

Report of the Political Commission

Comrade Pepper (Amercia):

The Commission accepted Comrade Varga's theses as a basis; after a thorough discussion, it made important changes, then it unanimously adopted these theses with their amendments.

There were differences of opinion in only four questions. German Delegation desired a clearer characterisation of the main situation. We can say that on essential points the theses Germany are now entirely concrete and correct.

The second question which we discussed was whether or we are justified in saying that a unified capitalist world-economy no longer exists. After a lengthy discussion we decided Comrade Varga's conception is correct, but we put the element still more clearly: we pointed out at the same time entirely new counter tendency manifested by the new imperialist advance of Amerika and Great Britain.

The third and most important question was whether the theses sufficiently expressed the revolutionary perspective. It is the opinion of the whole commission that we would have expressed ourselves a little more concretely on some points than done in the original draft of the theses.

The last question that we discussed was the question of what had taken place since the Third World Congress—had the situation become more acute or had it remained the same. We decided that the decay of capitalist world economy in certain imperialist countries had increased considerably. I wish to state Comrade Varga's theses served as an excellent basis for our conception on the whole economic world-situation. But we must also state that the efforts of certain German comrades contributed in many ways in formulating the theses more concretely and clearly, and especially in presenting the revolutionary perspective more concretely and sharply.

It seems that the well known criticism of Comrade Boris is the only criticism of the theses formulated by Comrade Varga by the German Delegation, and which represent the unanimous opinion of this whole Political Commission, from Comrade Varga to the comrades of the German Delegation. These theses show there is nothing in common between the conceptions of the German Delegation and of Comrade Boris. Why did I mention this? Many comrades reproach the German comrades with the foolishness and nonsense of Comrade Boris. We ought not to identify the comrades of the German delegation with this nonsense. The German comrades accept these theses as a basis. Not only did they accept these theses unanimously but they helped to formulate them.

The theses proposed by the political commission on the economic world situation were unanimously accepted by the USSR*).

Comrade Bukharin:

The work the Program Commission has accomplished is as follows. The program commission, the special sub-commission, the smaller commissions, have adopted certain amendments. These amendments on the whole are of a secondary nature.

The majority of the delegations were in agreement of our form. But it must still be improved in style. Therefore, comrades, I propose that the following resolution be adopted:

*) All the resolutions adopted in the concluding session will be published in a special number of "Inprecorr".

1. The Congress adopts the draft prepared by the Program Commission as the basis for the discussion in the sections.

2. An Editing Commission will undertake to edit the draft in accordance with the decisions of the Commission.

3. The Congress determines that a permanent Program Commission be set up by the Executive, which will, as quickly as possible, publish the draft and the necessary explanatory material, to lead the international discussion and to evaluate it.

4. The Congress will assume the task of formulating the final draft.

Thus we propose that two Commissions be formed; one which has, as quickly as possible, to put the draft into the proper style I believe that the Commission can be elected immediately by the Congress. We propose the following as nominees:

The two co-authors of the basic work—Bukharin and Thalheimer, and the representative of the German Delegation.

With regard to the second and more permanent commission, I believe that it should be elected by the Enlarged Executive.

I close in the hope that before the next Congress meets, all the sections will have stated their standpoint in connection with the draft. We now have a basis for consideration and all the sections must carry on a live discussion on this question.

Both of Comrade Bukharin's proposals were unanimously adopted.

Thälmann (Germany):

Comrades, the Political Commission must adopt a standpoint towards two guiding principles in the question of tactics, one of which was proposed by the Russian Party and the other by Bordiga. The Sub-Commission, which decided to admit the guiding principles in the draft of the Russian Party as a basis for discussion of the question of tactics, declares that on various points, which played a part in the discussion, the theses of the Russian Party closely approached the theses proposed by Bordiga. In estimating the international situation; in the discussion of the problems of power; the principles for the creation of communist parties, the united front, the workers' government; partial demands; the bolshevisation of the parties; and the concrete tasks of the most important sections of the C. I.—in all these, even to the consideration of special questions, there existed a general, harmonious opinion. If, in Comrade Bordiga's theses there were some differences on the question of the rejection of the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government by the Italian Left, we can still say that on various points, especially in the discussion on the tactics of the united front, members holding even the most diverse views, showed themselves in full agreement.

Certain differences may have arisen, but we tried to improve the draft so that there has been an improvement effected at least over the theses on tactics of the Fourth Congress; a clear formulation of the tactics of the united front has been obtained; it was clearly stated that the workers' and peasants' government is an agitational slogan for the dictatorship of the proletariat and that in estimating the role of the communist party in the revolution we are facing important tasks even though in various countries the tempo will not be so rapid as we hope.