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The XIV. Party Congress of the Communist Party of Russia.

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Report by Comrade Kujbischev on the Activity of the Central Control Commission.

At the meeting on December 25th,
Comrade Kujbischev

gave a report on the activities of the Central Control Commission (C. C. C.).

The speaker at first declared that the C. C. C. entirely shares the point of view of the Central Committee. The C. C. C. tried to remove the differences of opinion between the majority and the opposition without bringing them before the Party Conference. When Comrade Krupskaja as a member of the C. C. C. signed the so-called "platform of four", the Presidium of the C. C. C. considered it necessary to address a letter to the C. C. in which the Presidium of the C. C. C. stated that it agreed with the majority of the C. C. and regarded the discussion of these questions as inadmissible.

In questions regarding the practical work of the C. C. C., the following tasks are on the agenda; the growing political activity of the working class and of the groups of the peasantry which are allied to it, creates the preliminary condition for including these masses in the reconstruction of the State.

The C. C. C. and its organs must establish a particularly close contact with the trade union organisations and production committees, with the economic commissions in the Soviet institutions, with the conferences of delegates of women workers etc.

An important task of the C. C. C. and of the inspectors of workers and peasants is that of active cooperation with the corresponding bodies of the Party and the Soviets for the choice of functionaries in the bodies for national economy and State administration. In connection with the organisation of the State apparatus with regard to actually satisfying the needs of the workers and peasants, the question of promoting the workers and peasants to responsible posts is of tremendous importance.

The campaign against bureaucracy and red-tapism must not cease for a moment, and for this purpose, the Press of the workers and peasants must be made use of. For the rationalisation of the systems of economics and administration all the creative forces of the working class must be called into service.

In order to maintain the unity of the Party and to improve the quality of the membership, the control commissions must be backed by the broad membership. In this respect, the educational work of the Party must take the first place. With regard to the admission of new members, the resolutions of the 13th Party Congress must be strictly observed. The most important task for the next period of activity of all Party organisations is that of carrying out the Party resolutions with regard to work in the villages.

Discussion on the Report of the C. C. C.

At the meeting of December 26th, Comrade Kujbischew's report was debated. Among the speakers were Comrade Krupskaja and Comrade Jaroslavski.

Comrade Krupskaja maintained that the C. C. C. had been successful in the question of the control of the work of the inspectors of workers and peasants and in the work of cleansing the Party from foreign elements. The activities of the C. C. C. with regard to the maintenance of Party unity was inadequate.

Comrade Minim (Leningrad) pointed to the chief mistake of the C. C. C., that, in the report, it had given no analysis of the reciprocal relations between the workers and the peasantry.

Comrade Jaroslavski (member of the C. C. C.) entered into a polemic discussion with Comrade Krupskaja because of her point of view that the C. C. C. should take no part in the work of the C. C. We have followed up the differences of opinion in the Polit-bureau and were convinced that they could be removed. We advised both parties to make concessions. The

Leningrad District Committee infringed the statutes of the Party by forbidding a delegation from the Wyborg district to be sent to the Party Conference.

Comrade Jaroslavski, who was applauded, closed his speech by saying that, at the 15th Party Conference, the C. C. must prevent by organisatory measures such infringement of the party statutes.

Resolution on the Report of the C. C. C.

At the evening session on December 26th, the Party Conference passed a resolution on the report of the C. C. C.

In this, the Party Conference completely approves of the activities of the C. C. C. and confirms the motions with regard to the work of the C. C. C. and to the inspectors of workers and peasants. The Party Conference entirely approves of the attitude of the C. C. C. with regard to the preservation of Party unity and to the support of the Leninist policy of the C. C.

The resolution was passed by the whole Party Conference, 40 of the Leningrad comrades abstaining from voting.

Report of Comrade Tomsy on the Tasks of the Trade Unions.

In his speech on the tasks of the trade unions, Comrade Tomsy laid stress on the following:

The theses on the work of the trade unions, which were elaborated at the 11th Party Conference under Lenin's lead, still hold good to-day and have completely stood the test of time. In this resolution, in which the nature of the new economic policy was determined and the socialist State industry and the economic forms of State capital were defined, the protection of the economic interests of the workers was described as the chief task of the trade unions under the condition of the New Economic Policy. The trade unions must fulfil these tasks more consistently, they must give more consideration to the opinions, moods and just demands of the workers.

Attention must be called to the existence of abnormal occurrences in that some trade union authorities, failing to recognise this their duty of protecting the economic interests of the workers, have settled all questions with the factory managers and the Party nucleus over the heads of the workers without asking the opinion of the workers as a whole. Some trade union functionaries have gone too far in their economic zeal and have approved of all the measures of the offices for public economy. Conflicts such as those which arose in the Spring of 1925 in some textile factories are to be attributed to abnormal occurrences of this kind. Where the trade unions observed their immediate duties and kept in close contact with the working masses, there were no conflicts.

Under the New Economic Policy, the leaders of the State-managed factories, the working of which is based on the principle of making them pay, will inevitable make mistakes in consequence of their exaggerated economic zeal. The task of the trade unions in State industry is to protect the material interests of the workers. The united bloc factory council, factory managers and Party nucleus working hand in hand, as is the case in some places, is not a normal condition. The trade union should support any good measures taken by the factory managers, the factory council should never for a moment forget that the Red factory director, as the leading person in construction on a socialist basis, is a representative of the class interests of the workers; but the trade union must take great care that no bureaucratic mutilation, no excessive zeal, no measures which are contrary to the interests of the workers occur, neither should it accept such measures without criticism but should correct them.

From the figures relating to the quick growth of all the trade unions, it is evident that the trade union of agricultural workers (370,000 in October 1924 and 704,000 members in October 1925) and the union of workers in the building trade have increased most rapidly. The membership of the industrial trade unions increased in 1925 by 14%, of the non-industrial unions by 16%. The new members of the industrial trade unions do not on the whole spring from the ranks of the old workers who returned from the village where they spent the years of famine,

and of the young workers, but from the ranks of the young peasants, especially in the textile industry. These young peasants bring a new spirit into industry; they have not yet learned to regard the factory as do the old workers who conquered it and reconstructed it with their own strength. The most immediate task of the trade unions is to raise these new strata of the workers culturally and politically, to draw them into social life.

For otherwise too deep a gulf would open between the old and the new workers, the former of whom are on a high cultural and economic level.

At present 89% of all workers are organised in the trade unions as against 90% at the beginning of the year.

Attention must also be called to the increase of cases of embezzlement by factory councils. This form of crime must be combated not only by strict legal measures but by better organisation of the settling of the accounts of the factory councils under the control of the electors. The communist members of trade unions should hold themselves responsible, to all non-party electors. The working out of joint agreements should not be left to the superior bodies, but the whole of the factory should previously weigh all the details of the treaty and suggest alterations. If in such cases, the workers should make exaggerated demands for wages, it is no misfortune. The trade unions will explain to them the extent of the economic possibilities of the factory. As long as wages exist, the worker will demand higher wages than he gets. Through far-reaching consideration of all the details of the joint agreements, the workers will become familiar with the position of the factory.

The participation of the trade unions in working out the plans of production should not only be the rule in the leading economic institutions which embrace all the trade union leaders, but also in the factories where the trade unionists are better able to form a practical opinion as to whether the plan of production is good. It is wrong to make it a rule that conflicts are settled by the Party authorities. On the contrary, it is very important to follow the general way of arbitration. Democracy should be established within the trade unions, they should be managed in a communist spirit by the communist fractions, petty interference of the Party authorities in the work of the trade unions must be abolished. For instance, at the last election of factory councils in Moscow, the communist fractions claimed no right to put up previous lists but preferred that the trade union members as a whole should put up the candidates; the number of communists in the factories actually increased as a result, and the non-party workers developed great activity in the factory meetings.

We can further report considerable progress in the cultural work of the trade unions: their clubs have increased by 120% and their libraries by 300% in the last two years.

To sum up, emphasis should once more be laid on the necessity of Labour democracy becoming a reality in the trade unions, of a closer and constant connection between all trade

union authorities and the mass of the workers, of increasing the activity of all trade union workers and ensuring to them the right of free criticism.

Let us now turn to the international work of the Russian trade unions!

We can point to the success of the trade unions of the U. S. S. R. achieved through their slogan of the unity of the international trade union movement. To many it will perhaps seem strange that there should be an alliance between the youngest and most revolutionary Russian trade unions and the oldest English trade unions which were considered conservative. This alliance however becomes comprehensible if we consider the world economic reasons which caused the English and other trade unions to swing to the Left. Purcell's declaration at the Congress of the American Labour Federation is characteristic; he said that the European and American workers are faced by the dilemma of either raising the workers of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the workers of China, India etc. to their own level, or of sinking themselves to the level of the workers in the colonial countries. It is in the interest of the English trade unions to put every hindrance in the way of the urgent search of capital for cheap colonial labour.

The "Dawesation" of Germany, the increase of German power of competition, the decrease in the wages and in the standard of living of the German worker lead inevitably to worsen the economic conditions of the English workers who react more actively than ever to the offensive of capital. This offensive has not only never come to an end, but it is turning into a political offensive as has always been the case in the history of the class war. In view of the resistance of the trade unions and the new tendencies in the trade union movement, English capital is already adopting the tactics which Marx prophesied, it is attacking the rights of the trade unions to take part in the political fight; this is the first attempt of English capital to follow up the economic offensive against the workers with a political offensive. These are the reasons for the swing to the Left of the English workers who are becoming pioneers in international trade union unity and are endeavouring to create a centre of action which could regulate conditions of wages and the whole economic labour movement on a large scale.

The fight of the Russian trade unions for trade union unity is a natural consequence of the previous campaign for a united front of the Communist Party. The Anglo-Russian trade union alliance stimulates the maturing of the contradictions within the Amsterdam International, where the voices of protest against such unnatural occurrences as cooperation with the Labour Office of the capitalist League of Nations are more and more loudly heard. The correspondence between the Russian trade unions and Amsterdam is limited to the formal question as to whether a conference shall take place with or without preliminary conditions. We demand a meeting with Amsterdam to discuss the question of establishing the unity of the international trade union movement without any limiting conditions, so that we may retain the right to put the question of unity in its full significance. The justice of our demand that the representatives of the two opposed camps in the Labour movement should be allowed to meet without preliminary conditions in order to try and clear up in common the misunderstandings in an objective way,

is so obvious to every worker, that our demand was accepted with sympathy by almost the whole of the British Labour movement.

As regards the activity of the Anglo-Russian unity committee, its resolutions and declarations leave something to be desired from the point of view of communism, some expressions against the opponents of trade union unity might perhaps have been worded rather more sharply, but from the political point of view the right thing has been said in essentials, in a form which is acceptable both to the workers and the European trade union functionaries. The Anglo-Russian Bloc has completely proved its value, as is evidenced by the Finnish and Norwegian trade unions, adopting its point of view. To turn the Anglo-Russian committee into an Anglo-Russian-Norwegian-Finnish one, would give the impression that an attempt was being made to create a new trade union International.

The British trade unions are right when, before calling the conference, they take a few preliminary steps, discuss with the other trade unions as far as adherents of the idea of unity can be found in them and intend afterwards to appeal to Amsterdam once more and then to call a conference of an informal character between the Russian trade unions and Amsterdam.

I will not attempt to prophesy, but I believe that Amsterdam will reject these conferences also. The future will show whether we must seek other ways, perhaps in common with the English to call together the representatives of the trade unions which are in favour of unity to a conference and to call upon the workers of the whole world to unite, possibly once more through Amsterdam or even over its head. The numerous demonstrations of solidarity with the Anglo-Russian committee from various countries, show that its programme corresponds to the real attitude of mind and the needs of international Labour. It must be clear to everyone that the creation of a united International, embracing not only Europe but also the young trade unions of Japan, China, Australia and later on of America also, would be the greatest achievement of the international Labour movement. For the first time in its history, the whole international organised class of wage earners would stand opposed to the capitalist class.

The establishment of close brotherly relations of friendship with the trade unions of the East, especially with those of Japan, is the most immediate task of the Russian trade unions.

For the Russian trade unions, the most desirable method of creating a united trade union International would be to convoke a world congress of trade unions with proportional representation. It is however impossible to say what form the fight for unity will take.

Unity is for us, not an agitation manoeuvre for unmasking traitors to socialism who have often already been unmasked and more than unmasked and for whose sake it would not be worth while to undertake such a complicated manoeuvre, but it is an important strategic manoeuvre of the class war in the truest and greatest sense of the word. Our aims are to bring about united action on the part of the workers against the danger of war and against the economic and political offensive of capital, a close cooperation between the revolutionary, and the Russian workers and the use of their experiences for propaganda. The fight for unity is difficult but the aim of unity must and will be achieved. (Applause.)

Discussion on the Report on the Tasks of the Trade Unions.

The question of the international policy of the Russian trade unions was touched upon by several speakers in the debate on comrade Tomsky's report on the tasks of the trade unions.

Comrade Lozovsky.

The main point at issue is not the uniting of the Amsterdam International with the Red International of Labour Unions all over Europe, but to ally the working masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, which have awakened since the war, and which do not belong to the Amsterdam International, but are organised to a wide extent in the Red International of Labour Unions, with the international labour movement. The Amsterdam Trade Union International is an organisation which is not much greater than the nationally limited American Federation of Labour.

Lozovsky pointed out that whilst the number of members in the Amsterdam International can be accurately ascertained, with regard to the R.I.L.U. this is only possible with reference to the trade unions immediately affiliated to the R.I.L.U., since the R.I.L.U. possesses at the same time over two million members of the minority movement within the Amsterdam International itself. At the present time a struggle is going on between Amsterdam and the R.I.L.U. for the conquest of the working masses of the colonies, for the Amsterdam leaders are well aware that the alliance of these masses to the R.I.L.U. would be extremely damaging to their national imperialism.

The workers' delegations to the Soviet Union signify the strengthening of the Left wing of the Amsterdam trade unions, apart from the minority movements and from the Anglo-Russian unity committee, which signifies a great political blow and in

the future also a great organisatory blow for Amsterdam. These are proofs that the strength of the reformist leadership in the Amsterdam International is being undermined day by day. On the occasion of the last session of the Amsterdam Executive Committee the English bourgeois press rightly commented that Amsterdam demanded capitulation from the Russian trade unions. This would not only mean the capitulation of the Russian trade unions, but of the whole Soviet Union, to international reformism. It would mean the isolation of the Russian trade unions from the other revolutionary forces, the breaking up of the united front within the revolutionary wing of the labour movement, and the political alliance of the Russian trade unions with the institutions of the League of Nations. Comrade Tomsky was wrong in declaring that it was not possible to say at present to what concessions the Russian trade unions would agree in the negotiations with Amsterdam. Concessions are permissible in the relations with the British trade unions, but a very definite line must be drawn in relations with Amsterdam. The negotiations cannot and must not lead to an affiliation with Amsterdam, for this would mean not only a split in the R.I.L.U., but the weakening of the Communist Parties in several countries. An affiliation with Amsterdam would be synonymous with a strengthening of the enemy, a weakening and split in our own ranks.

Lozovsky formulated the tasks of the international trade union policy as follows:

1. The gradual extension of the Anglo Russian committee by the inclusion of ever fresh organisations.
2. The systematic consolidation of the R.I.L.U., and the closer connection with its affiliated organisations.
3. The establishment, directly and through the R.I.L.U., of relations with the trade union movement of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, especially China, India, and Indonesia.
4. No affiliation with Amsterdam; the continuation of the struggle for the formation of a united international by means of the convocation of an international unity congress, to be attended by the representatives of the Amsterdam, the R.I.L.U., and of the organisations outside of any international.

The next speaker, comrade Rjassanov, declared himself in complete agreement with comrade Tomsky's standpoint on the international trade union policy, and expressed the opinion that the principles explained by Tomsky represent the best means of establishing the united front, and of breaking up the II. and Amsterdam Internationals. (Applause.)

Comrade Glebov-Avilov (Leningrad) opposed the opinions expressed by comrade Tomsky, and declared that the affiliation of the Russian trade unions to Amsterdam would be a blow for the R.I.L.U., for the Comintern, and for the revolutionary trade union minorities. The policy with regard to the English trade unions is correct, but a direct affiliation to Amsterdam is simply indisputable.

Comrade Tomsky. (Concluding Speech.)

Comrade Tomsky, in his concluding speech, pointed out the conspicuous contradictions contained in comrade Lozovsky's declarations on the international trade union questions. Comrade Lozovsky on the one side records the growth of the Left

tendencies within the Amsterdam International, and then demands that we keep out of Amsterdam.

The Russian trade unions have declared before an international audience that they stand for the unity of the international trade union movement, and the international working class listens to the voice of the Russian trade unions.

Comrade Tomsky pointed out the harmfulness of the attempts being made to steer towards a split under the cloak of the unity slogan, and the futility of supposing that this will not be noticed. The working class will soon discover the fallacy and insincerity of such a policy. Either agitation manoeuvres must be carried on as has been done hitherto, or the unity problem must be taken up seriously. At one time the policy aiming exclusively at unmasking Amsterdam was the right one. Today the convocation of an international unity congress is the most acceptable and advantageous slogan for us, but our enthusiasm for it need not be exaggerated.

In such great questions as this we must not bind ourselves. Had the last Party conference of the Russian C. P. decided for instance that the Russian trade unions should not take up any relations with the British trade unions, then the Anglo-Russian committee, whose activity is universally approved in the Russian trade unions, would have been impossible. Those who are capable of dialectic thought, and do not permit themselves to be intimidated by Left phraseology, should make an accurate estimate of the international situation, of the relations of forces, of the numbers of real members in both camps, and should then accord the possibility of affiliation to the Amsterdam International serious consideration. The Party conference must not and cannot simply declare that the Russian trade unions are never, under any conditions whatever, to affiliate to the Amsterdam International. Such a course would be entirely un-Bolshevist. When the interests of the working class and of the workers' revolution demand it, we should go in any organisation, with the devil or the pope. (Applause.)

For the Comintern and the R.I.L.U., which possess consistent followers within the trade union movement in every country, the task which they have to perform is to secure the carrying out of the unity in the international labour movement, but not in such an isolated manner as for instance in France, where the reformist unions are agreed to unity, but where it has not been possible to find a common language understood alike by the reformist unions and the French communists and adherents of the Profintern. It often seems to me, and to other members of the trade union council who have been abroad, that the work of winning over the reformist unions has been carried on very much like an opera. The performers keep singing: "We are running, running, running", but all the same they do not move from the spot.

When Comrade Lozovsky, who represents the interests of the R.I.L.U., is not in agreement with my standpoint, this is natural enough, but when the Leningrad comrade Glebov-Avilov, who shortly before the Party conference expressed his full solidarity with my theses on the trade union question, which included the unity problem, and were unanimously approved by the Political Bureau, suddenly raises objections at the Party conference, then this can only be designated as deliberate opposition. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Resolution on the Trade Union Question.

The resolution passed by the Party conference on Tomsky's trade union report takes his theses as basis, and contains the following with reference to the international policy of the Russian trade unions:

"The economic growth of the Soviet Union has afforded its trade unions the possibility of taking up the task of establishing fraternal relations with the workers of other countries, and has doubtless been decisive in influencing the attitude of these workers towards the workers and trade unions of the Soviet Union. This has again given the trade unions of the Soviet Union the possibility of raising to its full extent the question of the establishment of international trade union unity by means of the formation of a united proletarian trade union international.

The enthusiastic echo awakened by the appeal of the Russian trade unions to international unity, among the workers of different countries especially among the workers of England, and among the members of the numerous workers' delegations visi-

ting Soviet Russia, despite all differences of political conviction and party, demonstrates the imperative necessity and supreme importance of the establishment of trade union unity among the whole international proletariat.

The Party Conference approves this line of international work on the part of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, as also the energetic work being done by this body for the rallying of all adherents of unity, and expresses the conviction that the fraternal fighting alliance established between the trade unions of England and of the Soviet Union, based upon the common struggle for the unity of the international trade union movement, in the form of the Anglo Russian Committee, as also the warmest sympathy shown by the workers and trade unions of other countries for this committee, are the first practical steps towards the establishment of international unity, and the pledge of its success."

The resolution was passed unanimously.

Report of Comrade Zinoviev on the Activity of the Russian C. P. Delegation in the E. C. C. I.

After a brief retrospect of the ten years of organised international Leninism, Comrade Zinoviev declared that during the last one or two years Leninism had had to fight for its existence, for voices of disbelief have often been raised during this time. The Comintern has been asked to show its actual successes, and since the general situation has permitted of but little immediate success, doubts have frequently been expressed as to the correctness of the path taken by the Comintern. There have been no differences of opinion within the Russian C. P. Delegation during this last period; for this the speaker has documentary evidence.

The chief characteristic of the situation is the partial stabilisation of international capital. There are many comrades who do not approve of the term "stabilisation", and find that it sounds too pessimistic. But we must not pursue a policy of illusions, nor conceal the difficulties. There is no doubt that there have been simplifications and exaggerations in the question of stabilisation.

Stabilisation signifies a state of equilibrium among the constituents of international economics; it signifies at the same time a consolidation of world capitalist economics. But the question of stabilisation must be judged by two criteria: On the one hand by the year 1913, and on the other by the years 1920/21, the years of the most conspicuous decay of capitalism. With the exception of America, a great number of bourgeois countries have not yet reached their pre-war standards up to 100%. But as compared with 1920/21 there are nevertheless a number of decisively important capitalist countries which have made a considerable stride forward, and have attained a certain success in the sphere of economic stabilisation. The speaker quoted a number of statistic statements confirming the situation as described. Even the European social democrats acknowledge that the stabilisation is not permanent, that Locarno brings no peace, etc. all this is extremely characteristic.

The partial and relative stabilisation encounters many limitations:

1. The disorganisation of the capitalist influence in the East.
2. The constant retrogression of the economic development of England.
3. The crisis in France, becoming more complicated from day to day, and assuming the features of threatening revolution.
4. The commencement of a crisis in Germany, where the negative results of the Dawes plan are beginning to be felt, and finally.
5. The serious crisis in Poland.

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Passing on to a description of the economic situation in the various countries, the speaker touched upon the coal export crisis in England, which plays a leading rôle in the conflicts. A fact of enormous importance is the efforts of the colonies to separate themselves from England.

In France a certain industrial prosperity runs parallel with the financial crisis. Here the peasant problem is increasing in importance, and the problem of the petty bourgeoisie is growing more and more acute. There are serious developments in the colonial national revolutionary movement, directed against French imperialism.

The stabilisation in Germany has been talked of most of all, although Germany is plunged into the acutest possible economic crisis, has passed through a series of financial disasters, and is now overwhelmed with increasing unemployment. Germany is in the midst of a Locarno crisis, and simultaneously of a crisis among the three parties: the social democrats, the German nationals, and the Centre party. All this, combined with Hindenburg's declaration on the necessity of the great coalition in view of the difficult winter to be expected for Germany, scarcely gives the impression of any very solid stabilisation in Germany.

Poland, after appearing to be stabilised, is undergoing a renewed crisis. In Poland the combination of three factors is maturing: the national movement, the peasant movement, and the labour movement.

Passing to the situation in the East, the speaker declared that the events in Morocco, India, and Egypt this year have

taken place much more rapidly than we had expected. In India there exist a greater number of proletarian sections than in the other oriental countries, so that we may expect the movement in India to overtake the Chinese movement before long.

At the present time the centre of the revolutionary movement is in China. The events in Shanghai during the current year represent the most important events of the world's history in this year. At one juncture the young Communist Party of China and the leaders of the Shanghai trade unions raised the question of driving the movement to the point of an armed insurrection. The Comintern issued directions against this tendency, and proposed to slow down gradually and to accomplish the retreat in good time, in order that time might be won for the movement, and the experience gained by the proletariat properly absorbed.

It is frequently asserted that the whole international situation is completely under the influence of the Anglo-American alliance. But the antagonisms existing between England and America must not be forgotten.

The real meaning of the Locarno pact is the following:

1. Locarno is directed against the Soviet Union.
2. Locarno is an attempt to tame bourgeois France.
3. Locarno is an attempt on America's part to create a situation in Europe which will enable America to invest her capital in Europe without risk.
4. Locarno contains elements of a rapprochement between the European countries for purposes of self defence against the rôle to be played by America in the future.

The most important feature of Locarno is the fact that the Locarno pact is directed against the Soviet Union. We must cherish no illusions in this matter. The intervention against the Soviet Union was defeated because Germany took no part in it. The Locarno decisions aim at seeking to gain Germany's participation in future interventions, and our recognition of this fact is not to be smoothed away by Vandervelde's reference to Chamberlain's phrase that when two countries form a friendship this does not necessarily imply their becoming the enemies of a third country. At the present moment there is no danger of Germany's participation in an intervention, but it is none the less our duty to take future possibilities into account.

The partial stabilisation of capitalism is a fact, but the accumulation of factors undermining this stabilisation runs parallel with it. Many facts point to the growth of revolutionary forces.

Zinoviev then gave figures stating the numerical strength of the leading sections of the Comintern. The total number of Parties is 55; of these 25 are illegal and five semi-legal, rendering it difficult to ascertain the exact number of members.

Passing on to the position of the individual Communist Parties, Zinoviev emphasised that the 6000 to 7000 members of the C. P. of England are no criterion for its political influence, since mass political parties have never existed in England. Despite the small number of members in the English Party, it must be acknowledged that Marxism has achieved great successes in England. The whole present development in English economics, especially the loosening of the links binding the motherland to the colonies, by which it is made more difficult for the English bourgeoisie to corrupt the labour aristocracy, is undermining English opportunism. Hence the swing to the left of the English labour movement, its rapprochement to the Russian trade unions, and the necessity of orientation in the direction of the English movement. The C. P. of England, with its 6000 members, leads over a million trade union members organised in the Minority Movement.

At the present time a left wing is forming in the Labour Party itself. Our chief base in England is the Communist Party, and this must be strengthened and extended. We must on no account over-estimate the stability of the present left wing in the trade unions and in the Labour Party, and their weak sides must be recognised. Although I am fully aware of the high importance of the rapprochement of the English Left for the fight against the danger of war, against reformism, etc., still we must

not forget the possibility of its vacillations. Our foundation in England is and remains the Communist Party and the minority movement following it. And we can look forward with every confidence to the future of the English labour movement, which is taking the form of a revolutionary workers' mass movement for the first time since the days of the Chartists. The Comintern has succeeded for the first time in gaining a firm foothold in England.

Passing on to France, Zinoviev emphasised the importance of the recent anti-war strike, which, despite various errors, was carried through in a manner proving the political weight of the French brother Party. In view of the favourable situation, however, as the Morocco crisis, the financial crisis, the tendency to pacifism among the peasantry, the increased taxation, and the treacherous conduct of the socialists, the success might have been greater. A disturbing element is created by the Right group headed by Rosmer, Souvarine, and Loriot, who played a renegade blackleg rôle on the occasion of this anti-war strike. The French Party still commits many mistakes in its united front tactics, one of these being the confronting of the reformist leaders and the non-partisan workers with the slogan of the fraternisation and recall of the troops as prerequisite for the united front. The attitude of the Right group is however a thousand times more wrong still.

The C.P. of Germany, after a severe leadership crisis, is beginning to overcome its difficulties successfully. The crises taking place in the German C.P. in this regard, from Paul Levi to Scholem, are not so much owing to faults in the leadership of the German C.P. and of the Comintern as to the crises in the development of the German revolution. Zinoviev put the question of whether the E.C.C.I. committed an error in leaving the Party power in the hands of Maslow and Ruth Fischer in 1924. To this question he replied in the negative, pointing out that at the beginning of 1924 there was serious danger of a split, whilst at the same time the fresh sections of workers in Hamburg, Berlin, and the Ruhr area, had no faith in the old group. The E.C.C.I. was fully conscious of the weak aspects of Maslow and Ruth Fischer, who represent a group of intellectuals possessing some positive advantages, besides an extensive capacity for making capital out of the errors of their opponents. We were well aware that Maslow and Ruth Fischer can not be regarded as firm Bolsheviki, but none the less we agreed to their taking over the power, since it was impossible to entrust this any longer to the Right.

Passing on to the mistakes which have been made in the trade union question, Zinoviev emphasised that the struggle against participation in the trade unions did not take its origin with Maslow and Ruth Fischer alone, but that the slogan of: "Leave the trade unions!" represented the psychosis of the whole revolutionary working class of Germany. These moods are not to be attributed to the errors of Maslow and Ruth Fischer alone, but to the whole course of the evolution of the German revolution, and to the reaction following the October defeat. These tendencies had to be taken into account. An energetic insistence on our demands would have meant a split and the collapse of the German C.P. For this reason the E.C.C.I. regarded the placing of the power in the hands of the Left as the solution likely to cause the least friction. We were not deceived in our calculations, for a core of sound Bolshevik elements formed within the Left. When the incapacity of the Left leaders became evident under the pressure of the difficulties arising out of the Dawesation of Germany, the E.C.C.I. undertook a regrouping in the leading body of the German C.P., and helped the German C.P. to take the Bolshevik path. The tactics pursued by the E.C.C.I. later promoted the recent election successes of the German C.P., and are beginning to break down the wall between the workers of the German C.P. and the German Social-democratic workers.

Some of the phenomena of crisis are however still observable in the German C.P. An ultra Left current still remains, and its leader, Scholem is already trying to exploit the discussion at the Russian Party Conference. I should not be surprised if such elements were to attempt to speculate on our differences of opinion; this is always inevitable when there are discussions. But they will find that they have made a mistake; we are perfectly solid with the present German Central, and are fully confident that the German Party will keep to the right path, and will overcome the last remains of the ultra Left and Right crises.

With regard to the crisis in the Czechoslovakian Party, the solution found for the matter of contention, the expulsion of

Bubnik, has proved to have been right. As political factor Bubnik exists no longer. The bloc of the Left and the Centre has proved successful. The recovery of the Czechoslovakian brother Party is a fact. It is still however necessary to overcome the tendencies in the trade union question, which resemble those existing in Germany.

Comrade Zinoviev next pointed out the recovery of the Polish Party. Here the ultra Left Donski tendency was condemned by the Party, and decisions have been arrived at conforming with those of the German C.P. and the Comintern.

Comrade Zinoviev summed up his survey of the situation of the Parties by the statement that there have been ultra Left relapses in most of the Parties, as in Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, and Norway, these being the result of the present period of relative slackening in the fight. The E.C.C.I. has combatted these ultra Left tendencies. It is not by accident that since the II. Congress the Comintern has had to contend alternately against ultra Left and Right tendencies. The international proletarian organisation, supported by the successful proletarian revolution in one single country and developing work in the other countries, has no choice but to tack about between Scylla and Charybdis, and to combat first the Right and then the Left deviation, and then again both together. One deviation, as Lenin often pointed out, creates and nourishes the other. The future leaders of the Comintern must hold determinedly to Leninism on this point. I am decidedly in opposition to those who declare that at the present time the fight should be concentrated exclusively against the ultra Left. It should be borne in mind that at a given moment the ultra Left tendency may be more dangerous than the Right, and vice versa. This is not centrism, but the main path of Leninism, to be followed by the Comintern in the present situation.

Comrade Zinoviev described the peculiarities of the present international situation, and pointed out that although no immediate revolutionary situation exists at present, the worst stage of stagnation in the revolutionary movement is over, and we are at the beginning of a fresh advance of the European labour movement, containing new specific features.

There is one fundamentally false view existing among certain communists, that the communist movement can only advance during periods of acute industrial crises, unemployment, etc. The Russian example proves that though the immediately revolutionary situation requires the coincidence of several factors, among which the desperation of the working masses in consequence of crisis and poverty is not the least important, still the general advance of the labour movement, in the course of which new and complicated factors arise, which can lead later to the transformation of the economic labour movement into the immediately revolutionary, by no means presupposes the absolute necessity of a financial and industrial crisis. It is precisely in times of prosperity that the working class feels conscious of its strength, and undertakes successful strike struggles, whilst widespread unemployment often blunts the will to fight, even when the other prerequisites are given.

Likewise incorrect is the view that the stabilisation of capitalism inevitably leads to the strengthening of reformism, and that the Communist Parties can become stronger, and permeate the masses, only during periods of revolutionary high tide. If the European communists are infected by such views as these, existing also among European workers, and if they fail to realise that the main point at issue is whether we or the reformists are to head the present revival in the labour movement, if the Communist Parties fail to permeate the masses at the present juncture, then they will equally fail to attain their goal when the day comes to lead the immediate revolutionary movement. The tenacity of life of German and Austrian social democracy is due to the fact that they are better versed than the communists in the art of penetrating into the daily struggles of the working class. During the present period of stabilisation, the communists must prove that their Party is the real workers party, adapting its work to the daily needs of the working class, taking the lead in every struggle, in every defensive or offensive strike, and capable of facing the problems of daily life. We must appropriate the strong aspects of social democracy, cut away the opportunism, and beat the social democrats with their own weapons.

It is further characteristic for the present period that the post-war process of wage levelling has ceased, and a labour aristocracy is gradually developing again.

Another phenomenon of the moment is the growing petty bourgeois influence upon social democratic party policy, the formation of a special party official class within social democracy itself, for which almost every change of government means fresh positions under this government, and which is adapting itself deliberately to the bourgeois state, just as the communists adapt themselves to the proletarian state. On the other hand, the social democratic leaders are obliged to adapt themselves more and more to the tendency growing in the working class in favour of the Soviet Union, especially since the visits paid to Russia by the workers' delegations. Here the social democratic leaders, for instance Otto Bauer, are attempting to seize upon the sole rights of protectorate of the Soviet Union, and demand that the Communist Parties be dissolved.

Comrade Zinoviev pointed out the growing authority and the influence of the Soviet Union as important factor in the international labour movement. Whilst the difficult years of famine during the Russian revolution were exploited by social democracy as propaganda against Bolshevism, it is today forced to admit openly the success of the socialist cultural development of the Soviet Union, and to take into account the pro-Soviet feeling growing in the working class of their countries.

Comrade Zinoviev outlined four categories of international work at the present time:

1. The formation and support of Communist Parties. The legal, semi-legal, and illegal Communist Parties are to be more firmly established, step by step, in accordance with circumstances. It should be realised that the organisation of the 7000 members of the English Communist Party, of the 5000 members of the Chinese Communist Party, of the 3000 members of the Young Chinese Communist League, represent a great historical work.

2. The Anglo-Russian trade union rapprochement and the antagonisms within the Amsterdam International. The Anglo-Russian committee is a striking proof that the united front tactics, that is the tactics aiming at winning over the reformist masses during the stabilisation period, is just beginning. Despite the weak aspects of the English Left movement, the importance of the rapprochement between the English and Russian trade unions should not be under-estimated.

Discussion on the Report of Comrade Zinoviev.

The first speaker, comrade Schumsky, spoke as follows:

At the present time the Comintern is passing through the same stage as the Russian Party had to go through after the revolution in 1905. As examples the speaker cited the danger of the liquidation tendency during the stabilisation period, the orientation of the Gompers trade unions in America, etc. The mass movement is however not adjusted to the stabilisation.

The greatest danger consists in the Left deviations in the German and Polish Parties. The policy pursued by the leaders of the Comintern is in general, the right one, but errors exist. The decisions of the V. World Congress with reference to national policy have not been carried out; no results have been achieved in this direction, and the Comintern has openly and fundamentally opposed the resolution passed by the V. World Congress. The crisis has caused the German Party to forfeit much of its influence. The Polish Party, too, has lost influence, owing to incautious action on the part of the leaders. The speaker called for a firm basis in the Russian C. P., for the leadership of the Comintern.

The next speaker, comrade Skripnik, declared that the Russian C. P. does not participate sufficiently in the work of the Executive of the Comintern. The Political Bureau and the C. C. of the Russian C. P. should increase their actual participation in the work of the Executive; this however does not mean that the importance and participation of the representatives of the brother Parties should diminish. It is not sufficient merely for the Presidium and the Enlarged Plenary Session take part in the work. What is required is systematic work in the Executive. (Hear hear!) The representatives of the brother Parties should remain longer in Moscow, and should participate more actively in the work of the Executive. The speaker called attention to the faulty leadership in the national question. Full advantage is not taken of the national contentions. This applies principally to the Balkans countries, to France, and to Czechoslovakia. The

3. The workers' delegations and the socialist construction in the Soviet Union. The profound political import of the workers' delegations to Soviet Russia consists greatly of the fact that the workers misled by reformism are beginning to understand that the war danger is unavoidable, and that it is only possible to fight it efficiently in alliance with the Soviet Union.

4. The Eastern movement, the great importance and significance of which must be made increasingly clear to the working class of Europe.

The Comintern must combine all these four lines of work, and not forget that the leading principle is the organisation of the Communist Parties.

Two possible dangers exist for the Comintern: One of these is the fact that individual Parties or the whole International may fail to recognise the novelty and complication of the present situation, for instance the importance of the Anglo Russian trade union rapprochement, and that whilst carrying out the task of organising the Communist Parties, we overlook the processes going on in the reformist camp.

The second danger has already been stated in the decisions of the XIV. Party conference of the Russian C. P. This is the danger of falling into national narrowness, of disregarding the indissolubility of the fate of the Soviet Union with the fate of international proletarian revolution, of failing to comprehend the mutual dependence of the Soviet Union and the international labour movement.

It cannot be well maintained that very great success is to be recorded for the Comintern during the last two years, but in many respects they have been decisive years. The Comintern will find its work facilitated when the advance has become a fact, but it has been difficult to work under the new conditions. The Comintern is one of the greatest values which has been created by the international working class with the help of our Party and of Lenin.

Our Party will remain faithful to internationalism to the end in face of all the difficulties which it may encounter, and will give to the cause of the Comintern all it can and must give. (Applause.)

speaker admitted the excellent work being performed by the Comintern, but declared that there existed obvious errors.

Comrade Rjasanov declared that the group of leaders heading the German Party in 1923, at the time of the defeat of this Party, had committed grave errors. The abrupt change of leadership was however an even graver error.

Some of the conflicting groups in the foreign Parties will exploit the events in the Russian C. P.

The speaker declared that the tactics pursued by the Comintern deserve our complete approval, though at the same time we must not close our eyes to the errors.

The speaker especially insisted on the necessity of working out the Party programme of the Russian C. P. and the programme of the Comintern. The theoretical questions thus raised are of extreme importance. The programme of the Russian C. P. is still based on the foundation of War Communism. It is the duty of the Russian Section to sum up in a general survey the whole of the experiences gained during the past few years. The speaker moved that a commission be appointed with this object.

Comrade Manuilsky

dealt with the question of the extent to which the Party conference discussion will find an echo among our young brother Parties. We have hitherto considered it necessary — and the C. C. of our Party and the leading organs of the Comintern have agreed with us — that our brother Parties should not be drawn into these differences of opinion. But it is now evident that this discussion is penetrating through a hundred channels into Europe. We hear that the German ultra-Left, encouraged by the attitude taken by the Leningrad delegation, are beginning to bombard the C. C. of the German C. P. It is possible to adduce many errors which have been committed by the Comintern, but the greatest of all is that begun by the appearance of Zinoviev, as chairman of the E. C. C. I., with a co-report.

In connection with this discussion our difficulties in the Comintern will proceed in six directions.

The first difficulty is the following:

Hitherto the delegation of the Russian C. P. in the Comintern has been completely agreed on all basic questions of politics and tactics. Important questions to be included in this category have been: the question of the alliance with the English trade unions, and the question of fighting the ultra-Left deviations in the German and Polish Parties. After Zinoviev's report, which differs from Zinoviev's attitude in the Russian question, differences of opinion in the Comintern are likely to be avoided. But our united action hitherto has not been merely accidental. Our Comintern policy has been closely connected with our inner policy. The tactics of the united front with the peasantry in Russia corresponded with the tactics of the united front in the West as a means for the conquest of the masses by the Communist Parties. This Comintern policy and our inner policy alike demand the pursuit of one determined and systematic line for a period extending over months and years. This applies most especially to the trade unions, where we are exceedingly weak.

But with the application of these tactics we are confronted with a great danger, for during the stabilisation period we are bound to encounter attempts at the restoration of Right ideology and tactics. We are successful in defeating the Right group after the epoch of Right crises. These groups have now their fulcrums: Brandler in Germany, Loriot in France, etc. A sharp and determined fight must be made against these groups.

But the worst evil amongst us at present is the incapability of our young Communist Parties to apply the united front tactics. The needs of the growing mass movement — for there is no doubt that we have passed the lowest point of international reaction — come up against the incapability of our young Sections to win over the masses. Hence the crises in Poland, Germany, and France.

The speaker expressed his fear that the differences of opinion between the opposition and the majority at the Party conference might lead to the formation of a special line in the Comintern. Theoretically, it is possible to foresee the nature of these differences of opinion in the question of the estimation of the importance of the revolutionising of the English labour movement, in the question of the estimation of the tactics of the proletarian united front, and in the question of the deviations and dangers threatening us on our road to the conquest of the masses.

The second difficulty consists of the fact that this discussion, and the standpoint adopted by the opposition, has galvanised the ultra-Left deviation all over Europe, especially in Germany. In Germany we have completely defeated Ruth Fischer and Scholem, but other groups have taken their place. Even though Maslov may have compromised himself completely at his trial, and proved by his methods of defending himself in a bourgeois court of justice that he is not a tried and tested revolutionary, but in a certain sense a hanger on; even though this Maslov group may have compromised itself to such an extent that the communist masses desert them, there are still others who raise the ultra-Left flag, as for instance Urbahns.

The four points of ultra-Left ideology in Germany are as follows:

1. That the German Party, as a purely workers' party — as evidenced by its membership — is different to the Russian Party, on account of the latter's peasant-like character.

2. That the policy of the German C. P. is determined solely by the interests of the proletariat, whilst the policy of the Russian C. P. is dictated by the interests of the workers' and peasants' State.

3. That the Comintern is an instrument of Soviet politics, as maintained by Professor Korsch, who spoke recently of a "red imperialism".

4. The fourth point of ultra-Left ideology is that Leninism does not preserve the Communist Party from degeneration.

The speaker faced the opposition with the question, whether they are not of the opinion that their attitude may to ascertain extent support the ultra-Left deviation.

The third difficulty lies in the fact that the Right fractions may revive. The Party conference must declare plainly and definitely that both Right and ultra-Left deviations in the West will encounter determined resistance. (Applause.)

The fourth difficulty is that up to now international social democracy has exploited every failure in our economic structure for the purpose of scaring away the broad masses from communism. And now that our success is evident, and the enthusiasm of the European proletariat is expressed in the sending of workers' delegations, social democracy is doing its best to represent our progress as a return to capitalism. The present discussion can furnish the social democrats with fresh weapons.

The fifth difficulty arises from the fact that we are now trying to form collective leadership in the European Communist Parties. In the struggle for leadership our comrades may again exploit the Russian differences of opinion.

Sixthly, the importance and authority of the Russian C. P. in the Comintern may diminish. This signifies, objectively, the growth of the influence of the European Parties. In certain respects this would be an advantage.

In conclusion, the speaker opposed the action of the Ukrainian delegation in criticising the policy of the Comintern with regard to the German C. P. He pointed out that this criticism is at fault. Even at the Frankfurt Party conference we protested against the leadership being given to Maslov and Ruth Fischer. It is the work of the Comintern to take into account the peculiar evolution of every European Communist Party. In Western Europe we have two strata of members. On the one hand the stratum recruited from social democracy, and subject to Right deviations and crises. On the other hand the stratum formed by the young generation of workers without social democratic tradition, but equally without political training. The chief task before the Comintern is to synthesise these two strata.

* * *

Comrade Manuilsky was followed by comrade Lominadse, who declared that the Party conference should approve the policy of the delegation of the Russian C. P. in the Comintern, this policy being correct in all fundamental questions. It is only in questions of detail that certain errors on the part of the E. C. C. I. with regard to the German C. P. may be discovered. The idea that the Ruth Fischer-Maslov leadership could have been prevented in 1924 is false. But the crisis which came to a head in the summer of 1925 might perhaps have been solved earlier.

It was to a certain extent a mistake to make too great concessions to the German C. P. during the last enlarged Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I.; here as a result of the pressure of the German delegation, the demands in the Bolshevisation theses for the standardisation of Party life in Germany were moderated.

The speaker declared the present error to be that Zinoviev does not sufficiently dissociate himself from Ruth Fischer and Maslov.

The speaker then proceeded to deal with what has happened of late to such leaders as Maslov and Ruth Fischer. At the German Party Conference in October Maslov was condemned for his shameful behaviour at his trial. In the resolution passed by the Party conference we read as follows: No political trial taken part in by communists has ever passed off so discreditably for the Communist Party as the Maslov trial. No accused communist has ever renounced the defence of the Party programme, the Party line, and the Party tactics, before a bourgeois court of justice, as Maslov has done. With regard to Ruth Fischer, her policy, both before and after the Open Letter of the Comintern, has consisted of a system of book keeping by double entry.

The speaker then dealt with the position of the Communist Parties in Germany, Italy, and Poland. The crises in the Parties are connected with one another. Whilst the Communist Parties of Czechoslovakia, Holland, Sweden, and Norway are passing through a period of struggle against Right opportunism, we in the leading Sections of the Comintern are suffering from a strengthening of the Left deviations.

The speaker expressed the opinion that since the conflict in the Russian Party is sure to strengthen the ultra-Left deviations, a further development of the conflict would mean still further strength to these currents. Hitherto the Comintern has been successful in overcoming the Left deviations in Italy, Poland, and Germany, after these Parties had been brought to the verge of a catastrophe. But these dangers may arise again if the discussion is transferred to the Comintern. The Russian C. P.

must therefore draw a distinct line dividing it from the ultra-Left and the Right who are now attempting to exploit the discussion for their own ends.

The last speaker in the discussion, comrade Schmidt, pointed out two faults in the work of the Comintern:

1. The under-estimation of the importance of the unity movement.
2. The insufficiently practical leadership of the work in the individual Sections of the Comintern.

The under-estimation of the slogan of the unity movement is particularly observable in such countries as Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Denmark. In Holland, too, the Comintern should do more towards inducing the Dutch Communist Party to strive for the real unity of the working class, which is only attainable through the trade union movement. And there are a number of other countries, such as Czechoslovakia, where the slogan of the united front is not fought for with sufficient energy.

In the question of the guidance of the practical work of the individual Communist Parties, the speaker expressed the opinion that whilst the Russian delegation and the Comintern are working on right general lines, the Communist Parties of the West and their leaders frequently show a great lack of self-reliance and initiative, and are too often inclined to wait for instructions from here, even in the smallest matters.

This is an error in the work of the Comintern which must be corrected, for the present discussion may find an echo in the brother Parties. Therefore our delegation in the Comintern must be placed by the Party conference under the obligation to remove both the above named faults. In the question of the united front slogan it is especially necessary to combat any scepticism. The extent to which our Communist Parties are to become actual mass parties depends greatly on the proper carrying out of this slogan.

* * *

Comrade Zinoviev, in his reply, declared that he was at a loss to comprehend what the definite dissociation from Maslov demanded of him by Lominadse was to consist of. With reference to the regret expressed by the speakers in the debate that the discussion should be carried into the Comintern, it may be observed that even before the Party conference the discussion had penetrated into the European press. Zinoviev emphasised that, according to his convictions, the decisions of the party conference are at the same time predetermined for the further leadership of the Comintern. Zinoviev declared that he for his part had not made the single attempt to carry the Russian C. P. discussion into the Comintern. It should be understood that every article on the discussion appearing in the "Pravda" is read abroad. (Interjection: "And the incitements in the articles in the Leningrad "Pravda" too!")

Zinoviev protested against the insinuation that the Leningrad comrades were ultra-Left. It need not be said that the minority will submit, but the minority will defend its views before the Party conference. No doubt the Russian C. P. discussion means difficulties for the Comintern, but every one of us will do his utmost to help the Comintern to accomplish the work confronting it. (Applause from the Leningrad delegation.)

Resolution on the Activities of the Delegation of the C. P. of Russia in the E. C. C. I.

The Party Conference passed the following resolution on the report of the delegation of the C. P. of Russia at the E. C. C. I., unanimously, 94 refraining from voting:

1. The Party Conference approves on the whole of the activities of the delegation of the C. P. of Russia at the E. C. C. I.
2. The Party Conference states that the delegation of the C. P. of Russia also contributed to the settling of the dangerous deviations which had arisen in various sister Parties, as for instance in Czechoslovakia, Germany, Poland etc. as a result of the partial stabilisation of Western capitalism.
3. The Party Conference commissions the delegation of the C. P. of Russia to continue in the future its campaign in the brother parties against deviations to the Right or Left from the correct Marxist line.
4. The Party Conference commissions the delegation of the C. P. of Russia to strengthen the campaign for the

trade unions and their unity as well as the campaign to win over broad masses of the non-party and social democratic workers.

5. The Party Conference commissions the delegation of the C. P. of Russia to bring about a reinforcement of the apparatus of the Comintern and in doing this ensure an increasing influence of the foreign Communist Parties in the leadership of the Comintern.

In the ballot vote on Comrade Zinoviev's report on the activities of the delegation of the C. P. of Russia at the E. C. C. I., which was demanded by the Leningrad delegation, the number of those who abstained from voting amounted to 104, all the other delegates voted in its favour.

Speech of Comrade Clara Zetkin as Fraternal Delegate.

At the meeting on December 30, Comrade Clara Zetkin conveyed to the Congress the greetings of the German communists and of all the revolutionary workers of Germany who have followed with great interest the imposing constructive work in the Soviet Union. Thanks to the wise policy of the Russian trade unions, thanks to the tactics of trade union unity having been carried out and to the close cooperation of the English and Russian trade unions, thanks to the flood of foreign Labour delegations which have visited the Soviet Union, the wall of lies, which surrounded and isolated the C. P. of Russia, is at last broken down. Not only the working class but also the bourgeoisie, who are watching the reconstruction of the Soviet country with hatred and fear, have learnt to respect the Soviet Republics.

We are following with the greatest interest and the greatest concern the discussion which has arisen in the C. P. of Russia, as some elements in it are trying to split up the Party. This kind of game would be a very serious danger for the Communist Parties of the West which are learning from the C. P. of Russia and are still young and inexperienced, especially the C. P. of Germany. As a result of a false policy, the C. P. of Germany, has passed through a serious period of crisis, and only now, after the belated letter of the E. C. C. I., which did appear at last, has it started on the slow and difficult process of restoration to health.

Any game of splitting might injure our work, and the elements which are carrying on a system of double entry book keeping might make capital out of it. We must bear in mind that at the present time, a serious political and economic crisis is maturing in Germany, and that our Party will, this winter, have to lead the masses under very difficult conditions. But, in spite of our anxieties about the discussion in the C. P. of Russia, I and my comrades have not the faintest doubt that the firm rock of unity of the C. P. of Russia will remain unshaken. We are confirmed in this conviction by to-day's speeches of the Leningrad workers, the speeches of the representatives of the old Communist Guard, who were trained by Lenin and who will understand how to protect unity. Should anyone attempt to transfer from the great solid ship of the C. P. of Russia into tossing boats, he will fail. I am convinced that there is no single Party member, no Party organisation which would desert this ship. (Applause.) The iron cohort, which is leading the proletariat of the world to victory along the well-tried Leninist path, will stride forwards in serried and undaunted ranks. (Applause.)

Close of the Party Conference.

The XIV. Party Conference of the C. P. of the C. P. of Russia was concluded on 31st December. The new Central Committee, consisting of 63 comrades, had previously been elected by a ballot vote, among them being comrades Stalin, Rykov, Bucharin, Tomsky, Kalinin, Molotov, Rudsutak, Chicherin, Trotzky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and Sokolnikov.

After the closing address of comrade Rykov the Party Conference was closed amid scenes of great enthusiasm, with the singing of the "Internationale" and cries of "Long live the unity of the Communist Party of Russia!"

Constitution of the Central Committee.

The Plenary Session of the newly elected C. C. of the C. P. of the Soviet Union held on 1. January elected the following comrades as members of the Political Bureau:

Bucharin, Stalin, Voroschilov, Zinoviev, Kalinin, Molotov, Rykov, Tomsky, and Trotzky; substitutes: Rudsutak, Dzersinsky, Petrovsky, Uglanov, and Kamenev.

The Secretariat is formed of:

Stalin as general secretary, with Molotov, Uglanov, Kassior, and Jevdokimov; substitutes: Bubnov and Artjuchina.

The following were elected members of the Organisation

Bureau: Stalin, Molotov, Uglanov, Kassior, Jevdokimov, Bubnov, Artjuchina, Andrejev, Dogadov, and Smirnov; substitutes: Lepse, Tschaplín, Schmidt, and Uchanov.

Bucharin was elected chief editor of the "Pravda" (Moscow), with Manuilsky as his deputy.

The mandates of the delegation of the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. in the E. C. C. I., were prolonged. The delegation consists of the members: Zinoviev, Bucharin, Stalin, Kamenev, and Rykov; substitutes: Trotzky, Lozovsky, Sokolnikov, and Piatnitzky; from Ukraine: Manuilsky and Schumsky.

Declarations Regarding Comrade Maslov's Conduct at his Trial.

At the final meeting of the XIV. Party conference of the Russian C. P. the secretary of the Presidium read a letter from comrade Ruth Fischer to the Party Conference, as follows:

Dear Comrades,

I shall be obliged if you will have the following declaration read to the Party conference, and if you will have it incorporated in the protocol and an extract published in the press report:

Despite my presence in Moscow, it has not been made possible for me to appear at the Party Conference. Thus I only heard subsequently of some declarations made by comrades Manuilsky and Lominadse, and referring not only to the political questions occupying the German Communist Party, but containing personal attacks upon comrade Maslov. I am therefore compelled to inform the Party Conference of the Russian C. P. of some facts on this matter:

1. The National Party conference held by the German C. P. in October came to no final decision in the question of comrade Maslov's conduct at his trial, put placed the whole affair in the hands of the Executive of the Comintern. Until the affair was settled it was not to be discussed in public. For technical reasons it has not been possible up to now to arrive at a decision. The remarks made by comrades Manuilsky and Lominadse thus bring comrade Maslov's affair before the public before a decision has been come to by the Comintern.

2. Comrade Maslov has been uninterruptedly in prison since 18. May 1924, almost 19 months, and not for half a year, as asserted by comrade Lominadse. According to a general enactment of the juridical committee of the Reichstag, it is probable that two years will be cancelled of comrade Maslov's four years' sentence, as is being done in all similar cases. Any assertions as to further alleviations are entirely without foundation.

3. The trial of Maslov and his comrades lasted for 10 days. In spite of my energetic protest, I was delegated by the C. C. to be present at the trial as observer. It is my firmest conviction that comrade Maslov's conduct before a bourgeois court of justice was not only irreproachable, but was an excellent representation of the communist idea and the Communist Party. In my opinion the attacks being made on comrade Maslov are brought forward on political motives, in order to discredit him personally. There are a large number of facts in support of this view of mine which are still completely unknown to the Party public, and which were not mentioned even at the National Party conference of the German C. P., since I was not present at this conference.

a) Maslov submitted a written disposition of his proposed method of conducting the trial, and this was expressly approved by another representative of the C. C.

b) During the whole trial the seats next Maslov were occupied by comrades Schlecht (member of the C. C.) and Grylewicz, then secretary of the C. C., now secretary of the Prussian Diet fraction. These were in agreement with all his declarations during the trial.

c) I myself journeyed to Berlin several times during the course of the trial, but no member of the C. C. ever suggested any correction of the line of defence.

d) The indictment drawn up by the bourgeois court of justice against Maslov states that: The man is most especially dangerous... the actions of the accused demand a severe penalty, and render it necessary to remove him from public life for a long period...

e) The protocol drawn up by the Maslov commission of the German National Party conference contains the following passage, which in my opinion clearly characterises the tendency ruling in the Maslov affair: "The majority of the commission, with the exception of the delegates from Berlin Brandenburg, are in agreement with comrade X... 's statements to the effect that we are not dealing with juridical organisatory questions, but with political decisions..., that the political attitude adopted by comrade Maslov at his trial was not a "thing in itself", but something closely bound up with his attitude to all these questions during the developments of the past year, as specially characteristically expressed in his writings."

3. These are only a few of the many facts which might be adduced to show that the forming of a judgment on comrade Maslov's conduct at his trial is not a question of whether his attitude was dignified or undignified, but is a purely political question. I am fully convinced that every communist has the right to demand that such far reaching personal attacks should only be made on the basis of an objective inquiry and decision on the part of the competent Party authorities.

I am convinced that many comrades in Germany, who have known comrade Maslov in his work, will share my view on this matter quite apart from their present political standpoint.

With communist greetings.

Signed. Ruth Fischer.

Member of the C. C. of the German C. P.

Reply of the representatives of the C. C. of the German C. P. in the E. C. C. I.

In reply to the declaration sent by comrade Ruth Fischer to the 14. Party conference of the Russian C. P., we, as representatives of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany, have the following to declare:

1. Comrade Ruth Fischer had no mandate whatever, as member of the C. C. of the German C. P., to make any statement with reference to the Maslov case.

2. Her declaration is flatly contradictory to the view held by the C. C., and to the decisions of the Party conference of the German C. P.

3. Since comrade Ruth Fischer is the first member of the German C. C. to break the silence resolved upon by the Party conference with reference to the resolution passed in the Maslov affair, we are obliged to reply to the misrepresentations of comrade Ruth Fischer by stating the wording of the main part of this resolution to the 14. Party conference. This is as follows:

"The first National Party conference states that Maslov's conduct before the State court of justice was unworthy of a leader of the revolutionary Party, the German Communist Party.

In the course of all the dozens of high treason trials which the German revolutionists have been forced to pass through under class legislation during the last 9 years, especially the

trials conducted by the state court of justice during the last 2 years, there has been no trial in which the revolutionary aims of the German C. P. have been so misrepresented as in the Maslov trial. Maslov's attitude gave the impression that the conclusion to be drawn was that the German communists are quite harmless, that the German C. P. is not a revolutionary party, and could thus have not possibly committed any high treason against the existing order of state and society.

The conference considers it entirely inadmissible to employ such methods of defence as those used in the Maslov trial, that is, the denial on Maslov's part of the connection between the responsible comrades in Berlin and the Central, and the bringing forward of even Maslov's oppositional attitude in the Central itself for his defence and relief from responsibility.

The conference demands from every comrade, especially from a responsible leader of the Party, that he maintains the honour of the Party before the class court of justice. The conference disapproves of comrade Maslov's attitude, and remits the whole of the material to the I. C. C. for a more exact examination and final decision."

4. Comrade Ruth Fischer's assertion that attacks have been made on Maslov for the purpose of "discrediting him personally", is an unheard-of aggression against the highest organs of the German C. P. and of the Comintern, which have condemned Maslov's conduct.

5. In the disposition which he submitted, Maslov did not state the line of defence so unworthy of the Party, afterwards adopted by him. In particular, his revelations on his sojourn in Moscow were made without the knowledge of the C. C. During the trial, the C. C. had no opportunity of correcting Maslov's attitude, for it was not in possession of the shorthand reports, and although comrade Ruth Fischer was commissioned as observer, she omitted to inform the C. C. of Maslov's un-communist deviations.

6. Comrade Ruth Fischer asserts in her declaration: "The conduct of comrade Maslov before the bourgeois court of justice was not only irreproachable, but an excellent representation of the Communist idea and of the Communist Party." The correctness of this assertion may be judged from the following extracts from the many passages unworthy of the Party which are to be found in the stenographic protocol of the Maslov trial made by the Party:

1. Speaking of the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government, issued by the Party in 1923, Maslov said: "We in Berlin were of the opinion that this did not mean anything definite, but was merely a propaganda slogan, and not even a good one." (Pr. p. 53.)

2. On the subject of the workers' government Maslov declared further: "We in Berlin were not in agreement with it... we felt ourselves bound by the Party discipline." Maslov asserted that the majority of the Communist Party regarded the workers' government "within the confines and by the means of democracy". (Pr. p. 15.)

3. Maslov referred before the bourgeois court of justice to his own pessimism with respect to revolutionary developments, and declared "when anyone is of the opinion that the tempo should be slower, it is entirely impossible that he should take part in a treasonable undertaking at the same moment." (Pr. p. 64.)

4. Maslov's declaration that: "The session of the Executive was attended by a large number of people. It is an astonishing fact that I am the only one brought to trial", was a direct denunciation of the participants in the Executive session in January 1923, against which charges had been brought. The Public Prosecutor replied at once that proceedings were to be taken against the other participants. (Pr. pp. 64 and 55.)

5. Maslov disavowed the C. C. of the Party, in order to clear the Berlin district organisers of responsibility. He declared to the court: "It is well known that the Berlin district organisation and the Reichs Central in Berlin were opponents of one another in the Party." (Pr. p. 71.)

6. It was a direct denunciation on Maslov's part of the C. C. when he declared, with reference to a leaflet of alleged seditious nature: "The leaflet is signed by the Central of the German C. P. It therefore seems to me to be beyond doubt that it was written by the Central of the German C. P.... I assume that the district organisers in Berlin had nothing to do with it." (Pr. p. 8.)

7. Maslov exploited his differences with the Executive of the Comintern for his own exoneration. He replied to the assertion of the indictment that he was "a fanatical representative of the Moscow initiative", by saying: This is not true. We in Berlin have always been in the opposition." (Pr. p. 65.)

8. Maslov related to the bourgeois court of justice that he had been "retained" in Moscow. He said that "the leaders of the Party at that time were of the opinion that it was necessary that I should remain there and be completely isolated..." "I must describe my experiences in Moscow in order to make it clear what this has to do with the charge against me... The decision had been adopted that I was to remain in Moscow, and had not to concern myself with anything in the Party... I could not even cooperate by means of literary work." (Pr. p. 61.)

9. Maslov made himself familiar with the bourgeois class judges in a petty bourgeois manner. He declared that in Germany he could "get a better education" than in Russia. (Pr. p. 65.) He was "glad and thankful" that during the war the German authorities had given him the opportunity of studying.

10. Maslov, contrary to the printed instructions of the Party to political prisoners, acknowledged as genuine the protocols and letters, including private letters from leading members of the Executive, brought forward by the police and the court- although these were designated as forgeries by even the non-party Schumacher.

We believe that these facts will enable both the 14. Party conference of the Russian C. P. and the whole Communist International to judge whether Maslov's conduct before the court was the "excellent representation of the communist idea and the Communist Party" which comrade Ruth Fischer's declaration asserts it to be, or whether "Maslov's conduct before the State court of justice was unworthy of a leader of the revolutionary party", as declared in the resolution passed by the German National Party conference and in the corresponding resolutions of the International Control Commission.

Moscow, 31. December 1925.

Signed: The Representatives of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Germany in the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Otto Kühne, Heinz Neumann.

After this counter-declaration of the representatives of the C. P. of Germany in the E. C. C. I. had been read, the closing session of the Party conference heard the following declaration from Comrade Lominadse (Russian C. P.):

"How unworthy of the Party Maslov's conduct before the bourgeois court of justice was may be seen from the following resolution, passed by the International Control Commission on 22. November 1925:

"The I. C. C., after taking cognisance of the stenogramme of Maslov's speech at his trial, considers Maslov's conduct to have been unworthy of the Party and incompatible with his position as member of the Party, especially with his position as ideological leader of the Party and member of the C. C. The inquiry as to Maslov's further position in the Party can only be made the basis for a decision after the I. C. C. has had the possibility of hearing Maslov personally."

Lominadse further mentioned the following fact as characteristic for Maslov's attitude: On the occasion of the motion brought in by the communists in the Saxon Diet, dealing with improvements in the prison regime and with the amnesty for political prisoners, the Saxon Minister of justice read the following extract from a letter written by Maslov in prison:

"The prison works punctually and briskly, and the prison officials are polite, correct, and obliging. This without exception. I am enjoying myself here as well as it is possible with the opportunities to be had here, and always wonder at the discoveries made by good friends in the press afterwards."

By this declaration Maslov has injured the cause of the struggle being carried on by the German workers for the amnesty and for the amelioration of the prison regime. It is astonishing that a revolutionist can make such remarks with regard to the unbearable prison regime in Germany.