

ENLARGED E. C. OF THE Y. C. I.

Sixth Session of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

(Telegraphic Reports.)

Moscow, 15th November 1925.

Opening Session.

The sixth Enlarged Executive session of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. was opened by comrade Gyptner. Gyptner pointed out that the opening of the enlarged executive session of the Y. C. I. before that of the Comintern did not mean any alienation from the latter, but rather a still greater participation in its work. The Comintern had paid the Young Communist International great attention. The session would deal with the discussion upon the tactics of the Comintern. The Y. C. I. was unanimously in favour of the policy of the Comintern and of the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. This session was faced with practical questions, in particular, questions relating to organisation and to the opponents of the Y. C. I.

The chairman then greeted the delegation of the Comintern consisting of comrades Manuilski, Smeral, Remmele, Murphy and Cremet.

Comrade Smeral greeted the session in the name of the E. C. C. I. The good results of the work of the Y. C. I. were very gratifying, he declared. The membership had grown. A good relation existed between the Y. C. I. and the Comintern. There was good activity on the part of the communist youth in Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China. The relative stabilisation and the rationalisation created new tasks. The present period however, was not one of social peace. Struggles of a new kind were developing. The seizure of power was a concrete task for the present generation. The preparations for this struggle would have to be carried out. The side which had the proletarian youth would win. We would have to win the masses. Two things would have to be carried out: first of all no vacillations and no deviations from the leninist line, and secondly a close union between the young communists and the old. On to work! Forward to the struggle! (Applause.)

Comrade Shdanov greeted the session in the name of the Central Committee of the Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union. He declared that the Y. C. L. of the U. S. S. R. had unanimously rejected the attempt of the opposition to draw the youth into their fraction. The task of the session was to bring the bolshevisation to its conclusion. The Y. C. L. of the Soviet Union knew that its brother Leagues would fight against all deviations from the leninist line. (Applause.)

The proposed agenda was then unanimously adopted and commissions for seven countries and the same number of departments unanimously elected.

Comrade Gyptner then closed the opening session.

26 members of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. and 16 representatives of the various countries are taking part in the session.

Second Session.

In the second session

Comrade SHATZKIN

pointed out in his opening speech that the estimation of the Comintern in relation to the temporary relative stabilisation of capitalism had been corroborated by events. The opposition in the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. and the C. P. of Germany had no clear attitude upon this question. The statistics in relation to production, commodity exchange and currency, prove the stabilisation. The rationalisation and the trustification were new phenomena. The social democracy, however, spoke of a complete stabilisation and set up a new theory of imperialism. Some comrades had a tendency to accept this social democratic theory.

The leftward development of the working masses was proceeding: the general strike in Great Britain, the growth of the

minority movement, the communist Party and the Young Communist League in Great Britain, and in Germany the movement for the confiscation of the property of the princes, the Hamburg dockers strike, the elections in Saxony, the breaking up of the social democracy; in France the disillusionment with the left bloc, the 24 hour general strike for the British miners; in Poland the victory of the communists in the elections despite the terror. In general there was a strong development to the left.

The social basis of the opposition in the U.S.S.R. was first of all the economic difficulties which have already been partly overcome, and secondly, an absolute growth of private capital and thus an increasing pressure on the part of the bourgeoisie. The opposition represented a social democratic deviation. Proof of this was contained in the following four points: 1. its attitude to the economic structure and to the Soviet State; 2. its estimation of our prospects; 3. our relations to the peasantry and 4. the problems of the internal party life. The complete defeat of the opposition was followed by the voluntary capitulation. The capitulation meant the abandonment of the struggle. The party, however, would have to continue the struggle for ideological clarity.

The final victory of socialism was not possible in the Soviet Union alone. The building up of socialism was possible despite the capitalist environment of the Soviet Union but of course it would proceed more slowly. This building up of socialism was of tremendous importance for the world proletariat.

Various groups in the German opposition were united by a common hatred of the Soviet Union and the C.P. of the Soviet Union. Insane petty bourgeois and the support of sections of the unemployed formed the basis of these groups. In the German question they had no platform and were therefore all the more eager to open up a discussion upon questions concerning the Soviet Union. There were two chief tendencies in this opposition, first of all that of Korsch and Schwarz, which went farther than Kautsky and stood for a "second revolution" and the splitting of the German and Russian Communist Parties. Secondly, that of Urbahns and Weber which characterised itself by slandering the Soviet Union and spreading lies. The strong fractional activity was not seeking for a split now, but at a more favourable time for the opposition. The prospects for the German party were good. A short while ago Ruth Fischer and Maslow were leading the party, now they were completely defeated. The expulsions which had been carried out were correct and perhaps still further expulsions would be necessary. Practical experience would show the final liquidation of the Ultra-Left.

In France there existed two groups: Souvarine supported the opposition in the C. P. of the U.S.S.R. The group Jacob-Girault had no clear platform and criticised the errors of the party in French questions. The party had, however, itself criticised these errors. In questions related to the Soviet Union this group was very careful.

In Czechoslovakia there was the group around the Brünn Memorandum in favour of Trotzky. Neurath was practically in a block with this group.

In Great Britain the party had adopted a correct policy during the general strike and during the struggle of the miners. The chief task was the exposure of the leaders. The leaders were going to the right, the masses to the left. Cook is in favour of fighting, but vacillating. The Communist Party of Great Britain had also made mistakes but these would be easy to rectify.

The significance and the importance of the events in China was clear. The question of the composition of the Kuomintang Party was of great importance. The peasants would have to be drawn into the revolutionary movement. The hegemony of the proletariat is necessary and the Communist Party would have to become the leader of the revolution.

The mistakes committed by the Polish party in May had already been repaired. The chief danger in the Polish party came from the Right, but there was also a danger from the Left.

In Norway the Right wing of the party had a tendency towards amalgamation with the social democrats. In Greece the party and the youth made various mistakes during the time of the recent disturbances. In Bulgaria a wrong opinion existed amongst various comrades in relation to the question of a Left

bourgeois government. These mistakes had already been repaired.

The coming session of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern would be faced with two questions: 1. the question of the removal of Comrade Zinoviev and the organisation of the leadership of the Comintern; 2. the reorganisation of the apparatus. The foreign comrades must take a greater part of the work.

A partial stabilisation existed but the prospects of the world revolution were good. The attempts to carry the stabilisation further would bring an intensification of the class struggle. The chief task was to win the masses in the struggle by connecting the partial demands with the final aim. It would be possible, declared the speaker, in this way to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat at the next wave of the revolution. (Applause.)

Third Session.

(November 13th, 1926.)

Comrade MICHALEC:

The declaration of the opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of the 16th of October is an appeal to all sympathising oppositions in other parties to do the same. I do not hold this declaration to be binding for me. From this follows my attitude to the expelled. There is now a new course in the Comintern. There has been a deviation of the Comintern to the Right.

The following points are characteristic of the international situation: First of all the decisive sign of the period of decay. Secondly the question of the united front tactic and the struggle for unity. Thirdly the struggle against the Right and Left deviations. The Right deviations must receive special attention. Fourthly, the internal party democracy.

The more decisive danger is now the Right danger which shows itself in the following four points: First of all in the estimation of the present situation, secondly in the question of tactics, particularly with regard to the Anglo-Russian Committee, thirdly in the struggle against the Right and Left deviations, here the greatest attention must be directed against the Right, and fourthly the questions of internal party democracy. The opposition must not be fought, it must be educated.

A representative of the Y. C. L. of Germany.

Comrade Michalec has a peculiar method of discussion. He reads a prepared speech, makes no reply to interruptions and takes contentions without attempting to prove them.

Our opinion is clear. The estimation of the Right and Left dangers by the opposition is incorrect. The Right dangers are not always in the foreground in the Communist Parties. This depends upon the given situation. Today there are Right mistakes, but the Ultraleft mistakes are much greater. This is particularly true of the German C. P. The Rights in the German C. P. are defeated, the Ultralefts had influence for instance in Berlin. Now, however, the Ultralefts are also defeated and are losing their influence. The German opposition is an ideological hanger-on of the opposition in the Soviet Union. Now that the opposition in the Soviet Union has fallen, the opposition in Germany will also fall. The C. P. and the Y. C. L. of Germany are convinced in their tremendous majority of the incorrectness of the standpoint of the opposition. The arguments of Comrade Michalec have convinced no-one. The overwhelming majority of our League is against him. (Applause.)

Comrade LOMINADSE (who was received with applause):

One would not need to answer Comrade Michalec if he had not accused us of social democratic deviations. Comrade Michalec attempts to kill his opponents by boring to death. When one discusses with him, one must adopt a very low level.

Since the 16th of October we have not heard such attacks. Comrade Michalec has gone further than the opposition in the C. P. of the Soviet Union. He has falsified quotations from Lenin and Stalin.

The attitude of the opposition to the stabilisation is unclear and rigid. Since the sixth Session of the Enlarged E. C. C. I. time has passed and new events have occurred. We must therefore differently characterise the situation. Alterations have taken place in Great Britain, Germany, etc. The opposition declares that there is no stabilisation. Comrade Trotzky speaks of an automatic decay and declares that no country can be on the upgrade. Comrade Michalec did not deal with this point but one must either defend it or condemn it.

In actual fact all deviations are opportunistic. Right dangers are threatening, but the Right dangers have dressed themselves in an ultra-left mantle. The Trotzkyism and Radekism, the whole opposition in the Communist International is nothing but an opportunist deviation. In France the Right Wing Engler and the Ultraleft Girault are together in a bloc against the party. In Czechoslovakia the Ultraleft Neurath and the Right Wing authors of the Brunn memorandum are also together.

Comrade Michalec declared that he is not in agreement with the Ultraleft. He, however, did not say in which points. We fight against the Right but the opposition says nothing against the Left.

In the bloc question, the bloc without principles is condemned to death. The opposition has everywhere a bloc without principles (lively applause).

Comrade HRSEL (Czechoslovakia):

In the name of the Czechoslovakian delegation I declare myself in agreement with the statements of Comrades Shatzkin and Lominades. Comrade Michalec has proved through his speech that he persists in his fractional activities. His whole speech was, however, unclear.

Our standpoint in the question of stabilisation has not been revised. It is the opposition which has revised its standpoint. Today the ultraleft deviations are more dangerous than those of the Right. The opposition has not been punished on account of its opinions, but on account of its fractional activity. The attempts of Comrade Michalec to prove the existence of a Right deviation in the C. P. and the Y. C. L. of Czechoslovakia have completely failed. There are two sorts of bloc formation, one for the party and the other against the party. The opposition bloc is against the party. A sharp struggle is necessary against it. (Applause.)

Comrade MITROVITCH (Yugoslavia):

In the name of the Balkan delegation I declare myself completely in favour of the policy of the Central Committee of the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. and of the Comintern against the fractional activities of Comrades Vuyovitch and Michalec. With reference to Comrade Vuyovitch I am instructed in the name of the Central Committee of the Y. C. L. of Yugoslavia to demand the removal of Comrade Vuyovitch from the E. C. of the Young Communist International. Comrades Vuyovitch and Michalec have no one behind them and must therefore leave the Executive. (Applause.)

Fourth Session.

(November 15th, 1926.)

Comrade GORKIC (E. C. Y. C. I.):

I only wish to say a few words with regard to the speech of Comrade Michalec concerning four points: First of all the attitude of Comrade Michalec to the declaration of October 16th, secondly upon the interpretation of the policy of the majority of the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. by Comrade Michalec, thirdly upon the opinion of Comrade Michalec concerning internal party democracy, and fourthly his estimation of the dangers facing the Comintern.

Comrade Michalec has not abandoned his fractional work. This is proved by numerous facts. If Comrade Michalec proceeds further in this direction, he can very easily go the way of Trotsky. (Applause.)

Comrade BARBE (France):

The opinions of the opposition in the questions of the stabilisation are confused. We declare that the recent events have not abolished this stabilisation. It is the task of the Communist Parties and of the Young Communist Leagues to give the leftward movement of the working class an organisational expression.

A struggle against the Ultraleft means in many concrete cases a struggle against the Right, for instance in France, where there is a bloc of the Right and Ultraleft elements. The last congress of the Young Communist League of France unanimously condemned fractional fight. An intensified struggle is taking place in France against all deviations. The Y. C. L. of France supports the C. P. in its struggle against fractions and for Leninist unity. (Applause.)

Comrade SCHUELLER:

The opposition has not thought out the question of the unity of the trade unions. Therefore it is dangerous abroad.

Comrade Michalec exaggerates the errors of the C. P. G. B. It is true that this party has made mistakes, but its general policy is correct and during the general strike it was splendid. The mistakes have been corrected and the Y. C. I. assisted in this.

The mistakes of the opposition in these questions are much more serious. First of all the theses of Comrade Zinoviev upon the general strike lack the necessary instructions for the intensification of this struggle into a political struggle. Secondly mistakes have been made with regard to the Anglo-Russian Committee, thirdly Comrade Trotzky makes the mistake of characterising all previous working class organisations as hindrances, fourthly in his book "Wither England?" he made the mistake of completely passing over the C. P. G. B. and the minority movement. The other members of the opposition, for instance Urbahns, are much worse. The errors of the C. P. of France have been corrected by the party.

The accusations of Comrade Michalec against the C. P. of Germany are insolent calumnies.

There has been no single case of sanctions in the Y. C. I. merely on account of opinions, but solely on account of fractional work or serious breaches of discipline. Comrades Michalec and Vuyovitch have been punished on account of their fractional work. The progress of the C. I. must be stressed. After the liquidation of the opposition in the C. I. there are very favourable perspectives, above all in the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China. (Applause.)

A representative of Finland:

We are absolutely against Comrade Michalec. The Finnish delegation supports the decisions of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. The Y. C. L. and the Party are in favour of the majority in the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. We support the proposal of Comrade Mitrovitch demanding the removal of comrades Vuyovitch and Michalec from the E. C. of the Y. C. I. Fractional struggles are particularly dangerous in illegal countries. The Anglo-Russian Committee is of tremendous importance for Finland. It facilitates the struggle for trade union unity. (Applause.)

Comrade REINHARDT (E. C. of the Y. C. I.):

With regard to the question of the building up of socialism in one country alone, it must be said that Comrade Michalec has abandoned the former attitude of the opposition with regard to the character of the socialist industry and today puts the question of the possibility of the building up of a classless socialist society. The opposition has been decisively defeated everywhere. The Right dangers originate in the opposition. Errors with regard to the united front tactic have been made in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. Comrade Michalec was in favour of a united front with the fascists in Czechoslovakia.

Comrade CHITAROV (E. C. of the Y. C. I.):

The question of the work of socialist construction is more important than the speech of Michalec. Comrade Trotzky denies

the necessity of this question. The dependence of the Soviet Union on the world market and on the capitalist world economy is only relative. The socialist elements are becoming stronger and stronger. The tempo of socialist development is increasing in the Soviet Union. The chief source of accumulation is the socialist production of the working class itself. The line of the C. P. of the Soviet Union is correct.

Fifth Session.

(November 15th, 1926.)

A representative of Poland:

An underestimation of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat is common to all oppositional groups. The theoretical basis of the opposition in the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. is Trotskyism. The contention of Comrade Michalec that the Comintern is developing to the Right, is false. The best proof against this contention is the intervention of the Comintern and the Y. C. I. in Poland. We demand that energetic measures be taken against the fractional struggle (Applause.)

Comrade LIPPE (Norway):

Our Central Committee has not yet expressed itself upon the question of the Soviet Union, but our League rejects the statements of Comrade Michalec. The opposition has an incorrect attitude in the question of the united front, the stabilisation and the Anglo-Russian Committee. The Anglo-Russian Committee is the basis for the mobilisation of the Norwegian workers. The Comintern fights against the Right danger in Norway. In the name of the whole Y. C. L. of Norway I reject the statements of Michalec and support the standpoint of Comrade Shatzkin. (Applause.)

Comrade HOLMBERG (Sweden):

The opposition represents an assistance for the bourgeoisie. In our country there is no opposition to be seen. I declare in the name of the Swedish Y. C. L. that we stand upon the basis of the speech of Comrade Shatzkin and support the proposal of Comrade Mitrovitch. (Applause.)

Comrade ZUM (America):

Comrade Michalec lags behind the standpoint of the opposition. He mixes up the struggle against opportunism outside the party with the struggle against opportunism inside the party. He has omitted to mention the concrete mistakes of the Comintern and the Y. C. I. Here he must answer.

The chairman then greeted the representative of the Y. C. L. of Great Britain,

Comrade YOUNG (Great Britain):

We could not take part in the discussion. In the last six months our League has had too much to do. The political line was in general correct and our mistakes have been corrected. The Y. C. L. of Great Britain represents the daily demands of the British young workers. Our League is against fractional work. Our work is the best refutation of the attacks upon us. (Applause.)

Comrade SHATZKIN (closing speech):

Comrade Reinhardt did not deal quite correctly with various questions. He took up no clear attitude with regard to Comrades Brandler and Thalheimer. Comrade Michalec has attempted to conceal various things. The Communist International is not going to the Right. Comrade Michalec attributes a social democratic deviation to the Comintern in the question of stabilisation which it does not possess. He has used false quotations. He has taken up a false attitude to the united front and mechanically divided Right and Left dangers. The Left danger is greater at the present time. The Comintern has fought against the Right errors in Great Britain, Poland and France. With regard to the question of the building up of socialism in one country alone, the proletariat needs a perspective of reconstruction. We are not fighting against other opinions, but against fractional work. We will concentrate all forces which are not engaged in fractional work.

Sixth Session.

(November 16th, 1926.)

Comrade GYPTNER: reported upon the composition of the session. There are 57 comrades with decisive votes present, of whom 28 are members of the E. C. of the Y. C. I., 24 representatives of the Young Communist Leagues and 5 representatives of the Comintern, 38 guests are also present. The report was accepted.

The session then proceeded to the vote upon the resolution to the speech of Comrade Shatzkin. The resolution was adopted unanimously, one vote being withheld. The resolution was handed over to the political commission for final revision.

Speech of Comrade LOMINADSE:

Report of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. and the Next Tasks of the Y. C. I.

During the last six months the white terror has demanded great sacrifices from us. In Bulgaria 200 young comrades were arrested. Thousands of young comrades are in prison in Roumania, Hungary and Poland. In Finland, Italy and Corea numerous arrests have taken place. With regard to the legal Leagues, in France numerous processes are taking place against soldiers and sailors and in Great Britain on account of strike propaganda. There is no country without persecutions. In addition to this there is the economic terror by victimisation in the workshops. The Y. C. I. has not reacted sufficiently to this terror. The Young Socialist International is not subjected to any persecutions. The working youth delegations to the Soviet Union are a great success for the Y. C. I. During the period under review there have been six such delegations.

With regard to the application of the united front tactics, there are successes to be reported in Great Britain, Italy and Belgium. In Czechoslovakia various mistakes were made in this connection. The Bulgarian League has also made such mistakes. The German League has successes and mistakes to show. It is carrying on much more work now in the camp of our opponents than before, but there is not complete clarity in the League. Finally, errors were made in Poland in connection with the May struggles and in Greece in connection with the fall of Pangalos.

With regard to the legal work of the illegal Leagues, there are no differences. Detailed discussions will have to be held upon this point.

Seventh Session.

(16th of November.)

Close of the Speech of Comrade LOMINADSE.

The anti-militarist activity has been neglected in several of the Leagues. In others this activity has been incorrect, in some, however, it has been good. The significance of the danger of war is, however, still insufficiently considered. The French League carries on excellent anti-militarist work, has good connections with the recruits and soldiers and issues a good soldiers paper. The Italian League carries on good illegal anti-militarist work. Its soldiers paper has a circulation between 15 and 30 thousand. In Sweden all possibilities exist for good work in the army. The soldiers paper has a circulation of 10,000. In America errors have been made with regard to the relation with the liberal pacifist wing of the bourgeoisie.

The economic-trade union work has improved. The first place is occupied by Great Britain with the activity of the League during the general strike and the miners struggle. The attitude of the League is correct. It has good connections with the masses. There are good prospects for us in America also. Ten million young workers are working in the process of production there. The League worked well during the textile workers strike in Passaic. The Hamburg organisation did not react very well to the Hamburg strike. It intervened too late and without sufficient strength.

The trade union work has been strengthened in all Leagues, particularly however, in Great Britain, Bulgaria, Germany. The best conditions for this work are to be found in France and Czechoslovakia where the Red labour unions have recognised us. However, up to the present too little has been done in these countries.

Comrade Gyptner will report in detail upon the organisational question. The difference between the political and the organisational strength of our leagues is very great. Very often we have a great influence upon the masses without the corresponding organisational strength.

With regard to the reorganisation of the Leagues there is no special progress to record. The Leagues have taken too little active interest in this question.

The question of military young workers organisations is no longer limited to Germany. Similar organisations have already been formed in France. Such organisations are also necessary in Norway, Sweden and Czechoslovakia.

The relations with the parties are not yet sufficiently close. The circular of the Presidium of the Comintern in connection with the Day of Youth has not been carried out. Unsatisfactory relations with the party exist in Yugoslavia and Spain.

Much too little is done on the field of sports. The Leagues show much too little interest here.

The relations of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. to the Young Communist Leagues are good, even if the Leagues occasionally request the adoption of a more mild tone from us.

The attitude of the Y. C. I. in internal party questions is already known. In Germany alone a small section of the membership is in the opposition, however, it is at the most five per cent. The Y. C. I. is completely united. Comrades Vuyovitch and Michalec must not be permitted to carry on fractional activity. There are no defeatist tendencies in our Leagues. There is a firm confidence in our own strength and in our final victory. (Lively Applause.)

Comrade GYPTNER

reports on the

organisational question.

The absolute growth of the Y. C. I. includes 12,000 members, the leagues are strengthened and stabilised. The successes in the colonies are still small. The press has grown, but its distribution is still insufficient.

The centre of the work of the Y. C. I. were the British campaign, the Chinese campaign, the struggle against the social democratic youth organisations, the organisation of the 12th International Day of Youth, the struggle against white terror.

The E. C. of the Y. C. I. sent enlarged delegations to the leagues; the recent national congresses of the leagues were on a

very high level. In the agitation and propaganda work the political minimum was reached, there were seven league schools. The connection with the leagues is excellent. The young pioneer organisations are growing. The fractional work in the sport organisations has improved.

Joint decisions were passed with the Presidium of the C. I. on the children's movement, on organisational questions and on the support by the parties. The work of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. was rationalised: The secretariat and the committees intensified their work, the publishing activity was decreased, the information department is working well, the connection of the nuclei has begun.

The presidium of the secretariat has to be newly elected, the presidium must become more active, the committees of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. must be improved, the country committees must be regulated. The co-operation with the organisational department of the E. C. of the Y. C. I., with the I. R. A. and the Peasants Council must be strengthened and the reporting work on league problems improved. International conferences on organisation, agitation and propaganda and the press as well as conferences with the Balkans and South Africa must be held. Those colonies where no foothold has as yet been gained, must receive greater attention. A staff of international propagandists must be formed. (Applause.)

In the discussion spoke comrades Gorlov (Soviet Union), Bela Kun, Rashko (Balkans), Johns (Great Britain), Barbe (France), Williamson (America) and Gorkic (E. C. of the Y. C. I.).

Eighth Session.

(18th of November.)

The following comrades spoke in the continuation of the discussion upon the report of the E. C. of the Y. C. I.: Mariava (Rumania), Paasonen (Finland), Endener (Switzerland), Vartanyan (E. C. of the Y. C. I.), Antonio (Argentina), Willems (Belgium), Mering (E. C. of the Y. C. I.) and Reisinger (Austria).

Ninth Session.

(November 19th.)

The following comrades spoke in the discussion which was continued: Koneski (Poland), a representative of Germany, Rossev (Bulgaria), Schueller (E. C. of the Y. C. I.) and Chitarov (E. C. of the Y. C. I.).