austria the Heimwehr — a military organisation of the middle peasantry — constitutes one of the strongest bulwarks of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie; in Poland and in Czechoslovakia the organisations of the middle peasants of the agrarian bourgeoisie, like the "Piast", the agrarian party, etc., have finally joined the camp of the bourgeoisie with whom they are now co-operating. In the Balkan countries a section of the middle bourgeoisie has already separated from the poor peasants and the proletariat and gone over to the bourgeoisie. There is a whole number of well-known facts, e. g. the treachery of the Croatian peasant leader Radic, fusion of the Zaranist Party in Roumania with the Transylvanian bourgeois-national party, the treachery of the Right wing leaders of the Bulgarian peasantry, their rejection of co-operation with the workers Party and the proletariat, and their attitude upon collaboration and coalition with the bourgeois parties, the strong influence of capitalism over the Mexican peasantry who have been drawn into an open counter-revolutionary struggle, etc., — all these facts point to a reactionary trend among the prosperous rural elements in all the capitalist countries.

At the same time, the growth of the opposite tendencies is to be observed among the poorer peasants. The huge mass of the poor peasants are finding no support whatever from the bourgeois governments, and they have no grounds to expect such support. This mass of the peasants is therefore developing in a Left direction, towards the revolution. Such facts as the Winzer revolt in Germany, the successes of the anti-militarist propaganda and agitation among the army reservists in France (most of the reservists being of peasant descent); such facts as the splitting of the peasant organisations in Poland and other countries, the secession of the Left wing and its open attitude in favour of co-operating with the proletariat, in favour of the workers' and peasants' bloc; furthermore, the revolutionary movement of the Bulgarian peasantry, the latest peasant riots in Roumania where the peasantry has taken to the revolutionary path in spite of the betrayal of their bourgeois leaders, the struggle of the peasants in Croatia and Yugoslavia which has lately taken the form of barricade battles, etc., etc. — all this points to the incontestable radicalisation of the poor peasants.

For this reason the Communist Parties should devote the utmost attention to the peasant question, and for this reason they should render their methods of activity among the peasants more profound, more solid, and more rational.

Comrades, connected with this question is that of the activity of the Peasants' International. I do not hesitate to declare that we are not pleased with the activities of the Communists in the Peasants' International. The Peasants' International should be transformed into a special mass organisation of the poorer section of the peasants of the capitalist and colonial countries, since these masses form the ground for the agitation and organisation in favour of the alliance of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the proletariat. Needless to say, it is to the interest of the Communists to support the Peasants' International in every way. Today when the menace of war is so ominous, this is one of the most important tasks, because not only the peasants of the border countries of the Soviet Union, but also the peasants of all the capitalist countries are going to furnish a considerable portion of the human material in the coming war.

Comrades, the Theses contain a clear and unequivocal allusion to the stabilisation process of capitalism. Comrade Bukharin has for the first time stated the question with all emphasis and clearness, and without any reservation, that in a certain sense, there is a stabilisation process of capitalism going on.

In view of the law of the uneven development of capitalism, the pace of stabilisation is not uniform. I have already repeatedly emphasised the undeniable fact that the stabilisation in the Balkan countries is only a limited and relative one, and is extremely unreliable. The bourgeoisie of the Balkan countries has not succeeded in laying down a firm economic foundation for its class domination and power.

It is therefore constrained to resort to the methods of Fascism. All the Balkan countries are under the strong and powerful influence of international capital. They are developing only to the extent that is considered desirable by international capital and is accordingly backed.

But, comrades, the unreliable capitalist situation in the Balkans is accompanied also by political uncertainty. All the Balkan States are suffering from a severe political crisis which frequently leads to outbreaks of civil war and to coups d'Etat. If we take the individual Balkan States we shall find that, for instance, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie has failed, in spite of tremendous efforts, to enlist the support of the bulk of the peasantry. It has not succeeded in weaning away these masses from the influence of the Communist Party; it has not succeeded in isolating the proletariat in this manner, so as to finally crush the proletarian revolution. On the contrary, the idea of the workers' and peasants' alliance under the leadership of the proletariat is meeting with ever greater response among the poorer peasants in Bulgaria.

We see the in Roumania where the oligarchy has only postponed the catastrophe by means of an agrarian reform. The Roumanian bourgeoisie has equally failed to win the entire support of the peasantry for its rule. Sufficient evidence of this fact was furnished by the recent agrarian disturbances.

The fact that a few revolver shots in the parliament of Belgrade sufficed to upset the whole activity for the consolidation of the young Yugoslavian State, indicates also a profound crisis which is going on in Yugoslavia. The conflict between the Serbian bourgeoisie, which wants to extend its hegemony over the whole country, and the masses of the peasants who constitute the bulk of the population, as well as the oppressed national minorities, far from being eliminated, has been further extended and intensified. Yugoslavia is the Balkan country which is most involved in a political crisis, and in which the catastrophe is most imminent.

Mention ought to be made also of the full bankruptcy of Balkan politics and parliamentarism which has been brought to light. Nowhere, with the exception of Italy, has the bourgeoisie proved so ignominiously bankrupt as in the Balkans. There is no longer any continuity of the State in the Balkan countries. The legality of governments has been done away with. The only way for the Parties to capture power is now

by means of coups d'Etat and more or less disguised military action. Important events are developing in all the Balkan countries both in regard to the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in alliance with the peasant masses, as well as in regard to the strife within the fold of the bourgeoisie itself.

The war menace in the Balkans is real, and not only in the sense of the formation of an anti-Soviet bloc. Naturally this policy finds its echo also in the Balkans. British imperialism is anxious in every way to draw the Balkan countries into the anti-Soviet bloc. The conflicting imperialist interests in the Balkans, and the contradictions among the Balkan States themselves, now and again lead to acute crisis which may at any moment be turned into war. Thus, a state of war exists at present in many provinces of the Balkan countries. We are quite aware of the tremendous problems which cannot be solved by the bourgeoisie, like the question of Macedonia or of Albania. It may be stated without fear of contradiction that none of the powers, and not even the all-powerful international capital, will be able to find a peaceful solution to the Italo-Yugoslavian conflict. Sooner or later this conflict will lead to a clash of arms. The situation is further complicated by the various national-revolutionary movements. The national question in the Balkans plays an exceedingly important part and is of international European importance.

Comrade Bukharin referred in his Theses to the fact of a certain development and consolidation of the international Social Democracy. This, comrades, cannot be accepted as the absolute rule. For instance, in the Balkans there is no consolidation whatever of the Social Democracy. On the contrary, in spite of the regime of white terror which is directed exclusively against the Communist Parties, the Social Democratic parties have failed to gain any noticeable positions among the proletariat and the peasantry. On the contrary, the Social Democracy has emerged much weakened from the events which took place last year in the Balkans. It should be said further that whilst the Italian Fascism has no use for the Social Democracy, which it subjects to persecution, the Fascism of the Balkans needs the Social Democracy very much. In countries where no Social Democracy exists, e. g. in Greece, the bourgeois governments take steps to create at least the appearance of reformism and Social Democracy. The Social Democracy in the Balkans takes part directly in the smashing of the revolutionary workers' organisations. Even more than the bourgeoisie, it is anxious about the future of the capitalist regime.

Lately, an attempt was made by the Greek reformists to split the trade union movement. Only the other day, on orders from Amsterdam, they betrayed the general strike, and today they are discussing with the government the best ways and means of crushing the revolutionary movement in Greece. The same role is played by the Social Democrats and reformist leaders in Bulgaria, Roumania and Yugoslavia.

Comrades, we, the Communists of the Balkan countries, are therefore fully aware that we must reject any tactics of collaboration with the Social Democracy in any shape or form. We support the thesis that the tactics of the united front in regard to the Social Democrats should in no way be applied from the top; only to the extent that there are still some definite proletarian elements within the ranks of the Social Democracy, only to the extent that the Social Democrats are still wielding some influence among certain elements of the proletariat, can the application of the tactics of the united front from below be thought of, i. e., directly with the workers, whilst relentlessly exposing the treachery of the Social Democratic and reformist leaders.

Since the time of the V. International Congress all the Communist Parties of the Balkans have gone through severe inner-Party crises. This crisis was most drastically and radically overcome, after serious defeats, by the Bulgarian Communist Party. At the present time there is perfect unanimity in the Bulgarian Communist Party, the crisis having been finally overcome.

The crisis has lasted too long in the C. P. of Yugoslavia. Comrade Bukharin was quite right in urging the necessity of eliminating this crisis as quickly as possible, and the C. P. of Bulgaria welcomes the energetic measures taken by the E. C. C. I.

in this direction. We hope that in view of the considerable revolutionary cadres in that party, in view of the clear revolutionary sentiments of the Yugoslavian proletariat and peasantry, all the conditions exist for the rapid elimination of the crisis, so that the Party might be cured and be able to lead the revolutionary movement at the moment when there are tremendous events developing in the Balkans, when war is imminent.

Still more difficult is the situation in Roumania.

The Party is disorganised, has no real leadership, and is detached from the masses. The revolutionary movement goes on apart from the Communist Party. The E. C. C. I. has taken some steps to create a C. C. capable of action. Let us hope that with constant support and constant guidance of the E. C. C. I., this Party will be able to re-form its ranks; regain the influence, and put itself at the head of the considerable revolutionary movement of the Roumanian proletariat and peasantry.

There was a crisis also in Greece, but it has already been disposed of, ending in complete victory for the bolshevist majority of the Party and for the Communist International.

It is characteristic to note that in all the Balkan Parties the mistakes committed were mostly of the Right tendency. It must be emphasised that although these Parties are existing under the white terror, none of them is menaced by ultra-Left deviations. Therefore, the Balkan parties should concentrate all their efforts to combat the menace from the Right.

From the picture which I have drawn here, it is quite clear under what extraordinary complicated conditions our Balkan Parties have to work. Comrades, I believe it will be no expression of the provincial spirit, mentioned by Comrade Bukharin in his Theses, if I address a request to this Congress to devote increased attention to the Balkan Parties, even for the reason that in the very Theses of the World Congress a point has been adopted which deals, although briefly, with the immediate political and tactical line of the Balkan Parties.

#### Comrade PEPPER (America):

Comrades: the American comrades who spoke here took a somewhat critical attitude towards the thesis of Comrade Bukharin, I have to state that these comrades spoke only in their own name. In the name of the American delegation I am authorised to state that the American delegation fully agrees with the thesis of Comrade Bukharin. Small wonder that these comrades criticised the thesis of Comrade Bukharin — they had a very good reason to do that. They have an estimation of the present world position of American imperialism which differs fundamentally from the estimation given by Comrade Bukharin.

It is necessary to mention here that on the same day the thesis of Bukharin was distributed another document was distributed in the Anglo-American Secretariat of the Comintern called "The Right Danger in the American Party" signed by Comrades Bittelman, Foster, Cannon, etc. This document is not without significance for the discussion of the VIth World Congress on the international situation because it contains a basically different analysis of American imperialism and its role in the general world situation from that expressed by Comrade Bukharin in his speech and thesis.

The outstanding features of the thesis are the following:

1. The continuing ascendancy of American Imperialism.
2. The shifting of the economic, centre of gravity from Europe to America.
3. The growing expansion and aggressiveness of American imperialism, the growing disproportion between the economic growth and power of American imperialism and its lack of colonies and its "insufficient" military preparedness.
4. The export of American capital was and is the basis for European stabilisation of capitalism.
5. The very technical progress and increase of forces of production serve to increase the inner contradictions and outer

conflicts of American imperialism, to sharpen the class struggle and the resistance of the working class.

This is the line of Bukharin's thesis regarding the world role of American imperialism.

The line of the document of the American comrades is a basically different line from that expressed in the thesis of Comrade Bukharin. I cite first the following sentence:

"An analysis of the degree of rightness of these contradictions will show that American capitalism is about to reach the apex of growth."

The document says that it is an erroneous conception for American Party is erroneous because it is based on the growth of American imperialism instead of emphasizing the diminishing reserve powers of the same:

"This follows from a correct analysis of the diminishing reserve powers of American capitalism."

The document asserts that the American Party has "a different conception of the position and present phase of American capitalism", and it defines this conception as follows:

"The main emphasis upon the tendencies making for the growth and power of American capitalism."

The document says that it is an erroneous conception for the American Party to lay the main emphasis upon the tendencies making for the growth of American capitalism and dubs the estimation of the American Party "a dangerously opportunist conception".

These quotations prove sufficiently that there is a deep-going difference between the estimation of the thesis and the "document" of some American comrades. Comrade Stalin just a few days ago in Leningrad contrasted the ascending star of American imperialism to the setting star of British imperialism, and characterised America as the country of the gigantic growth of capitalism. It is unquestionably one of the most important features of Comrade Bukharin's thesis that the whole world situation as regards imperialist powers revolves around the world hegemony of American imperialism. The world hegemony of American capitalism is to-day the axis of all capitalist relations in the world. An oversight of that amounts to political blindness. Not to emphasise that amounts to political blindness. Not to emphasise that implies a basically different line.

Those comrades who maintain that American imperialism is already in its general decline, are afraid that if we analyse facts as they are and estimate realities as realities, if we state that there are still possibilities of growth of American capitalism — then we deny possibilities of increased outer and inner conflicts for American imperialism. This conception is gravely erroneous. Quite the contrary is the correct position. The very fact that American imperialism is growing that its economic power is increasing with such unheard of speed is the basis of most important antagonisms within the capitalist world. Not the "diminishing reserve powers", but the economic world hegemony of American imperialism is the basis of its conflicts with British imperialism. The disproportion between the growing economic power of American imperialism on the one hand and the lack of colonial possessions, the lack as compared with the colonial empire of Great Britain and with the powerful British navy or the huge French Army is the real source of present-day imperialist conflicts.

The statement that the reserve powers of American imperialism are already diminishing is not borne out by the facts. How can one say that the reserves of American capitalism are already exhausted knowing the fact that just recently a large section of the American Continent, the "so-called solid South is being industrialised? America still has huge agrarian territories which in the first time in her history are becoming centres of highly centralised modern industry. The agricultural crisis is one of the sore spots in American capitalist economy. The source of the agricultural crisis is the growth of industry, trustification, the speedy progress of technique. Another sore spot in American capitalism is the crisis in the coal and textile industries. But again facts prove that the basis for these partial crises is the very technical progress and particularly the shifting of the centre of gravity of these industries to the South where cheaper water power and cheaper labour power can be obtained.

American imperialism still has gigantic resources and possibilities to grow. Facts show that the present economic depression is characterised by the following tendencies:

1. Trustification is asserting itself with irresistible power. Consolidations of railways, big combines and mergers in all industries are the order of the day. The special feature of the present situation is that not only individual corporations merge into trusts but trusts are already merging into veritable super-trusts.

2. A process of centralisation similar to that in production is going on in the field of distribution. We failed so far to give a thorough analysis of this entirely new process of trustification of distribution. For the first time in the history of the capitalist world are we facing the phenomenon of trustification of distribution which creates a powerful material basis for Socialism in future America.

How is it possible for these American comrades to have such a wrong conception of the estimation of American imperialism?

1. These comrades confuse the present depression which is a temporary phenomenon with the basic and general decline of American imperialism.

2. These comrades think that growing conflicts, increasing contradictions can only arise on the basis of a decline or a downward trend of American imperialism. They overlook the fact that the very rapid growth of American imperialism is responsible for the growing antagonism between America and other imperialist countries. They do not understand one of the most important thoughts of the thesis of Comrade Bukharin, according to which the main feature of the present situation is the growing inner and outer conflicts of imperialism based on the technical reconstruction and growth of capitalism. This is the special feature of the present situation in contradistinction to the post-war crisis. American capitalism never needed any stabilisation because it never suffered from a post-war crisis in the same sense as European capitalism.

3. The third source of the erroneous conception is the mistaking of a special acute decline of American imperialism for those elements of decline which are present in the imperialist development of all capitalist countries, such as the export of capital, the growth of parasitic elements, a rentier class, etc. The presence of these elements is not equivalent to an absolute decline of American imperialism, but it means the growth of contradictions in American capitalism.

4. Another source of the misunderstanding is the erroneous interpretation of Lenin's definition according to which imperialism is generally the period of decline of capitalism. But Lenin never said that the period of imperialism excludes the growth of capitalism or the rapid growth of capitalism in individual countries.

Summing up: American capitalism still has possibilities to grow, it did not reach the apex of its growth, it still has huge reserve powers. At the same time we have to emphasise that American imperialism has its limitations, that it is necessary to analyse these factors which make up for the eventual downfall of American imperialism. What are these limitations?

1. The aggressive imperialist policies of the United States are creating many complications in world politics and it is inevitable that these complications will reflect themselves in the internal situation as well. The very aggressiveness of American imperialism calls for a growing resistance on the part of the other imperialist powers and of the Latin-American countries against U. S. Imperialism. The imperialist aggressiveness of the U. S. makes necessary the building up of an extensive navy and army which means growing instability, increasing taxation, growing discontent of various strata of the population and growing resistance of the masses against imperialist aggressiveness.

2. The very technical progress of industries calls for partial crisis which stir up broad strata of workers. The industrialisation of the south spells unemployment, wage cuts, insecurity of living for hundreds and thousands of workers in New England. The crisis in the mining industry serves as the basis for a fomentation among the huge masses of coalminers. The technical progress in agriculture, the very fact that in 1925 there were 200,000 and in 1927 already 700,000 tractors in use



makes hundreds of thousands of farmers "superfluous" and creates a critical situation for large sections of the farming population of America.

3. **The centralisation and bureaucratisation of the U. S. government is making headway all the time.** The Government is in a growing degree becoming merged with the apparatus of the Trusts.

4. **The inter-dependence between American capitalism and world capitalism manifests itself in a growing degree.** The decay of European capitalism must affect the fate of American imperialism also.

5. America does not enjoy the same monopolistic situation as Great Britain did for decades. America has to face other powerful imperialist countries to compete with and therefore we can foresee that **American imperialism will not be in the position to bribe large sections of the American working class for many more years.**

6. Other limitations of American imperialism are: **the existence of the U. S. S. R., the growing revolt of the colonies, and the growth of the revolutionary proletarian movements in Europe.**

The second problem I want to elaborate upon is the question of radicalisation and bourgeoisification of the American working class.

The same document of certain American comrades which I already quoted from errs in the estimation of the amount and volume of the radicalisation of the American working class also. I have to give a few quotation:

"There is a **general growth of discontent, militance and readiness to struggle** among the semi-skilled and unskilled workers (the bulk of the American proletariat)."

Another passage:

"A progress of **widespread and general radicalisation** is taking place in all industries among the most exploited sections of the workers."

I have to state that these assertions of the document do not correspond with the facts. There is a certain amount of radicalisation of the American working class, a radicalisation of certain industries. There is a certain left trend among the unskilled workers but we cannot say that that Left trend is **general or nationwide**, that it embraces the **bulk** of the American workers already. I am afraid that even in Germany, France or Great Britain, in those countries which show the most marked tendencies of the radicalisation of the working class — even there we cannot say today yet that the radicalisation or the Left trend embraces already the **bulk** of the working class.

It is interesting to note a remarkable contradiction: the same comrades who charge the Central Committee of the American Party, that it overlooks the **general radicalisation** of the American working class, put forward the accusations here in Moscow **only nine months ago**, that the Central Committee of the American Party refuses to recognise that there is a powerful process of **bourgeoisification** of the American working class going on. I am of the opinion that the American Party had the correct position nine months ago stating that there is a marked tendency of the bourgeoisification of the American working class, but at the same time there is another tendency of radicalisation of certain sections of the working class which serves as sufficient basis for mass Communist work.

I stated just a few days ago in the Profintern: Stabilisation in Europe serves as the basis for the growth of reformism and the contradictions of stabilisation create a basis for the growth of the Communist Party. The world hegemony of American imperialism serves as the basis for the further growth of American reformism and creates the possibilities for the further growth of the American Federation of Labour. On the other hand the contradiction arising from the growing power of American imperialism create possibilities for the growth of radicalisation of the masses for the increase of the Communist mass movement.

I want to emphasise: it is a two-fold process and it amounts to political blindness, to overlook one or the other side of it.

I would like to characterise certain special American features of the radicalisation of the working class. I am of the opinion that instead of repeating here general phrases about the general radicalisation of the bulk of the American working class it is our duty to try to give a **concrete analysis of the volume, the limitations, the forms and the special features** of the radicalisation in America.

The limitations of radicalisation at present which determine the amount of the leftward trend are the following;

1. The absence of big political issues between the capitalist parties.

2. Unlike 1924 there is no third party movement at this time.

3. There is no labour party movement on a national or mass scale at peasant.

4. The bulk of the American working class belong still at present to the old capitalist political parties. The twelve railroad Brotherhoods which a few years ago were the backbone of an independent political movement of the American working class endorsed a few weeks ago Hoover as President. The American Federation of Labour, which in 1924 endorsed the Third Party movement of La Follette will now endorse Al Smith the candidate of the Democratic Party.

5. The **Socialist Party of America** ceased to be a proletarian party and the **Communist Party of America** is **not yet** a mass party. The American working class was not able to develop yet a mass political party which exercises an influence on millions of workers.

The above given facts show clearly the limitation of the radicalisation especially the political radicalisation of the American working class. **The basic factor** of the situation is — as stated in the political resolution of the May Plenum of the American Party — **the analysis of the moods and actions of the masses of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers.** We can state that there is a very significant amount of radicalisation going on among the most exploited sections of the working class as proven by the struggles of the miners, textile workers and workers in the needle trades.

The radicalisation in America has certain special features in **contradistinction to the radicalisation in certain European countries.** In Germany radicalisation manifests itself on the political field and lags behind on the trade union field. The workers are willing to follow **politically** the Communist Party of Germany, but they are not willing to accept its **strike leadership.** In America the Leftward workers are not yet willing to accept the political leadership of the Communist Party of America, but at the same time they accept in a growing degree the **strike leadership of the Communists.**

The problems of **unemployment** are among the fundamental problems of present-day America. Some comrades criticised here Comrade Bukharin that he did not pay enough attention to unemployment. I think it is an unjust criticism because Comrade Bukharin analysed thoroughly the new kind of unemployment, **the permanent growth of the industrial reserve army, the perpetual disemployment of hundreds of thousands and even millions of workers.**

Some other comrades think that Comrade Bukharin's thesis on permanent disemployment, on the **absolute decrease** of the numbers of the working class in America, must lead to "opportunism". I think this is an unfounded and ridiculous charge. **Tens of millions of workers permanently disemployed out of the process of production — that does not mean a harmonious development but it means a revolutionary situation.** It is ridiculous to forget that those workers who are thrown out from the process of production, even if they do not produce, are still proletarian elements and human beings who want to eat, who will resist against starvation.

It is clear that the increasing sharpness of the class struggle and the growing resistance of the workers will not permit that capitalism shall push out the bulk of the working class from the process of production. On the other hand, we should note that capitalism is able to regulate to a certain degree this process. In America there is a **prohibition of immigration** which means that hundreds of thousands of foreign born workers are

excluded year by year from America. Again there is a possibility of emigration from America to other younger capitalist or half-capitalist countries. Again there is a possibility that the tendency to diminish the absolute numbers of the working class will again come temporarily to an end.

Anyone who denies the existence of this new phenomenon is polemising not against Comrade Bukharin but against the very facts. The facts about America speak a very clear and eloquent language. In 1927 the factories produced 26% more than in 1919. During this same period the number of wage earners employed in manufacturing decreased by not less than 980,000. Eleven percent fewer wage earners than in 1919 produced in manufacturing in 1927, 26% more products. In other words, each worker produced 40% more. And the same tendency manifests itself not only in the factories, but in rail-roading too. And this absolute decrease of the numbers of the working class went hand in hand with "prosperity", with rapidly increased production.

There is no other country at present which manifests such a marked tendency for merging state apparatuses and finance capital as the United States of America.

There are special historic reasons which explain the rapid and almost complete merger of trusts and state apparatus in America. It is not an accident that the whole history of America's political and economic development is responsible for the fact that this merging process, this trustification of the State apparatus, goes on in America more rapidly and thoroughly than in any other country.

In the other capitalist countries the centralised bureaucratic militaristic state apparatus of the bourgeoisie developed prior to the period of finance capital. Centralised bureaucratic State apparatus in America began to develop only in the period of imperialism hand in hand with the growth of finance capital and trusts. Further, America never had a system of feudalism as the European countries. The class struggle between the feudalists and the city bourgeoisie which gave rise to the bureaucratic centralised State apparatus in the hands of the monarchy never played any role in the history of America.

As late as in 1884 the number of federal employees in America amounted only to 13,780. In 1912, immediately before the war, the federal bureaucracy had already increased to 278,000. To-day, in 1928, the federal bureaucracy numbers 559,138. The total number of government employees — (Federal State and local) is not less than three million to-day. A list of the leading men of the various branches of the American government reads like a list of the members of directors of trusts, banks and corporations.

Now comrades, I want to refer to the Right danger in the American Party. The document officially submitted to the Communist International and signed by some of the American leading comrades, calls itself "The Right danger in the American Party". Is there a Right danger in America? It must be so in such a powerful imperialist country with such a powerful labour aristocracy. Yes, there is a Right danger and the American delegation is justified in introducing an amendment to that section of the thesis of Comrade Bukharin which deals with America. Our amendment reads:

"It is necessary that the American Party C. E. C. should continue and intensify its fight against Right deviations."

I consider it my duty to cite one outstanding example of the fight of the American Party against Right dangers. I think it is not without significance that the document which accuses the C. E. C. of the American Party of constituting a Right-wing, that this document does not contain one single word about the most important, the fundamental error, the American Party ever committed. The Right-wing error I am referring to is contained in the election platform of 1924. The same comrades who accuse the American Party of being a Right-wing party had the leadership of the Central Executive Committee of the American Party in 1924. These comrades are therefore fully responsible for the policies of the election platform of 1924. This election platform reads as follows:

"The Workers' Party declares itself in favour of the immediate nationalisation of all large-scale industries such as railroads, mines, super power plants, and means of

communications and transportation, and for the organisation of the workers in these industries for participation in the management and direction of those industries industrialised, thus developing industrial democracy, until industry comes under the control of those who produce the wealth of the nation."

Comrades, this statement was written, introduced and propagandised by those comrades who are accusing the present Central Executive Committee of being a Right-wing leadership. It wants to develop "industrial democracy" to-day in the middle of capitalist society and fosters the illusion that industrial democracy can develop before the working class seizes power and takes over the control of State power and industries. I have to state that the same mistake was repeated two years later in 1926, in the election platform of the Party though in not such a bad form.

Two election platforms of the Party contained a policy towards nationalisation and workers' control which was here characterised by Comrade Bukharin as a step towards a social-democratic line. And yet, such a deviation, such a grave error, was never mentioned, never criticised, never noticed, never corrected by those comrades who signed the lengthy document called the "Right danger in the American Party" and who claim to have the monopoly of Leninist policy in the American Party.

The mistakes of the election platforms of 1924 and 1926 were corrected in the last election platform adopted by our Party in May 1928. The initiative to correct these grave errors did not come from those comrades who signed the document called "Right Wing Danger in the American Party", but from the Central Executive Committee which they accuse of being a Right wing.

The American Party does not want to cover up its mistakes. Read the resolution of the May Plenum of our C. E. C. on the Trade Union question. There is a ruthless criticism in it of all mistakes we have made.

No one can question that the present Central Committee was the one to notice the major error contained in the previous platforms of the Party regarding immediate nationalisation, control of production and industrial democracy. The present Programme of Action of the Party does not contain such grave deviations to the Right.

We hope, the whole World Congress will reject the charge that the present Central Executive Committee of the Party is a Right wing or has the Right wing policies. Especially is it unjustified to put forward such a grave accusation based on a fundamentally wrong analysis and estimation of American imperialism as it is given in the document of these comrades.

#### Comrade BLENKLE (Germany):

Comrades, it is a typical and good sign of the activity of the Communist International that the very first item of our World Congress contains also the report of the Y. C. I. At no time did the question of embracing the working youth by the C. I. confront us so urgently as it does just now, when the struggle for the masses of the proletarian and peasant youth is carried on by the bourgeoisie in all countries as an important means of the imperialist war preparations.

The Y. C. I. constitutes the strongest section of the C. I. in point of numbers: it numbers approximately a total of 2 $\frac{1}{4}$  million members. But this huge total is largely made up of the great numbers of members in the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union. Outside of the Soviet Union the Y. C. I.'s have altogether about 127,000 members.

To this number of the young workers organised in the Communist youth leagues should be added the number of those young workers and peasants, boys and girls, who are associated with the sympathising organisations of the Y. C. I. In this sense we have 11 sympathising organisations: the Red Young Front in Germany, the Anti-Fascist Guards in France, and a number of legal political organisations in those countries where the Y. C. I. is forbidden, having altogether a membership of about 70,000.

These figures go to show that the organisational standing of the Y. C. L.'s, in comparison with our Communist Parties, is still far from satisfactory; at any rate, there is an insufficient advance in regard to the numbers of the members in the Y. C. L.

This organisational standing of our International is reflected also in the standing of the press and literature of the Y. C. L.'s.

The situation in our Communist children's leagues should be considered as exceedingly grave. The whole of our children's leagues — outside of the Soviet Union — have only 40,000 members. Compared with the gigantic figures of the bourgeois and social democratic children's organisations, it is an exceedingly moderate number. Equally deplorable is the state of development in our Communist children's organisations. We can not speak of a state of stagnation in our children's leagues. We must clearly and frankly record a process of retrogression in regard to the membership, and even in the leading sections; Germany, England, Norway and France. On the other hand, we have lately formed some new Leagues (Latin America, China, Mongolia).

I believe it would not be wrong to consider in this connection the numerical strength of the opposing organisations. The social-democratic youth leagues are in a state of profound organisational and political crisis; the socialist youth league of Germany has now only 40,000 members, whilst recently it still had over 100,000 members. The same development we see in the whole of the Y. S. I. This is the result of not only objective causes, but also of the persistent, consistent and proper application of the united front tactics on the part of our Young Communist Leagues and the Y. C. I. It ought to be observed that wherever our Young Communist organisations have considerably retrogressed, the social democratic youth organisations have lately made a good deal of progress. In Germany the social-democratic children's organisations are numbering already over 100,000 members, although some two years ago there were not any social democratic children's organisations in Germany worth mentioning. Comrades, this is a development which should not in the last place be traced to the wrong methods and the insufficient activity of our Communist Parties and Young Communist Leagues in the domain of the proletarian children's movement.

For some time we have been discussing in the Young Communist International the question of a change in the working methods. The plenum of the Y. C. I. Executive in February 1926 laid down already some definite guiding lines. At all events, the fulfilment of our decisions in some of the Leagues has met with considerable difficulties. The application of our new working methods has remained almost exclusively confined to the Young Communist League in Germany. In our first resolution adopted in February 1926 it was stated that these new working methods signify nothing else but that we should lead our political mass Party work in the factories, in the trade unions, in the army, in the navy, in the sport organisations, in a form attuned to the mentality, experience, and sentiments of the young workers' and peasants. If the Young Communist Leagues wish to become mass organisations, they must practically carry out three conditions in their daily work. **Firstly**, they must become the political leaders of the proletarian and peasant youth: they must particularly emphasise the questions of the political events which interest the young people, the question of their vocational training, military service, imperialist war, the economic situation, maintain a definite political line on behalf of the young working people upon all these questions, and carry on a certain "youth policy", so to speak. This clear-cut political line is the essential condition of mass activity for the Young Communist Leagues. **Secondly**, they must protect the economic interests of the young workers in the daily struggles through the factory nuclei and through the activity in trade unions. **Only** in this manner can they really become mass organisations, mass organisations in the double sense; on the one hand, each young Communist in the factory should be a leader among his fellows, and on the other hand, they should extend their organisational activity among the young people.

**Thirdly**, the mass activity should take different shape from the working methods of the Parties. By no means should they

imitate the Parties. The Young Communist League should constitute no second Party, but a youth organisations which works among the young workers, by methods which are suited to the mentality of the working youth.

If our Young Communist Leagues are to be strengthened, they must have the foundation of a strong proletarian children's movement. As long as our children's leagues are extraordinarily weak, much weaker than the Young Communist Leagues, the children's leagues constitute a feeble basis for the Y. C. leagues. And as long as the wrong tendencies prevail in the children's leagues, consisting in the denial of mass activity, our mass activity is going to meet with tremendous insurmountable difficulties.

Hence, comrades, the following tasks arise for the Party in connection with the Young Communist Leagues.

In the first place, the political leadership. The Party must possess clarity upon our working methods and upon the form of political leadership of the Young Communist Leagues. A situation, as we find to-day in some of our big Communist Parties, when the Parties refuse to lead strikes of young workers; cases when Communist Parties object to the extension of Party discussions to the youth leagues should be eliminated, if we want our Young Communist Leagues to be properly guided. We must equally reject any attempt at transforming the Young Communist Leagues into formless leagues of young workers.

A second point in the Party's activity is the material backing of the youth leagues.

I should also like to mention that an exceedingly small percentage of members of our youth leagues become subsequent members of the Party. This is not only the fault of the Young Communist Leagues, but it should also be ascribed to the insufficient attention given by the Party to the ranks of the Young Communists, as well as to the improper employment of the young comrades transferred to the Party from the Young Communist League.

If we shall act upon the decisions which are going to be passed by this Congress, we may take it for granted that both the Communist International and the Young Communist International will be fully prepared to do their share in the fight against imperialist war and for the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war.

#### Comrade HANNINGTON (Great Britain):

Comrades, the contribution that I wish to make to this discussion in the name of the British Delegation arises from something that Comrade Bukharin has forgotten to say. Comrade Bukharin hardly mentioned, the question of unemployment.

Now, Comrade Pepper who just recently spoke, dismissed this question of unemployment as being of very little consequence to the International. He said it was a very serious question no doubt, containing all kinds of revolutionary potentialities but still it was not important enough to include it in an international report such as that submitted by Comrade Bukharin.

Permit me to say that I am inclined to think that Comrade Pepper has given very little consideration to this serious problem, otherwise he would not have spoken in the manner that he did. This is all the more astonishing since Comrade Pepper speaks in the name of the American Delegation, a country in which there are about four and a half million unemployed today.

In the name of the British Delegation, let me express their opinions on this question of unemployment. We feel that the neglect of this enormous field for work amongst the unemployed constitutes a very serious error on the part of the International. Unemployment is today one of the biggest problems within capitalism. It is a menace to the equilibrium of capitalist society.

Let us look just briefly at the situation, — in America, Britain, Italy and Germany. We could speak also of un-

employment in the colonies such as New Zealand, Canada and South Africa. In Germany, at the present moment, there is an army of unemployed, according to the Government figures, of 1,180,000. In England, at the present moment, according to the Government figures there is an army of unemployed numbering roughly 1,190,000. In Italy at the present moment, there is somewhere around 500,000, and in America the army of unemployed is round about the figure of four and a half millions. The figures I have given concerning Britain are the figures of those persons who are registered at the exchanges of employment in Britain. There are many more thousands who are not included in these figures because they are not drawing benefits and the total number at the present moment is nearer the two million mark than the million and a quarter. Two million unemployed in Britain means approximately 12% of the working population unemployed. In the mining areas in Britain, there is estimated to be a quarter of a million unemployed. And let us remember when we speak of the mining areas, such areas as South Wales, there is no other industry to turn to when they are unemployed. It is a standing army of unemployed never becoming employed unless the pits open in these districts or unless they are able to shift into some other district for employment. Can we dismiss this huge army and say it is not important to the International? If it is a serious problem within capitalism, embracing as it does millions of workers in the capitalist countries, it is a problem that the International must face up to, a problem for which the International must outline a policy. I think to neglect that huge field for work is as serious a mistake as to neglect work of the Party inside the trade unions.

First of all, it is an important field for mass agitation and for developing revolutionary forces against capitalism.

Secondly, it is closely related to the preparations for war.

Thirdly, the organisation of the unemployed under the leadership of the Party constitutes a powerful weapon against the employing class in periods of industrial dispute.

Fourthly, it is a force that can be used against the introduction of capitalist rationalisation of industry.

Fifthly, it is a force that can be used for undermining the strength of social democracy.

Now let me explain a little more in detail these five points I have mentioned. The mere fact that the men and women are unemployed and faced with semi-starvation makes them a discontented mass, that is ready for action, that is ready to listen to the message of the Party because the Party comes to them with a fighting policy. I believe we can claim a good deal of credit as a party in the International for the work we have done amongst the unemployed in Britain. The mass agitation of the unemployed, under the banner of the **National Unemployed Workers' Committee** movement, (a movement in which leading Party members are functioning) was responsible for revolutionising what is known as the Poor Law System of Great Britain. Before 1920 it was considered to be illegal to administer Poor Law Relief, as we term it, to able-bodied persons. The great mass demonstrations of thousands and thousands of workers in every locality led to the government passing an amendment to the Poor Law which made it legal for the Board of Guardians in the localities to administer relief to able-bodied unemployed. We were responsible by the great mass agitation for compelling the Labour Government in 1924 to increase the insurance benefit and to improve the general conditions for receiving benefits.

I would refer to a more recent activity, — the **South Wales Miners' March to London**, which can be described as the biggest mass event, the biggest mass activity in Britain in 1927. Arising from that march we have seen some interesting things. Even up to the present moment there is a concentrated publicity running through the whole of the capitalist press in Britain about the conditions of the South Wales coal fields. Funds have been opened to relieve the distress of the unemployed in the coal fields; Committees of public men have been appointed to investigate the conditions and to recommend how best to improve the situation. Special commissioners have been appointed by the National Labour Party who fought against the march, who tried to smash it — to visit South

Wales to investigate and to report on the conditions. The most recent information is that the government has now agreed to subsidise the export coal trade in Great Britain. These things we know are limited and are no solution to the problem of unemployment but they nevertheless arise from the March of the South Wales coal miners to London in 1927.

Now let me refer to the second question. How is it connected with the preparation of war? First of all let us remember that in a country like Great Britain with a so-called voluntary army, men are constantly being drawn into the army when they are unemployed because of their low economic position.

Now a new **Unemployment Insurance Act** has been operating for the last two months in Britain. Just take note of these figures concerning the reduction in the benefits of the young men between the ages of 18 and 21, just the very class which are needed for the British army. For men, between the age of 20 and 21 their benefit is reduced by 4 shillings, fetching them down from 18 to 14 shillings. Men between the age of 19 and 20 — their benefit is reduced by 6 shillings, fetching them down to 12 shillings. Men between the age of 18 to 19 — their benefit is brought down to 10 shillings per week, a reduction of 8 shillings a week. This new Unemployment Act has been introduced by the Baldwin Government based upon a report of a committee known as the "**Blanesburgh Committee**" upon which served three Labour Representatives, one of them a member of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, — who signed the report along with Lord Blanesburgh and other capitalists of Great Britain. It is interesting to note that prior to the Blanesburgh report being issued, the **British Army report** was issued showing that there had been a falling off in the number of recruits for the British army. The British army report went on to declare that it attributed this to the high scales of benefit for young men that the Labour Exchanges were paying under the insurance scheme. And so we find that the next move that is made following on the report of recruitment for the army, is a move of cutting down the benefits of just that section of young workers who are required for the army; cutting down their benefits with a view to driving them by the lash of starvation into the army. We must remember, comrades, that with a standing army of two million unemployed, there would be a danger of this army constituting a voluntary force, a voluntary army in the period of the declaration of war. Especially if the government, as we can quite conceive, is prepared to offer special conditions for the first recruits in Britain. Our business is to conduct an educational campaign amongst the unemployed. We are not against the unemployed going into the army, provided they go into the army class-conscious; provided that at the right moment they use their technical and military training in the interests of the workers instead of in the interests of capitalism.

How is it a weapon that can be used against the employing class in the time of industrial disputes? With the unemployed organised understanding the nature of the struggle against capitalism, it becomes much more difficult for the employing class to use them as a blackleg force. During the last eight years, there has been a very marked absence of blacklegging in all the disputes in Britain. Whereas prior to 1920, and before the war, there was always a mass of unemployed who were prepared to rush into the jobs of the men engaged in a strike or lockout.

How is it a force that can be used against the application of rationalisation? We know the meaning of rationalisation. We know it means more unemployment. After the policy of rationalisation which was recently introduced in the **Scottish and Yorkshire coalfields**, there resulted an increase in the last four months of 30,000 more unemployed in the Scottish and Yorkshire coalfields alone. This provides us with a splendid opportunity for mobilising mass action and mass agitation of the unemployed against the effects of rationalisation, because we can show the unemployed that rationalisation means, not an opportunity for them to get back into industry again, but throwing more people on to the street.

It means undermining the strength of the social democrats who support the policy of rationalisation. In the miner's march

which I have already referred to, the General Council of the Trade Union Congress used the central machinery of the trade union movement to smash that miner's march to London. We decided in spite of the fact that instruction had gone out from Citrine to the working class bodies on the route from South Wales to London telling them not render any assistance to the marchers, that the march should go on, placing our faith and correctly so in the response we expected from the workers on the route. In every town where the marchers entered, great mass demonstrations took place and the workers assembled to welcome the men who were marching to London; this in spite of the opposition of the General Council of the T. U. C. and the Executive of the Labour Party. From South Wales to London we broke down the official machine and showed that the masses, in spite of all the instructions issued by the General Council, were prepared to rally to the assistance of the men who were demonstrating the poverty of South Wales. This was both defying and undermining the strength of the Social Democrats.

At the present moment the General Council in Britain is preparing to launch a scheme for the organisation of the unemployed under their control. Is it some strange coincidence that at the very same moment when the General Council is pursuing a policy along with Mond for the application of rationalisation, which means more unemployment, that the General Council launches a scheme for organising the unemployed? I venture to say that there is no coincidence about it at all. I do not think we need a great deal of imagination to realise it is quite possible that there is a mutual understanding between the General Council of the T. U. C. and Sir Alfred Mond and his group of employers, in order to

meet the increased unemployment, for the General Council to organise the unemployed with a view to handcuffing them and keeping them quiet.

The International should instruct and advise the Parties of the International to build up mass organisations of the unemployed on the model of the British organisation of the unemployed. This means engaging in the daily struggles of the unemployed, in their struggles for benefits and relief. Our Party can win the leadership of the unemployed, because it goes forward to the unemployed with a militant policy, a policy which the Social Democrats cannot offer them. Therefore, the leadership of the unemployed can be won by the Communist Parties.

We can enter the field of unemployment and work to win the leadership immediately because the Social Democrats are not in control there. We are fighting to wrest control from them in the trade unions, but in unemployment we can go in and find the masses ready to follow the lead of the Communist Party. Unless we do it the Social Democrats will do it and in a few years time the Communist International will be saying: "Here is a big field of work for the Communist Parties — we must penetrate and win the unemployed away from the leadership of the Social Democrats". If we dare to neglect this important problem, this sore in the body of capitalism, we are not entitled to say that we are the practical leaders of the masses. The unemployed are a seething mass of discontent. We must harness their discontent and guide and direct them in the struggle against capitalism, using it in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and for the establishment of Communism.

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