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# CORRESPONDENCE

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## Meeting of the Enlarged Executive.

Third Session. Moscow, 26<sup>th</sup>, March 1925.

### Co-Reports and Discussion on the Political Situation and the Next Tasks of the Comintern for the Bolshevising of the Parties.

Chairman: Comrade Semard (France).

Before proceeding to the agenda,

#### Comrade Valenius

read the following greetings to the Enlarged Executive from the **Red Sport International**:

"The Executive Committee of the Red Sport International, sends the Communist International its fraternal greetings, in the name of millions of workers and peasants who are fighting in the sport and gymnastic movement under the red banners of the Red Sport International.

"Physical health, the training of the body in resistance and discipline, are part of the task of putting the masses of workers and peasants in a position to defend themselves and to fight the revolutionary battles.

"The bourgeoisie and the reformists know how to exploit the sport and gymnastic movement of the masses for their own purposes and are still keeping millions of workers and peasants under their influence with the help of the sport and gymnastic movement; these cadres are used in the most varied forms as active troops fighting against the revolutionary proletariat.

"The Red Sport International is fighting against this situation and is trying to liberate the masses from the claws of the bourgeois and reformist organisations and their influence. The RSI is fighting for the unity of the workers' international sport and gymnastic movement and rallies in this way the proletarian masses who devote themselves to the sport and gymnastic movement. With the aid of the revolutionary organisations of the proletariat, the RSI fills these masses with the spirit of the proletarian revolution, as a section of these organisation it fights for the final victory of the social revolution.

The floor was then given to

#### Comrade Ruth Fischer:

Comrades! The German Party acquired the slogan of Bolshevisation in the struggle against the **right deviations**, in the fight against the destruction of the German Party by the events of October 1923. But the German Party must carry out the process of Bolshevisation in a more or less stagnant situation. The stagnation of the movement, together with the examination of the policy and the organisation of our Party, rendered our situation especially complicated, but also extremely instructive.

Our most thorough work was accomplished in the fight against the menace from the Right and its organisational consequences, since we suffered most heavily from this menace.

The most important political and economic facts characterising our situation are above all the **liquidation of the Ruhr crisis by the Dawes Plan**, the stabilisation of the valuta, and a relatively favourable market. The immediate effect of the stabilisation of the valuta was a change in the attitude of the working class. Of course the fights which the working class have gone through have been much too great to allow of violent reformist illusions. But a certain pacification, nevertheless exists, especially among the middle sections which are at present linked up with the bourgeois government. The collapse of the fascist movement is also involved in this. In contrast with this, the position of the small and to some extent also of the middle peasants, has become relatively much worse in the last few years, and for the first time, they are giving the bourgeoisie a certain amount of trouble.

But this lack of acuteness in the revolutionary situation does not signify a standstill in the class struggle. The **railway strike** and the recent events in Halle, Berlin and other cities, show that in "peaceful Germany" still greater intensification is observable than in the relatively turbulent neighbouring states. We must not surrender to illusions about a rapid increase in the revolutionary movement, but we must also not make the opposite mistake.

With the aid of the Social Democrats and the trade unions, the **bourgeoisie has stabilised its position**. But this stabilisation is bound up with a great number of difficulties for the bourgeoisie. Foreign relations, which compel the government to manoeuvre between the West, and the East, are a great difficulty. The difficulties of the government are mostly of a domestic nature. It succeeded in becoming stabilised by making various promises of a national and economic nature. The inability of the German bourgeoisie to fulfil its promises renders the work of government difficult in spite of its stabilisation. The illusions over the Dawes Plan are slowly crumbling. The railway strike is a symptom of this. The problem of how the bourgeoisie, in spite of the colonisation of Germany can increase its profits and keep the working class in suppression, is preparing fresh difficulties for it and leading to fresh struggles.

The **new situation in our Party** consists in two facts which make things difficult for us. The first is that the German

bourgeoisie — perhaps for the first time — has succeeded to a certain extent in setting up a government which temporarily understands how to rule without calling forth acute conflicts with the working class. The Luther Government knows how to mislead the working class by various methods. The second fact is the situation of the Social Democrats and the trade union bureaucracy. During the period just elapsed the SPG ruled jointly with the bourgeoisie all this time, even though with short interruptions, and jointly with the bourgeoisie led the fight against the revolution and against Soviet Russia. Now the Social Democrats, against their will, have been driven from all government posts by the bourgeoisie. Now the Social Democrats are trying to pose as the party of the class struggle. This situation makes the policy of the SPG seem firmer from without, but internally it is weaker. It won a great number of votes at the last elections, it is true, but internally it is very weak. This is not merely an agitational slogan; it is a fact. The whole policy of the Social Democrats was built up on the thesis of the participation in the bourgeois government. Now it is left without a programme. Its only purpose can be participation again in the Government, and that is impossible of realisation just at present.

This "Left" pose, this playing with five is most dangerous to the Social Democrats themselves, for if the Social Democrats explained to the working class that the Dawes Plan will mean an improvement of its condition and the security of peace in Europe, then the present struggle of the SPG against the Luther Government is incomprehensible. That is causing uncertainty and vacillation in its own camp. A still greater danger for the SP is that this shouting for the class struggle, without the slightest intention of actually exerting any sort of pressure on the bourgeoisie, will, under the prevailing economic conditions, lead the working class into activity against the will of the social democratic leaders. A typical example of this was the railway strike, which in spite of all its weaknesses and faults, spread much faster and further than the trade union bureaucracy wished, and this in spite of the difficult situation and of the fact that every strike in Germany evokes innumerable disciplinary measures especially against the communist workers.

A third difficulty within the SPG is the fact that the **Reichsbanner**, which was a definite Weimar Coalition, is being dangerously menaced by the present tactic of the Social Democrats. Some of the local groups are threatening dissolution. A movement is already becoming evident among the social democratic workers against the Reichsbanner, even in Cassel and Breslau, in these social democratic fortresses.

The fourth difficulty consists in the **various currents within the SPG**. It is clear that the "left" leaders, who do not represent a political current within the SPG and in no way made their appearance organisationally, do not signify to us any more possibility of winning over the Social Democratic workers, but rather decrease it, since this very opposition within the ranks of the Social Democrats is going through a very difficult period. But there is also an oppositional tendency among the social democratic workers themselves, who want to come back "under the red flag". I must openly admit that it is a weakness of our Party that it does not sufficiently understand how to take advantage of this frame of mind in the SPG organisationally. With the intensification of the political and economic situation, the bourgeoisie will be compelled to call back the Social Democrats, and the SPG will begin all over again to unmask itself as **the third party of the bourgeoisie**.

The **next wave of activity of the working class** will arise out of the immediate economic questions in the factories, from the questions of the eight hour day, higher wages, the fight against the burdens of taxation, against political reaction, etc. This process it is true, is proceeding more slowly than we believed it would. The situation of the bourgeoisie might, of course, change very quickly. The relatively good condition of industry might be checked by the prevailing market difficulties. On the whole, there is, however, a relative progress in industry, especially in the improvement of the technical apparatus and the methods of exploitation.

The **Bolshevisation of the German Party** began (and will continue along the same lines) in trying to make the Party fully conscious of its present situation. Only very gradually did the Party realise that October 1923 could not be corrected rapidly, but that rather a great new work confronted it.

The Bolshevisation of the German Party consists first of all in the question of **clearly understanding the character of imperialism**. Without a knowledge of the Leninist theory of imperialism a real revolutionary policy is absolutely impossible in the present period. The question gains special importance when we regard Germany as an industrial colony of Entente capital. The question of clearly representing the Leninist theory of imperialism is closely linked up with the question of the Russian Revolution. It cannot be dealt with only agitational, not only with sympathy and enthusiasm, but the theoretical understanding for the rise and the present situation of the Russian Revolution, must be brought home to the masses. A symptom of the confusion concerning the revolution is Levi's preface to his edition of "The Lessons of October" by Trotsky. This preface is characteristic not only of the social democratic conception, but also of the conceptions of some of the confused elements within our Party.

The second task which confronted the German Party was the **carrying out of trade union decisions**. In this question confusion reigned in the CPG for a whole year. And it is due to the Fifth World Congress that it completely cleared up the question of trade union work in Germany when it put forward the question of trade union unity. The application of the decision involved the expulsion of some workers. These expulsions were absolutely necessary, for otherwise the trade union work could not have been carried out. We are convinced that these workers, whom we had to drive from us, will come back to us. That has actually happened in some cases. The fact that we already have **from 80 to 90% of our members in the trade unions** is a guarantee of the fact that the process of Bolshevisation is progressing in our Party. One of our difficulties is that according to the statutes of most of the trade unions only members who have been in the trade unions for one or two years are eligible for office, further we have the outwardly unfavourable effect of the unity lists in the factory council elections and the fact that it requires special effort to get those comrades whom we have persuaded to join the trade unions, to engage in active work.

The **question of partial demands** has been complicated by the fact that after the opportunists misuse of the partial demands by Brandler, it has now become difficult for us to explain to the Party members that the fight for partial demands in connection with revolutionary aims is not Brandlerism. The same difficulties arise on the question of the **workers' and peasants' government**. Just as we never opposed partial demands, we never fought against the slogan of the workers' and peasants' Government. Our difficulties in this connection consist chiefly in the fact that we have no peasant movement of any great proportions and secondly in the fact that the question of power is not a concrete question for the working class. Many Social Democrats reject Communism not because they are against the conquest of power, but because they know that power can be conquered only by means of the armed struggle. We will naturally see to it that the mistrust of the German workers in this question will be allayed. But we openly state that certain difficulties are unavoidable in view of the confusion caused by the Right deviations.

The fourth task of the process of Bolshevisation consists in **making the character of the Social Democrats clear**. This question has been fairly well solved. The question of the theory of the state and the question of the attitude toward the bourgeois state also arise here. Confusion still exists about this question. But just during this period between two revolutions, this question is a real question for Bolshevisation.

In **nucleus work** we have made excellent progress organisationally. We made the mistake, which we have already overcome, of regarding the nuclei at first as the only means of Bolshevisation — and this as a reaction against the resistance shown at first against reorganisation. The most important task is to give the nucleus a real political significance. Not until the nucleus is actually functioning politically, can we say that it is the foundation of our organisation. In spite of the fact that we have thousands of nuclei and nucleus papers, we are still at the elementary stage of our work and have still much to do.

The more we plunge into this work, the more we realise that **Phrases are the Greatest Enemy of our Real Revolutionary Work**. One of our principal tasks at present is to carry out the Party

slogans systematically and make them concrete so that they really penetrate from the top to the bottom.

In the question of work among the peasants we are just making a beginning. We had some conferences, some of them very well attended, but which discussed only primitive peasant questions such as taxes, mortgages, etc. The Red Sundays in the Country were organised on a wide scale. And at last we now have a peasant in our parliamentary fraction, whose work acts as a great attraction for the peasants.

Now I want to proceed to the question of how our Party has worked since the Fifth Congress. The Party fell into two sections before the Frankfurt Party Congress. The old Central Committee considered it its task to play off the various districts against one another. Nothing is more criminal than such a policy. Even the Districts were ruled in such a way that the Sub-Districts were played off against one another or against the District. We admit that remnants of such defects remain and we will have to make a long fight before the war in the Sub-Districts is finally liquidated.

In the ideological training of the members we encountered the difficulty that the past was very critically investigated in the German Party. It would naturally be catastrophically wrong to efface the past of our Party and also the good points of the social democrats from the memory of our members. We must take the good points of the Social Democrats into consideration, and the revolutionary tradition of the Spartacus League trebly so. But that must not prevent us from destroying certain holy legends. Therefore we welcome the chapter of the Bolshevisation theses on Luxemburgism as peculiarly applicable to the CPG. The mistakes of Luxemburgism still cause difficulties for us today. The Brandlerist deviations are the legitimate offspring of Luxemburgism. And we must point this out without, however, committing the error of refusing to recognise the great revolutionary contributions of our pioneer fighter.

There are no groupings and no fractions in the CPG. There are, of course, certain Right deviations and we have small fractionally united Right groups who are attempting to apply the tactics of the united front against the CPG and the Comintern. They welcome all our decisions and will probably welcome the Bolshevisation theses with great joy. That is a new method of starting the fight anew and of bringing confusion into the ranks of the working class.

It is true that the Party cannot be based on those comrades who came to the movement in 1918 or 1919. But it must be realised that these theses will be used by the Right groups to put forth claims of inheritance of leadership. We will meet these difficulties. The Party will know how to deal energetically with the Right moles.

In the question of internal Party work it is evident that in Germany we now actually need a strong internal Party life. But difficulties might arise from vague formulations. Our Party does not so much lack democracy, but rather discipline. We could not fight our way through in the trade union question in any other way than finally in "mechanically" insisting on the application of the decision.

In our movement there still are considerable remnants of social democracy which we must fight. We are only in the elementary stage in the ideological training of the Party of that which we must accomplish in order to achieve Bolshevisation. We clearly realise our faults. But I am convinced that with the aid of our practical work and with the aid of the Comintern we will overcome these faults. We have also come clearly to realise that the development of the last year represents a great step in advance and that the CPG will make still greater progress on the road to Bolshevisation.

## Comrade Semard :

Our Comrade Lantsutsky, Deputy of the Polish Parliament, has been acquitted by the Przemysl Tribunal before whom he appeared. This victory is undoubtedly the result of the campaign carried on by the Communist International and by the Polish Party and proletariat. But we are informed that he is being kept under arrest on other charges, and there have already been several demands to withdraw his parliamentary immunity. This latest move is undoubtedly destined to cover

up the failure of the first prosecution and shows that Polish Fascism has not thrown down its arms, and that the Communist Parties of all countries should continue giving their support to the Communist Party of Poland in its struggle against the White Terror.

The Plenary Session of the Enlarged Executive sends fraternal greetings to Comrade Lantsutsky and to the courageous Communist Party of Poland, and in energetically protesting against Lantsutsky's imprisonment confronts Grabski's White Terror government with the defiance of the world proletariat.

## Comrade Treint (France) :

The Left Bloc has now been in power for nearly a year without having improved in any way the serious economic situation in France. On the contrary, new crises are arising. The reason for this is to be found in the rehabilitation of German industry and the increase in the production of American industry now working at 80% of its capacity instead of the previous 50%.

Last year the fall of the franc was very favourable for export trade, but now its semi-stabilisation faces our bourgeoisie with another economic crisis.

The Riffs, struggling for their emancipation, have driven the Spanish to the sea, and the movement is now spreading to the North African natives. The field of exploitation is thus threatened with limitation.

The situation is so tense that Mons. Romier, one of the most serious of bourgeois economists, and chief editor of "La Journée Industrielle", has for the past few months been predicting the possibility of a crisis next spring.

The French bourgeoisie is not openly adopting this method of inflation to remedy the situation, as this would jeopardise the interests of the middle classes. It is using another method. A slight inflation followed by a period of stabilisation which will at the same time satisfy both the petty bourgeoisie and industry.

Those masses who have put faith in the Left Bloc will be disillusioned by this crisis.

The most important development since the Fifth Congress is the birth of Fascism, which in France has a peculiar form of its own. Here Fascism, which is equivalent to the bourgeois masses organised under the direction of the greater bourgeoisie is attempting to adopt the traditions of the bourgeois revolution. There are three million foreign workers in France (Spaniards, Czechs, Colonials, etc.) out of a total of eight millions. The bosses and the Fascists are endeavouring to set the French workers against these foreigners. The complicated method of struggle the bourgeoisie is now using is also something quite new. It is employing its entire combined forces against the working class: bourgeois state, Fascism, social democracy and the anarchists.

I would now like to point out in what way the French Party has interpreted Bolshevisation. In France, our slogan for Bolshevisation was born in the struggle with the Right; at the end of December 1923 and the beginning of 1924.

We fought against Trotskyist digressions both before and after the Fifth Congress, and we may now say that they have been quite eliminated. Trotsky enjoyed great prestige in France, having fought together with our best revolutionary comrades. After Tours, he always took part in the solution of our Party difficulties. However, as soon as our Party adopted definite doctrines, it rejected the mistakes of Trotskyism. We carried on an active struggle against our Right whose deviations were even worse than Trotskyism, and who were being dragged more and more along a counter-revolutionary path. The Right Wing comprises a score or so of persons bent on obstructing the Party's policy and who are endeavouring to carry on illegal activities within the Comintern. We must pitilessly rid ourselves of these men as the enemies of the proletariat and of the Russian Revolution.

We have also had to fight against certain ultra-Left tendencies who were in favour of the British Communists abstaining from the elections. The Editorial Board of "l'Humanité" has dispensed with the services of these comrades. No danger exists any longer.

It is true that we desire the **stabilisation of the Party**, but we cannot allow our enemies to develop their influence inside the Party.

We are forming and educating our new cadres, for which purpose we have arranged special conferences and **Party schools**. Our **Leninist school**, consisting of 60 comrades, is affording us every assistance.

Close contact with the proletariat has been attained. Our **campaign against the Dawes Plan**, against unemployment and for wage increases, for the eight-hour day, and for trade union unity go to prove this. By agreement with the CGTU we have taken part in strikes; this is quite a new feature.

Our Party is **almost entirely re-organised on the basis of factory nuclei**. In the Parisian, Northern and Lyons regions we have nothing but factory nuclei. There are also proletarian unity committees, and our work among the foreign workers has been greatly intensified. Our contact with the peasants has developed; a French peasant council having been created. We have **reorganised our colonial apparatus** and engaged in widespread campaigns for the independence of **Morocco, China and Egypt** which have found their echo in the colonies. Moreover, we have formed a **General Confederation of Labour in Tunis**. We are also intensifying our **work among women**. This may be seen in the fact that our periodical, "l'Ouvrière" (The Working Women) has increased its circulation from 3,200 to 7,500 within a few weeks. At the next municipal elections we are putting forward women candidates. Our parliamentary fraction is entirely under Party control.

Our **Party membership** which last year numbered 50,000 has now reached more than 75,000 which is an increase of more than 30%.

Since the Fifth Congress our **press** has become completely subordinated to the central direction of the Party. We are pursuing our endeavours with regard to **worker correspondents**, who are an excellent contact between our press and the factories. We have five daily papers with a total circulation of 250,000 copies and 23 weeklies. In a few months' time we are going to launch a northern edition of "l'Humanité".

However, in spite of the great work we have achieved there is still much to be done. Our factory nuclei are quite live, but their political activity should be further developed. We must remedy the situation in the provinces where our influence is still weak; here we should have the same influence as we have in the Paris region. To attain this some of our best Party workers from the Paris district are working in the most important industrial centres. We must increase our work within the trade unions, augment our political struggle and create our own proletarian defence organisations against the Fascists. We must also pay attention to the question of foreign labour in France. Our peasant conferences should include the non-Party masses and bring them in line with the Communist peasants. We must not only politically influence the colonial movements but also connect them organisationally, etc.

#### Fourth Session. Moscow, March 28<sup>th</sup>, 1925.

Chairman Viola opens the session and gives Comrade Kirsch the floor to express the condolences of the Enlarged Executive with those afflicted by the **mine disaster in Merlenbach**.

### Comrade Kirsch :

We have received the telegraphic report of a horrible mine disaster in **Merlenbach**, in which 60 workers were killed and 30 gravely wounded.

The cause of the catastrophe is supposed to have been the break-down of a cable, as a result of which the cage fell to the bottom of the shaft. The brakes and hooks failed to act, which is clear evidence of the negligence of the mine administration. In this mine, as well as in the mine in Dortmund, in which a great disaster recently took place, the mine owners boasted that production had been raised so much that record breaking figures had been reached. We had a similar case in 1906 in the mine disaster of Courrières; 1,200 miners were killed on the same day on which the management distributed a 1000% dividend.

In Merlenbach foreign comrades, especially Poles and Czechs, also were employed, so that not only French miners but also Polish and Czech proletarian families have had to suffer. Our solidarity must therefore be redoubled.

The testament of the victims of this catastrophe is the same as that of the dead Dortmund miners; the summons to the survivors to fight for a better existence and to avenge the dead upon their executioners, the capitalists.

The reformists, who have accused us of exploiting the dead for our propaganda, because we summon the masses to this manifestation of solidarity now see once more how great exploitation is in reality. I propose to send the following telegram to the families of the miners on behalf of the Enlarged Executive:

To the Miners Union, Restaurant Krämer,  
Merlenbach, Moselle, France.

The Enlarged Executive of the Communist International sends the families of the victims of the frightful mine disaster the expression of its profound solidarity. After the catastrophes in Dortmund and America, several hundred miners have again fallen victims to the mine owners. The entire working class shares the mourning of the French proletariat. The French miners will draw their conclusions from this blood stained re-

port, which comes only a few days after the anniversary of the 1,200 dead in Courrières in 1906, by preparing for the social revolution which will expropriate murderous and exploiting capitalism.

The Enlarged Executive of the Communist International.

### Comrada Hruska (Czechoslovakia) :

In Czechoslovakia so far we have had no catastrophic **economic or financial crisis**. With the aid of foreign capital the Czechoslovakian government is trying to further economic consolidation, but it is encountering a great impediment in the over-industrialisation of the State. The consolidation of the capitalist social order is being thrown on to the shoulders of the workers. As a consequence the class contradictions are becoming more intensified. The experiences with bourgeois democracy and the coalition government have cured the Czechoslovakian proletariat of all illusions. If we become a strongly disciplined Party with a pronounced proletarian policy in this situation, the Party will become the leader of the whole proletariat.

The Czechoslovakian Party must still become bolshevised. That means that it must get rid of the right faults and social democratic traditions. The **political policy of the Party**, which suffered from the opportunist errors of the first Party Congress, was theoretically corrected at the Second Party Congress. That was a difficult task, since the Party was subject to the opportunist influence of various officials, editors and secretaries. The Party leadership concentrated all its efforts on this matter and it must be stated that a new spirit imbued the Party beginning with the Party Congress. The preliminary conditions for continuing the process of Bolshevisation is the elimination of this liquidationism and these opportunists. The Party, the press, etc., must be so conducted that they actually become instruments of Bolshevism.

The **reorganisation of the Party** is advancing. We already have 8,000 factory nuclei. The workers understand the organisation of the Party. The tasks of the Party in this sphere consist in the progress of reorganisation, and in giving the new organisation form political content.

**Fractional work in the trade unions** is also still in the early stages. As far as the other organisations are concerned, such as the sport organisation, etc., we have no fractions in them. These organisations are represented as communist organisations in our country and this is a great mistake. Such

a proceeding simply closes the doors of these organisations to the indifferent masses. We had great misunderstandings with the trade union secretaries in our trade union work. We are compelled to fight the trade union secretaries of the I. W. U. to get them to hold to the decision of the C. I. In the German reformist unions our fractions have achieved nothing. In the Red trade union movement there is the difficulty that several organisations which belong to the RILU have not yet amalgamated with the IWU. Here the union of the Red organisations with the IWU is of great importance. The efforts to achieve unity of the Red trade union movement must be increased. At the beginning of February a conference of the German textile workers' section took place, at which the question of amalgamation was discussed which, however, had no positive results. We expect a clear decision from the Enlarged Executive, so that the impediments to the unity of the Red trade union movement can be eliminated.

After the Fifth World Congress and the Second Party Congress, the Party devoted a great deal of attention to the **small peasant movement**. A national secretariat was organised, leaflets were issued and conferences were organised in various districts with the agrarian question on the agenda. We also issued 10,000 copies of a paper for small peasants in the Czechish language. In the Czechish District the small peasant movement is stronger, and in the German District it is weak. Although Czechoslovakia is an industrial country, the agrarian question is very important. The land reform is solely to the advantage of the agrarian landowner, and the toiling rural population are deceived. The land reform in the German districts is nothing more nor less than a colonisation policy of the Czechish Government.

The most important question confronting our new central committee was to **increase the power of activity of the Party**. The Party organised several campaigns, one of them against the reduction of the staff of State employees and another against high prices, which led to tremendous demonstrations in Prague, Cladno and other places in the Republic. The demonstration in Prague is all the more important since the workers in Prague have heretofore always been considered loyal and the leaders of the Prague Districts of the CP of Czechoslovakia did not want any revolutionary activity. But February 10 and 15 have proved that the opportunism of the Prague working class may be considered to have been overcome. If the Party proceeds correctly it will carry the greatest part of the working class with it. It is just at this time that the opportunists brought about a crisis. The minority exploited the objective difficulties for their fractional purposes and spread mistrust against the new leadership among the working class. The minority protected the liquidationists. The fight against the new leadership of the Party in the Czechish Districts was nothing more nor less than a fight against the political policy of the Comintern and against the policy of the Fifth World Congress. The resolution of Smeral was nothing more than following the example of the liquidationists in Brünn and in other parts of the Republic. Smeral was conscious of this fact, when he made his attack against the Party at the Prague secret meeting — that the workers endorsed the policy of the majority — but he tried to make the impression that certain people who were guilty of unproletarian behaviour were to be protected by the Central Committee. That was an attack on the Party. We are convinced that the Brünn working class does not agree with the theses of the advocates which were so well characterised by Zinoviev. We are of the opinion that the political policy of the Second Party Congress was a correct beginning. We wish to work together with all those elements which recognise this, but those which conjure up impediments at every opportunity, must be disciplined. The Czechish character of the Party must be preserved. This task must not be misinterpreted to mean in a nationalist sense. We will remain an international Party and we will proceed sharply against all those who bring in national antagonisms. It is not yet a revolutionary party today; it is burdened with an entire opportunist development. A certain opportunist system has developed within it, represented by Comrade Smeral. There are some very good comrades in this tendency, like Zapotocky, whose work for the working class we must recognise, but who is menacing his own work by his mistaken attitude. But there are also people among them who should not be in the Party.

The situation is a very serious one. The international capitalist class is starting an attack on the proletariat of the

whole world. It is necessary that the Bolshevisation work of our Party be completely coordinated with that of the other sections of the Comintern. We believe that all the comrades of our Party will support this programme, and that with this perspective we will be able to carry out the Bolshevisation of our Party, and be organisationally ready and capable of fighting.

## Comrade Scocimaro (Italy):

We must first of all point out that in Italy a new development of industry is becoming manifest in the resumption of exports. At the same time, we see an agrarian crisis due to both natural and political causes (diminution of the cultivated area and of crops).

This crisis has brought about a disturbance in the economic equilibrium between industry and agriculture and in consequence an aggravation of the inner contradictions of capitalist economy.

By the reduction of wages and the expropriation of the middle classes, the bourgeoisie has succeeded in bringing about a certain restoration of the production apparatus.

Wages, which in 1921 were 18 lire per day, have decreased in 1924 to 7 lire. At the same time the cost of living index rose from 500 to 600 per cent, while the value of the lire fell from 20—17 centimes.

The **expropriation of the middle classes**, in consequence of inflation, may be seen from the great increase in the number of bankruptcies, the number of protested drafts and mortgages and a far-reaching reduction of deposits in the savings-banks.

The **reduction of wages and the general impoverishment** of the working population has greatly reduced the consumption capacity. Owing to this, industry is menaced by a crisis of underconsumption.

The situation remains objectively revolutionary.

**Fascism has failed**, ideologically and politically, and has been reduced to a compromise characterised by the synthesis of fascism and social democracy, that is to say, by the legalisation of reaction. There is a division of labour, fascism exercising a direct pressure on the workers, while the bourgeois or social democratic Left maintains contact with the petty bourgeois masses.

This situation favours democratic illusions, and the expectation of forming a Left Government. The **Communist Party** is therefore threatened by a double danger. A Right deviation under the pressure of the democrats, and a Left deviation under the pressure of fascism, whose continued existence makes the frontal attack appear to be the only possible tactic.

From this, there arises the necessity of the Bolshevisation of the Party in all fields, ideological, tactical, organisation, methods of agitation, etc.

The **Right tendencies in the C.P.I. are no real menace**. Nevertheless, we must keep them in view and eliminate all possibilities of their coming to a head. The attitude of the Bordiga group is by far more dangerous, because it has actual influence. These errors are due to its methods, which are too abstract, foreign to the living dialectics of Leninism, and which render the group incapable of adapting the tactics of the Party to the peculiarities of the situation, and thus depriving it of every possibility of manoeuvring.

Bordiga's method disregards the phases of transition. It considers the Party as an organ in itself and not as a Party of the working class.

Consequently, it will be understood from what point of view he reproaches the International, for its "eclecticism", and its lack of tactical continuity. He would like to have a formal continuity which has nothing in common with Leninist tactics.

In **Bordiga's attitude there is a survival of abstentionism**. Formerly, this attitude could be understood as an effective reaction against opportunism. To-day its survival in the ranks of the Communist Party is a serious obstacle to revolutionary development.

Between Trotzkyism and the Bordiga fraction there are affinities which it would be useful to examine carefully.



The Party must realise its ideological unity not by factional struggles, but by revolutionary activity regulated by sane discipline. Common activity is hindered by the refusal of Bordiga's group to enter the Central Committee. There may be within the Party divergent currents of opinion, and consequently groupings, but these groupings are not of a permanent character and do not form fractions.

Bordiga believes on the contrary, that the situation in the Italian Party will develop in the direction of a factional struggle. He foresees that in view of the retardation of the world revolution, that there will be the opportunist degeneration of the Party and of the International which will necessarily require the formation of fractions. His refusal to accept a responsible position in the Party Executive, shows that he considers the International to be on the opportunist path, and he does not want to be forced either to renounce his standpoint or to work against the International.

The Party must act, fight and prepare itself for revolutionary struggles. Fascism has been a great lesson of Bolshevism. Thanks to it the Party has been forged and moulded. It has acquired valuable experience of illegal work. Henceforth Leninism will be the lighthouse illuminating the path by which our Party will become a real Bolshevik Party, the only guarantee of the victory of the proletarian revolution.

## Comrade Vuyovitch (Youth International):

We must emphasise the absolute necessity of a break with the social democratic ideology in our ranks, a break particularly with the custom of the Party of not devoting even today sufficient attention to the work among the youth.

At the Second Congress of the Youth International, we already assumed the **task of forming mass leagues**. To-day we may already speak of the results we have achieved during the last three years in this sphere. We have no illusions. We have a real mass league only in the Soviet Union in the sense that we have the great majority of the working class and peasant youth. We have of course, made great progress in this direction in other countries as well, especially in France, where our communist youth represent the only serious youth organisation of the country. That is evident from the fact that the methods which the second and third Congresses of the Y. C. I. formulated, are correct.

But we must determine how the difficulties arise.

In such countries where there was no crisis in the Party, we were able to achieve considerable results. For instance, we doubled the membership of our **League in France** recently. We also had a comparatively strong growth in membership in **America** and in **Italy**, since the new anti-Bordiga leadership, is now at the head of the CPI.

In a number of countries, of course, where a fight must still be carried on against opportunism within our ranks, we were not able to work with such good results. And if Smeral reproaches us with the fact that we have only 12,000 members in Czechoslovakia, we are compelled to state that he himself is to blame for that. It is a great achievement in itself that in the Czechish League — including the Czechish Section — there is not one single group which would follow Smeral. The Comintern may rest assured that the youth everywhere, where there are opportunist tendencies within the Party consider it their first duty to fight against opportunism.

What are the consequences of the present economic situation for our work?

1. The **Slow Development of the Revolution in Europe** effects the young workers in such a way that they suffer more under the capitalist offensive than before. This gives rise to the task of devoting much more attention to Partial Demands. The strike of the young telegraph and telephone workers in France which recently took place, shows that we have attained good results in this sphere.

2. In the trade union question it is our task to get every member of our Leagues to join the trade union and to **Fight There for Trade Union Unity**.

3. The increased menace of war and the preparations of the bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union demand from us still more strengthening of our Agitation and Propaganda against the Imperialist War.

4. In this connection: increasing our Work in the Country, winning over the great masses of peasant youth.

5. Special attention to the Work in the Orient.

All these tasks can be accomplished only after our Leagues have been completely reorganised on the basis of factory nuclei. Hence reorganisation is still our chief task.

Our weak sides consist in: 1. the social composition of our Leagues in many countries; 2. the fact that our organisations have not yet understood how to organise the work in the nuclei and groups in such a way that every number has a daily task to do; and 3. our work in the sphere of individual recruiting is still very weak. Many comrades still do not understand that we do not need any "sympathetic" youth, but on the contrary that everyone who sympathises with us, must enter our ranks. Hence we have set our League the following tasks:

### Double the Membership during this Year.

One task I must emphasise particularly, not because this task can be carried out separately from the rest, but because it is our most important task to-day. That is the theoretical training of our Youth Leagues. Our Leagues took part in all the fights of the Parties and we know that they can be theoretically trained only in connection with their practical work. Still theoretical training has been greatly neglected during the last few years. The reason for this was principally the great difficulties in the objective situation, which still exist to-day. The strengthening of our Leagues renders it possible, and the growth of the reformist menace compels us, to place Leninist training as the central point of our work. The training, however, can lead to no result if we are not in a position to give our youth good Leninist literature.

These tasks can, however, be fulfilled only if the Parties constantly and to a greater degree than before, support us ideologically and materially in this connection.

## Comrade Gallacher (Great Britain):

We use the phrase "revolutionary vanguard of the working class and democratic centralism" but all this time we see a loose, sentimental attitude towards organisation in the Western Parties. Discipline is not the imposition of the will of one comrade upon another. **Self-discipline** is what is necessary for discipline, for a revolutionary Bolshevik.

What distinguished Lenin, as was impressed upon me in 1920, is what we must learn — subordination of one's self to the Party. There are comrades here who are wavering between the Comintern and a position outside of it. I want to warn these comrades that they must learn the lesson taught by Lenin that self must be subordinated to the Party.

We must learn to understand what is the significance of **factory committees**. The capitalist system is based on industries. We must attack capitalism in its stronghold, the Factory committees are not the personal whim of anyone in Moscow; they are the basis for the organisation of our forces in the principal stronghold of capitalism.

We must give special attention to **disrupting the armed forces of capitalism**. Anti-militarist work must be carried on in the most energetic manner if we are to be worthy of the name of Bolsheviks.

Now, when the first revolutionary wave is passed, we are in the period of the **preparation of new capitalist wars**. We must not cease activity; we must develop factory committees, anti-militarist work and the other factors entering into the Bolshevism of the Party. This is not spectacular work, but it is very necessary. We must prepare and be ready for the crisis. Otherwise, Smeral and the others will be caught napping when the revolutionary moment comes.

Some of the Czechoslovakian comrades see ease and comfort in Czechoslovakia, like the man in the parable, but if they choose this road instead of the hard road of Bolshevism, they should not forget that the deserter of to-day is the fascist of to-morrow.

We must endeavour to make things more and more difficult for capitalism. It is the duty of the Bolsheviks to try to make stabilisation impossible. We must **organise the unemployed** and get them to make demands which drain the strength of capi-

talism. We must organise the workers and make demands going farther and farther.

Our members hate the **bureaucratic and bourgeois leaders of the trade unions**. But this should not determine alone our trade union activities. We cannot afford to stop the war against capitalism to have a little private war of our own. The trade unions are the fighting organs of the working class. They must not be weakened. Through the unemployed demands for higher wages, housing and utilising the Leftists in Parliament we must force more and more from capitalism.

The Czechs say that now is the time for **partial demands**. But these demands must be such as will rally the workers against capitalism, as will force concessions from capitalism.

Then we must recognise the important part played by the **Eastern peoples**. The more we get them into movement, the more we get them to make more and more far-reaching demands, the more we break down capitalism. We are for concentrating on the colonial problems of peoples, but because we know that this is the keystone of capitalist economy. Without the cooperation of the Eastern peoples the victory of the revolutionary proletariat in Europe is impossible.

Then there is another matter of great importance. We must learn to understand the forces arrayed against us. Very few of us have tried to get to the bottom of **international strategy**. It is absolutely vital that the Plenum, that the entire CI get to work to examine international strategy.

Many important events have happened since the foundation of the CI, one of the most important has passed by unnoticed. There has been discussion of the Abortive March Action in Germany, the failure of the Bulgarian Party to call the workers and peasants to action, and the breakdown of the leaders of the German Party in October 1923. But in **1919 the failure of the British Trade Unions** to take advantage of an exceptional opportunity to strike a decisive blow against capitalism, allowed British capitalism to regain its balance and assist in the crushing of the revolutionary movement in other countries. This was the beginning of the consolidation of capitalism in Europe. When the Trade Union Congress met at the end of 1919 and under the influence of the Social Democratic leaders decided not to fight capitalism, but to hold back and allow capitalism to stabilise itself, the British capitalists, who had been in a bad way, breathed more freely. In 1923, when the German Party was facing the momentous crisis in October it suddenly faced a new factor which it had not formerly reckoned with in its calculations. It was faced with the possibility of British groups marching East from Cologne, and the British fleet seizing the port of Hamburg as a move against workers' Germany.

We in England immediately organised a "**Hands Off Workers' Germany**" Committee but this Committee never started work, because workers' Germany did not arise. Nevertheless, we see the role played by British capitalism in Europe.

To-day the British working class are rallying again. They are making greater and greater demands of the capitalists. We need to compile material on the trickery of the Social Democrats in 1919 and to show the working class the role of the Social Democrats played at the decisive crisis in the British Labour movement. If we had a record of this, if we had a record of all the treacherous acts of the trade union leaders on the colonial question we would be able to arouse the British working class against these leaders and to do more successful work amongst the colonial peoples. The Party should have done this, but it must not be forgotten that the British Party is small, that it was founded under difficult conditions and that it has been struggling to consolidate itself. We suggest that Comrade Radek be put on this task, with the necessary comrades and assistance to bring it to a conclusion.

It is said that the revolutionary wave has passed. But it is rising again. We see it arising in England and in the colonies, and this revolutionary wave will sweep from England and the colonies over Europe.

When the crisis comes we will have to answer the following questions:

1. Have we a well organised, self-disciplined, revolutionary vanguard?
2. Are we deeply rooted in the factories, mines and workshops?
3. Have we disrupted the military forces of the State?

4. Have we established a firm alliance of the workers and peasants?

5. Have we taken steps to block reinforcements for the enemy?

If we are able to say yes to these questions, then we can pass through the crisis with success. It is to be able to say yes to these questions which makes Bolshevism so important.

Therefore, we welcome the theses on Bolshevism. The British Delegation pledges its whole-hearted support in putting these theses into effect to make the British Party and all the other Parties the revolutionary vanguard of the working class.

## Fifth Session.

(Evening Session).

Chairman, Comrade Semard.

## Comrade Domsky (Poland):

I think comrade Zinoviev was quite right when he warned against the **Fetishism of Stabilisation**. It is true we are to a certain extent in the midst of a stabilisation period of bourgeois class domination; but it would be erroneous to look upon this phenomenon as a thing which may prevail for many years. Already after the October defeat in Germany, Poland, etc. was this "stabilisation" an established fact, and only the form which this stabilisation would take could be a matter of speculation. When Radek and Brandler laboured under the illusion that it was a question of a fascist victory, that is to say a sign of the disintegration of the bourgeoisie, this was but the pleasant illusion of people who were loth to admit that they had dealt a phase of the revolution a severe blow by their tactics. We left wingers saw already at that time that we had to look forward to a prolonged period of bourgeois stabilisation. The rapid decline of the democratic-pacifist era shows that the bourgeoisie feels its strength and can afford to indulge quite openly in a regime of the Right without social-democracy.

Thus the **fascist defeat in the December elections** was also by no means a defeat of the Right. It was rather a victory of the Right which only through this victory has become a Party capable to assume power and to carry on on its own account the policy of fulfilment. But if the bourgeoisie imagines that it is firmly established this is by no means a Reason for us to Share in the Illusions of the Bourgeoisie. For the fact that the bourgeoisie feels itself safe contains also a revolutionary element, since it encourages it to be too daring. For instance, the British bourgeoisie lulled into security has increased its Pressure on the Colonial and Semi-Colonial Countries. And it cannot be otherwise because the complete stabilisation of capitalism requires the oppression and setback of these countries. They must be again converted into markets and sources of raw material and nothing else. But this is no longer possible. The tension between the home countries and the colonies is increasing and is becoming more and more pregnant with causes for conflicts.

Under these circumstances one can hardly talk about a lasting stabilisation. All the more so as conditions can on no account be considered stable within the capitalist countries.

At our recent Party Congress in Poland we have placed on record the consolidation of the position of our home bourgeoisie. But far from being panic-stricken because of it on the contrary we placed on record that this stabilisation has created a number of new revolutionary factors.

Thus the **stabilisation of the valuta** has first of all caused an acute crisis, it has also added to the burdens of the increased burden of taxation. There is also considerable ferment. The revolutionary mass movement of the peasants in the White Russian and Ukrainian regions is above all due to the increased burden of taxation. There is also considerable ferment among the **Polish peasants**.

Poland is of course generally speaking not a fitting example. Because of various factors this country is more doomed to destruction than any other state. But facts show that this destruction is not bound to take the form of decay, but may assume the form of a revolution, because the revolutionary forces in Poland are numerous and healthy.

Already at our Party Congress we recognised that our working class although economically active is politically very passive. But in the course of the last few weeks it has become very evident that this is no longer the case. This is shown above all by the great and imposing **street demonstrations** in connection with the Lantsutsky trial and the funeral of our two heroes, who fell in Dombrovo, in which 30,000 workers participated. Such a demonstration for purely political reasons has not taken place in Poland since 1919. This shows that the mass movement is again beginning to encompass our Party. This circumstance gives the lie to all pessimistic prophecies.

The peasants are also beginning to become agitated, not to mention the movement in the Border States.

But in other countries too there is no reason to expect a long peace period. For are there signs also in Czechoslovakia that the movement is becoming intensified. When comrade Smeral says: there is no hurry with the Bolshevisation of the Party, he is doubly wrong. We are ready to admit that there is no revolutionary wave as yet, for if the revolutionary wave were there how could there be such a strong opportunist wing in the Czechoslovakian Party! Provided there were a revolutionary wave the International would have to step in energetically in the Czech Party for the purpose of preventing a repetition of the German October in Czechoslovakia. Well, if the situation with us is not yet revolutionary, we have plenty of time to get rid of opportunism in the Czech Party by carrying on an ideological struggle.

The opportunists are always warning the Party that the Left wing will convert it into a propagandist sect. The contrary is the case. The opportunist application of the United Front Tactics consisted in limiting the Party to propaganda and agitation in the Menshevik Parties and in compelling their leaders to take up the fight, instead of developing revolutionary actions. With us in Poland the opportunists succeeded in distorting Lenin's slogans into means for secret understandings with the nationalist parties of the national minorities and with the treacherous parties of the rich peasantry. Under their leadership the Party was nothing but a propagandist Party, a Party unfit for action. The Party Congress of the Polish CP did its utmost to put an end to this state of affairs and to bring into being a Party of action. With respect to all questions of proletarian struggle we adopted concrete guiding principles which will render impossible any relapse into Menshevik propaganda tactics.

And we are already reaping the fruit of the Fifth Congress which helped us to get rid of the opportunist leaders. One can see that there is a new spirit within the Party and that this spirit is fully understood by the non-Party masses. They come to our Demonstrations and hold the mounted police heroically in check. Workers who formerly allowed themselves to be spied upon, are killing the police spies and would rather be done to death by poison gas than surrender to the hangmen. And at the call of the Party the working masses react on the occasion of the death of our heroes.

Through its revolutionary tactics the Party has come into contact with the Masses and has discovered the way to Bolshevisation. But we must not procrastinate, we must not take heed of the opportunists. It is only thus that we will be able to put up a good fight when the time comes for struggles and thus leave our enemy dead on the battlefield.

## Comrade Béla Kun:

At the very beginning of the Russian labour movement, Comrade Lenin quoted in the first important work he wrote the words of the old Liebknecht: "Study, Propagandise, Organise". Looked at broadly, the path of the Communist International was also a path of studying, propagandising, and organising. The Communist International has grown from a few propagandist groups to the World Party of Leninism.

At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, when the retardation of the tempo of the world revolution had already grown more evident, Comrade Lenin clearly raised the question of studying, by saying that we must all learn, and that after we had really learnt, the perspectives of the world revolution would be much better. Practical political activity, after the Communist Parties had become mass Parties, detracted attention from the theoretical problem and the propagandist work of Party education was relaxed. The slogan "To the Masses through the Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties", arose primarily

in the Struggle against the Opportunist Dangers in the Communist International.

Opportunism, even though led by theoretically trained comrades, is principally characterised by an Anti-Theoretical Attitude. The first characteristic of opportunism is an Enthusiasm for the Narrowest Forms of Practical Activity, as Comrade Lenin said at one time of Bernsteinism, of revisionism. The second characteristic feature of opportunism is a "From Case to Case" Policy, that is, a **Negation of the Theoretically Founded Theoretically Thought-out Revolutionary Plan**. The third characteristic of opportunism, the negation of the role of the Party as the conscious leader of all organisations of the working class, of all forms of struggle of the working class and of all the other oppressed and exploited classes of capitalist society.

When it is correctly pointed out in the Bolshevisation thesis that Bolshevisation in a certain sense signifies over and against the Right Dangers and "Left" deviations that the Party is restored to its proper role, its historical rights, through Bolshevisation, Marxist-Leninist theory, and the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism will again be given the place due them. The place of the theory of Marxism, of Leninism, of propaganda work is conditioned by the role of the Party, for which Lenin coined the formula of the mutual relationship between spontaneity and consciousness.

There is, therefore, not only no revolutionary theory, there is no Bolshevisation, no Bolshevik organisation, no Bolshevik re-organisation of our Communist Parties without a thorough propaganda of the ideas of Leninism, of Marxism. There is no Bolshevik organisation, which assures the Bolshevik execution of the Bolshevik policy without the propagandist training of the Party membership at least on all the problems raised by the practical activity of the Party, the daily work of the individual Party member.

The Objective Necessity of theoretical foundation of the policies of the Communist Party and of the propaganda of Leninism is however given by other concrete circumstances.

At this session of the Enlarged Executive as well as previously at the Fifth Congress, very much was said about the general situation between two waves of the revolutionary movement bringing with it a number of new, complicated phenomena in every country. It is just these complicated phenomena, the kernel of which has not been elucidated which can easily lead to disorientation.

I think, comrades, that the cause of the Brandlerist policy lay in part just in this disorientation, in the circumstance that these comrades were not able to orientate themselves in the new phenomena called forth by the policy of partial demands. The theoretical foundation of Brandlerism is a false theory of the state which contradicts the theory of the state of Leninism (For instance, Brandler's thesis on Article 48). Such a disorientation in these complicated questions may divert the movement or individual persons from the correct road in the direction of Right as well as of "Left" opportunism, the so-called ultra-Left deviations.

In this period of the retarded tempo of the world revolution, many theories have arisen not only in the ranks of the Communist Party but also within Social Democracy, such as "Constructive Socialism" in England. This theory has won many new adherents in England as well as on the continent. The Austrian school, a section of the Marxists of the Second International has become adherents of this "Constructive Socialism". The British leaders of the Second International have become leaders of the Second International not only politically, but to a certain degree theoretically also. This theory of Constructive Socialism can very easily give rise to certain confusion in our ranks even.

The objective necessity of propagandist work is also increased by the greater tasks facing our Party. The Communist Party of France has really become the leading mass Party of the entire French proletariat and now faces new problems of the revolution. The same holds true for the British Communist Party, which is in a situation, where for the first time in England the elementary, spontaneous Left mass movement comes face to face with Communist consciousness. The interior situation of our Parties requires a theoretical foundation and widespread propaganda in the ranks of our Party, and outside our Party within the masses of the working class.



I have already mentioned that this period led objectively to the losing of the revolutionary perspective, such as took place in Germany where Brandler and his comrades conceived linking up with the everyday interests of the working class in such a manner, that instead of linking up with the Daily Problems, they linked up with the Illusions of the workers. That means nothing else than Worshipping at the Shrine of Spontaneity, as Comrade Lenin said in his book, "What's To be Done?"

On the other hand, the rapid **reorganisation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei**, and connected with that, therefore the change of the immediate tasks of local Party activity, a change of the tasks of the individual Party members, give rise to the necessity of more **profound propaganda work**. In their old form of organisation the Communist Parties primarily organised meetings and demonstrations. The contact with the masses was not as direct as it now is and as it will be after we have transferred the centre of our activity to the factories. Much greater demands are now made of the individual Party member than before: the same holds true of the Party functionary.

The functionary question is the fourth problem requiring the propagandist penetration of our Party work. In a number of Parties we have lost the larger part of the formerly leading officials (of Social Democratic origin in Germany, and of petty bourgeois syndicalist origin in France). The new corps of **younger functionaries** is growing up which needs Leninist training. The problem of educating a new staff of functionaries cannot be solved by the general phrase "professional revolutionaries", as several German comrades believe. There are no "blank pages". Lenin said that there are two ideological points of view: a bourgeois and a proletarian one. All functionaries bring with them an ideological point of view. Some a proletarian one, others a bourgeois. The new cadres of functionaries therefore require a **fundamental Leninist training**. The importance of the theoretical foundation of politics calls up all the other features of Bolshevism. The agrarian question, the question of peasant policy, is theoretically almost untouched by all Parties, and where it has been dealt with up to now, as in the Yugoslavian Party, not even the attempt has been made to solve these problems Leninistically. Many theoretically trained comrades are still not freed from the old theory of Austro-Marxism. The same holds good of a number of Parties, for which the **agrarian theory** is of considerable importance.

When in this general situation of the revolution, in this general situation of the Communist Parties, it is Leninism which gives us a guarantee against the loss of the revolutionary perspective in the sense of Right opportunism, against the separation from the masses in the sense of Left opportunism, Leninism must be the guiding star which gives us the methods of the application and transference of Russian experiences, this important component of Bolshevism. The transference and application of the lessons of the three Russian revolutions is a very important component of Bolshevism. But I believe that the Russian experiences can only then be made really useful for the other countries, if these experiences, are transferred and applied in a real Bolshevik manner, i. e. Leninist-Marxistically, i. e. dialectically and not mechanically. For the comrades, who want to solve the problem of Bolshevism by professional revolutionisation, or by other general formulas, I consider it would not be superfluous to read a quotation from Lenin's "What's To Be Done?" (This work was designated by Comrade Zinoviev as the Bible of Bolsheviks).

In 1902 Lenin wrote as follows:

"The Social Democratic movement is essentially international. That does not only mean that we must fight against national chauvinism; that also means that the movement beginning in a young country can only be successful when it assimilates the experiences of the other countries. For such assimilation the simple knowledge of these experiences, or the simple copying of the latest resolution is not sufficient. One must be able to grasp these experiences critically and to test them independently. He who realises how tremendously the modern labour movement has grown and has branched out, will understand what a supply of theoretical forces, and political as well as revolutionary experiences are required to cope with this task."

Lenin also raised this question at the Fourth Congress when he spoke upon the **organisation theses**, when he said that

through these theses the real reorganisation of the Communist Parties is being impeded to a certain degree. The question was at that time raised by Comrade Lenin. Unfortunately, it was not settled by him then.

It is, however, certain that by the mere reprinting of Bolshevik works the experience of Bolshevism cannot be transferred to the Western countries. In the six months in which we have endeavoured to organise the work of propaganda, our most valuable lesson was that we cannot continue as we have done. We cannot even continue as we have done with the publication of Lenin's works. We must also differentiate on this point, Lenin must be published as he wrote in a letter which is to be published in the near future: "Specialise for every country, or at least for each group of countries:"

When we speak of **Bolshevism**, whether in the sense of politics, of organisation, or (what is no less important) in the sense of changing the methods of work of Party activity to a revolutionary manner, Bolshevism means in the last analysis the appropriation of Leninism, the propaganda of Leninism within and outside of the ranks of our Communist Party, and in this sense the appropriation and application of the experiences of Bolshevism of the three Russian revolutions.

The Fifth Congress of the Comintern was the first to point out the extraordinary importance of **the propaganda of the ideas of Marxism and Leninism**. At the Fourth Congress Lenin spoke of the importance of learning — unfortunately little was done in this direction in the period between the Fourth and Fifth Congresses. And there is the danger even now, after the Fifth Congress, that the propagandist foundation of our Party work: the propagation of Leninism, will go forward with very great difficulty. In the individual Parties the importance of Marxist-Leninist propaganda was already recognised after the Fifth Congress. In several Parties, primarily in the French, British, and German Parties, various organisational preparations were even made to create the pre-requisite conditions for the development of this work of propaganda on a large scale. In general, however, it may be said that we are still in the first stage of the problem of propagating Leninism, in the Stage of Agitation for the propaganda of Leninism. And the question is just how we can move forward from this stage into the second stage, the real mass propaganda of Leninism. In these six months there were two especially praiseworthy examples of the propaganda of Leninism. **Firstly, the foundation of a Leninist Central Party School in France**, (even before the Party school of the French youth). This was the first initiative which raised the question of Leninist propaganda by the training of a propagandist cadre. Various items of this initial step could be criticised. But one thing is certain: that this was a very earnest and praiseworthy beginning. The other endeavour, the other initiative which is just as praiseworthy was made by our British comrades. The Communist Party of Great Britain has endeavoured to put all its members through an elementary course. In Norway several praiseworthy endeavours have been made; in Germany as well, where there are a number of Leninist circles.

In most of the Parties, even here in the Comintern, we have not yet succeeded in finding a method of linking up the propaganda of Leninism with the current political problems, with the current political struggles and organisational tasks of the Party. It has been just as difficult up to now to find **the organisational form of propaganda activity**, especially in this stage of the organisational work of the Parties where the change from residential organisations to nucleus organisations has already begun, but where the work of the Party nuclei has not yet been so developed that all the propaganda could be linked up with this form of organisation.

The second obstacle was the lack of Lenin's works and Leninist literature in most of the European countries. This is in part a financial problem, in part a technical one, the problem of translation. I believe, however, that we will now be able to publish the works of Lenin more rapidly at least in German and French and also in part in English.

The third impediment was the absence of directing organisation of propaganda work in many Parties. In many Parties up to now not even the organs directing Agitprop work have been created, and where they have been created, they are still in the embryonic stage.

The ascertaining of these three principal obstacles is the lesson we have learned in these six months of our work on

the problem of Leninist propaganda. As for overcoming these hindrances and as for the chief tasks of Leninist propaganda, I will confine myself to the following remarks.

The general tasks of the propaganda of Leninism are as follows: First of all, the Popularisation of Leninism. We cannot carry on our propaganda in such a manner that theory becomes the monopoly of a body of leaders, as is the case in the Second International. We must, therefore, from the very beginning so plan our propaganda, that we carry on mass propaganda. First of all, we must train the lower functionaries, and parallel with them the entire membership. This is the problem of the elementary training of our Party membership; this is the chief task of Bolshevisation. Alongside and based upon this training, the question of an Advanced Training of the Functionaries and Cadres must be raised. That is the question of the **Central Party Schools**, which has already been decided by the Orgbureau and the Presidium in the sense that five big Parties — in addition to the French Party which has already done so — must establish Central Party Schools in the course of this year. The countries are as follows: 1. Great Britain, 2. Germany, 3. Italy, 4. America, 5. Czechoslovakia and 6. France.

The next and highest stage would be the International Party School here in Moscow with 60 to 70 students at most, which would not be run on a school basis, but in the manner that more advanced Party comrades, leading functionaries, with a certain amount of practical experience and a certain theoretical preparatory training would be gathered together here to go through a Bolshevik school under the leadership of theoretically and practically trained comrades. This problem is no less important. Through this school we may perhaps be able to solve the problem of more profound Marxist training, even the problem of Marxist Literature, if not entirely, at least in part for such countries as England and America (and in part France and Italy) where Marxism has no great past.

This is, in general the structure for each Party which must of course be applied differently in the various countries. Now a few words upon the absolute necessity of solving the problem of the more rapid publication of Lenin's works for each country after this Enlarged Executive. We can solve the question centrally here for the larger Parties: for the German, the French, and in part, for the English speaking comrades. But it would be an illusion to assume that we can solve the problem of publication for the smaller nationalities here in Moscow. Just in those countries where the agrarian theory of Leninism is especially important, where the national problem is most opportune, we must do all in our power to hurry on the publication of the works of Lenin.

In conclusion, Bolshevism signifies first of all the assimilation of Leninist theory. Without this assimilation, Bolshevisation can only be mechanical, at best partial and superficial. The Bolshevik struggle against the Second International, against the bourgeoisie, can only then be complete when this struggle is fought out in three fields as Engels, and after Engels, Lenin, taught us.

Lenin quoted the following from Engels:

"Since the beginning of the labour movement, the struggle has been fought on the three following fronts: the theoretical, political and practical-economic fronts (resistance to the capitalists). In this as it were concentric attack there lies the strength and invincibility of the German movement."

The Communist Parties are the leaders of the struggles of the working class in all fields, but they can only be the real leaders of this fight, if they unite these three kinds of struggle, the political, practical-economic, and theoretical. In this as it were concentric attack there lies the strength and invincibility of the Communist movement and the Communist International. (Loud applause.)

Chairman: Comrade Semard.

## Comrade Varga:

I will confine myself to the economic problem, the problem of the stabilisation of capitalism and the prospects of economic

development. This is necessary because I feel that the steadiness of the stabilisation of capitalism and its probable duration are perhaps rather over-estimated in our ranks. I have always been of the opinion that there are no "Left" analyses nor "Right" analyses, no Left or Right perspectives, but that there is a correct analysis and an incorrect analysis. Many of the comrades, who, at the Third Congress for instance, pressed vigorously for setting the perspectives of the collapse of capitalism for a date in the more immediate future, are today in the extreme Right Wing; and one of the leaders of that attack, Mr. Ernst Friesland, is now the responsible editor of the "Vorwärts".

There can be no doubt that for the moment there is no acute revolutionary situation in the sense that struggles for power are immediately impending in any country.

From the social point of view, the bourgeoisie has succeeded in stabilising its rule. It is itself completely convinced of the continuation of its rule, and on the other hand large masses of workers again believe that capitalist domination will last for a long time to come. I will add that the bourgeoisie is very cleverly and very successfully working to split the proletariat, thus hemming its fighting efficiency. A division into workers and unemployed; a differentiation between skilled and unskilled workers, the deliberate widening of the gap between the wages of the skilled and the unskilled workers. Furthermore, the segregation of the civil employees away from the proletariat, the split among the civil employees themselves, brought about by paying the higher classes of civil employee on a very much better scale. We see the split of the working class into native and immigrant workers. We see that, for instance, in a particularly pronounced form in the United States and France. All this has, of course, weakened the fighting efficiency of the proletariat and has strengthened the predominance of the bourgeoisie.

But when we recognise the relative social stabilisation of capitalism, that does not mean that economic stabilisation has attained an equally developed stage. Economic stabilisation of capitalism is most pronounced in the sphere of circulation. There we see a far-reaching stabilisation of currency, the restoration of foreign international credit, as Comrade Zinoviev correctly pointed out. The British and American bourgeoisie have come to the aid of the Central European bourgeoisie with credits in order to invest their superfluous capital at good rates of profit and to eliminate there for the time being the threatening proletarian revolution.

The relief actions for Austria and, most important, for Germany, for the Central European States, have been an insurance policy against revolution.

However, not the sphere of circulation is decisive but the sphere of production, and there stabilisation has in no way progressed as far as in the sphere of circulation. Three factors appear here to be of special importance: firstly, the special economic crisis of Western Europe, secondly, the problem of the agrarian crisis; thirdly, the effects of the Dawes Plan.

The special crisis of Western Europe — under Western Europe I include the industrial countries of Europe, that is, England, France, Belgium, Germany and even Czechoslovakia — is due to the fact that in all these countries the industrial machinery of production has grown beyond the possible markets. These market possibilities were limited by the industrialisation of the colonies, the elimination of Soviet Russia, and the agrarian crisis. Great Britain is typical of this development. According to different bourgeois calculations, production in England is at present approximately 83—95% of the pre-war standard, while the population has grown by about 10%. We thus see a difference of about 20% between the present situation and that of the pre-war period. On the one hand we see a tremendous production machine, and on the other a colossal army of unemployed, who have been able to find no work for four years. At present the number of unemployed in England is 107,000 more than at the corresponding period one year ago. The number of unemployed receiving support is 1,200,000 of whom almost 1,000,000 are men. Moreover, there are several hundred thousand who receive no support, and hundreds of thousands only working half-time. Is that really a firm stabilisation, when for four years an army of millions of unemployed exists, without there being any definite indication of a change for the better?

The present situation in England, however, reflects to a certain degree the future of the other European industrial countries.

Furthermore, it is an interesting symptom that in France, where there has been no unemployment for the last ten years, the first unemployed demonstration took place a few weeks ago in the North.

Germany, is the country which may be considered as the model of the new stabilisation of capitalism. But even Germany has 550,000 unemployed according to official figures and an actual unemployment of certainly over 1,000,000, perhaps as high as 1,500,000. The circumstance that Germany has again reentered the process of production, has given rise to certain crisis phenomena. In the Ruhr, nine million tons of coal, the production of an entire month, lie on the dumps, and part time is becoming more and more prevalent amongst the coal miners. The Leipzig Fair, a barometer of prosperity, has disappointed all expectations.

In Austria, the small country which served as an experimental rabbit for the Western Powers, we see today a tremendous crisis with a percentage of unemployment unprecedented in history.

Matters are somewhat different in America. American capitalism, as distinguished from European capitalism, is still on the upgrade. Nevertheless, we see that a lasting period of prosperity can neither be achieved in the United States.

Now let us examine the prize example of stabilisation, that is, the overcoming of the **Agrarian Crisis**. At the Fifth World Congress we pointed out in our theses the existence of an agrarian crisis on a world scale. This agrarian crisis vanished in autumn 1924. Many bourgeois and social democratic economists have interpreted that as a certain sign of the fundamental stabilisation of capitalism. On the other hand, I have always been of the opinion that the rise of the prices of agricultural products signifies no overcoming of the agrarian crisis, but that it is a temporary episode caused by last year's crop failure.

This prediction has already been fulfilled. In the last few weeks there has begun a rapid fall in grain prices. The "scissors" is already again in existence and is being anticipated by the "exchange" for autumn grain. This shows that the agrarian crisis is again at hand.

This agrarian crisis can be liquidated in a negative manner by the limitation of production. Not consumption will increase, but production will be curtailed unconsciously by the ruin of numerous producers, and deliberately by the regulation of production, as has already taken place in America by the curtailment of the area under cultivation.

Now, comrades, for the third problem, **The Effects of the Dawes Plan**. The Dawes Plan has not yet made itself completely felt in world economy, because Germany has not yet had to make any payments. If the Dawes Plan is to be carried out, Germany must have a very favourable balance of trade, for it can only pay through the exportation of goods. On the contrary, we see that since the putting of the Dawes Plan into effect, Germany has had an enormously unfavourable balance of trade, that is, that it has imported much more than it has exported. That is natural, for when one receives huge international credits, that means nothing but the increased importation of goods, since these credits were sent to Germany in the form of goods. This fact signifies that internationally there has been a boom in the non-German countries as a result of the possibility of finding a market in Germany. But that does not last for ever. History must turn. Germany will soon have to begin to pay the interest on these credits. It must also begin to pay the Dawes instalments. And then the entire picture must change. Germany must export more commodities than it imports, in order to be able to make any payments at all. However, it can only increase its exports, if it **exports more Industrial Commodities, Finished Goods**. That means that the specific crisis of the Western European industrial countries will be enormously intensified the instant that Germany begins to export more than it imports. The mutual competition of these countries will increase to an unprecedented degree.

The hue and cry raised in the **British press** over the shipbuilding orders placed in Germany, is intended to break the back of the English shipbuilding workers, and to show them that if they do not yield, if they do not accept wages comparable to those in Germany, England will lose all its orders, and the British shipbuilders will be ruined.

The British, French, Belgian and Czechoslovakian capitalists based their case upon the circumstance that in Germany wages are lower and the hours of work are longer. A few days ago the British shipbuilders, as well as the mine-owners convened conferences with their workers to discuss the situation, that is, to induce them to accept lower wages, and increased production, or a lengthening of the hours of work.

If today, before the Dawes Plan has really begun to make itself felt, the question is already put so sharply, what will happen when Germany, after a year or two really endeavours to begin the payments enforced upon it if only in name. I say in name because I believe that the German capitalists will never make full payments. They will sabotage by operating with the new fall of the mark in order to obtain further concessions in the payment of reparations. That would be a temporary solution for Germany.

That, however, means for France, which is financially dependent upon the receipt of German payments, that it will lose the difference between Germany's actual payments and its obligations. This will lead to **new international complications**.

I believe that the profundity of stabilisation and its duration should not be over-estimated. I believe that just as we formerly judged the situation correctly when we warned the "Left" comrades against over-estimating the revolutionary perspectives, we must now be rather cautious in estimating the firmness of stabilisation and its duration. It would be a great mistake for us to over-estimate the firmness of stabilisation and settle down in the conviction that this stabilisation is assured for a number of years. I believe that this is not the case, and that we must be prepared for two eventualities, as Comrade Zinoviev pointed out: the possibility of a long period of stabilisation, as well as the possibility that stabilisation may in a short time lead to a new crisis within capitalism, economically as well as politically.

We must not go to sleep, as it were, in the belief that we need expect no possibility of revolution for years to come.

## Comrade Mestcheriakov:

Much has been said about Bolshevisation. But Bolshevisation does not consist in theory alone; we must also put it in practice to gain influence upon as large a number of workers as possible.

The fight against the high **cost of living was not sufficiently** discussed here. The constant rise in prices is causing great discontent amongst the masses in all countries. We must profit by this discontent to bring the masses into the struggle.

The governments are appointing commissions to study a possible decrease in the cost of living — commissions which do nothing but deceive the masses. We must enter into these commissions to expose the government's game.

"In L'Humanite" I have read that "the cost of living will kill the Left Bloc". I hope so. Are we doing enough for that? The French comrades have begun the struggle: meetings, press campaigns, and demonstrations. That is not sufficient. What we need is a special programme of action.

The **cooperative movement** is extremely important. The consumers' cooperatives in Europe comprise more than 15,000,000 members. We must lead this great army into the struggle.

As this question has not yet been touched upon, I have taken the floor to draw your attention to the cooperatives and to remind you not to forget the cooperative movement in the resolutions which you will adopt at the conclusion of your debates.

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