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**VII. Meeting of the Enlarged E. C. C. I.**  
*Twenty-Seventh and Twenty-Eighth Session.*

Full Report.

**Twenty-Seventh Session.**

Moscow, Dec. 15, 1926.

Comrade THÄLMANN (Chairman):

The 27th Enlarged Executive is opened. We have the following agenda:

1. Resolution on the Russian Question.
2. Resolution on the Report of the Activity of the E. C. C. I.
3. Report of the Chinese Commission.

Reporter: Comrade Tan-Ping-Shan.

4. Resolution on Organisational Questions.
5. Report on the Agrarian Commission.

Reporter: Comrade Dengel.

6. Report on the Commission on the Maslow-Ruth Fischer case.

Reporter: Comrade Kuusinen.

We now come to the first point on the agenda.

In the name of the German, French, British, Czecho-Slovakian and American delegations we propose the following resolution on the Russian question:

Comrade THÄLMANN (Chairman):

We now come to a vote ... The resolution on the Russian question\*) is adopted unanimously, with one abstention.

Comrade SEMARD:

On the report on the activity of the E. C. C. I. we propose the following resolution:

**Resolution on the Report of the Activity of the E. C. C. I.**

The VII Enlarged Plenum of the Executive accepts and approves the report on the activities of the E. C. C. I. and expresses confidence in it.

The Enlarged Executive affirms that the line of the E. C. C. I. in placing the great questions of the international and national unity of the trade union movement in the forefront of its work was correct.

The Executive fulfilled the revolutionary duty of the Com-

munist International in conducting international solidarity action for the **General Strike and miners' strike in Great Britain.**

The correctness of the facts of the Executive in connection with the **Anglo-Russian Committee** has been confirmed by

\*) All resolutions not contained in the record of the Session at which they were read or adopted, will appear in a special number of Inprekorr.

events. It would have been a crude error to shift the responsibility for sabotaging the international solidarity action for the British miners' struggle from the shoulders of the Reformist traitors to the shoulders of the Communists by breaking up the Anglo-Russian Committee.

The Executive correctly recognised the world historic importance of the great Chinese Revolution and called the proletariat to fight against the intervention of the imperialist powers.

The Enlarged Executive approves the measures taken by the Executive to prevent the Opposition in the C. P. S. U. from carrying over the factional struggle into other Sections of the Communist International.

The Enlarged Executive declares that the Executive correctly estimated the situation in Poland in connection with the Pilsudski uprising and properly corrected the Opportunist mistakes of the Polish Party.

The energetic support given to the German Party in its struggle against the ultra-Left fraction is approved by the Enlarged Executive; at the same time the Enlarged Executive declares that the Executive of the German Party has succeeded in exposing the counter-revolutionary character of the ultra-

Left leadership and to win back many honest working class elements for the Communist International.

The Enlarged Executive declares with satisfaction that the Executive has made great progress in carrying out the decisions of the Sixth Enlarged Executive regarding the collective leadership of the Communist International (the permanent residence of representatives of the leading Parties in Moscow; the more active participation of the Parties in the work of the Executive; the change of the periodical "Communist International" into a weekly central organ of the E. C. C. I.).

The VII Enlarged Plenum of the Executive urges the Executive in its future work to pay the greatest attention to wiping out the factions that may exist in the Communist International. The next practical step along the path of Bolshevising the Sections of the Communist International must be to overcome the existence of fractions, the creation of internal unity, and monolithic Communist Parties moulded out of one piece.

Comrade THALMANN (Chairman):

We now come to a vote... The resolution on the report of activities of the E. C. C. I. is adopted unanimously.

## Report of the Chinese Commission.

Comrade TAN PING-SHAN:

I am authorised to report for the Chinese Commission. The Commission had before it two reports and four draft theses. From these we have worked out a draft theses for the adoption of this Plenum.

The Chinese revolution struck a serious blow against the stabilisation of international capitalism. It is broadening out from day to day. Therefore the danger of a military intervention by the imperialist powers is also very acute. But on the other hand we have an array of facts that will assure the victory of the Chinese revolution: the antagonism between the imperialists and the tremendous labour movement in the West European countries. These facts prevent imperialism from immediately carrying out a united intervention in China. Furthermore, behind the Chinese revolution stands the U. S. S. R.

The Chinese revolution is now in transition from the second to the third stage. In the first period the bourgeoisie led the revolutionary movement. In the second period the proletariat appeared on the scene for the purpose of taking over for itself the hegemony of the Chinese revolution. And now, in the third period, we see the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie for the hegemony of the national revolutionary movement.

The Chinese Commission has once more carefully appraised the class forces in China and has established that the driving forces of the Chinese revolutionary movement are to be found in the workers, the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, while the big bourgeoisie maintain certain relations with the imperialists, and wield a slight influence in the national revolution. Under certain conditions we can make use also of the big bourgeoisie. Therefore in the resolution the tendencies in the Chinese movement were formulated in this way: that the present revolution still has a bourgeois character, but that it must be led by the proletariat. The proletariat is confronted with a big problem, the problem of a choice of allies, the question of whether the peasantry or the bourgeoisie are to be the allies of the proletariat. It is absolutely clear that the ally of the proletariat must be the peasantry.

The peasant question is the question most vigorously argued in the Chinese Commission. In the present revolution this is the most important and also the most complicated question. On this field we have very little material at our disposal. In the discussion on this question two deviations were to be noted: On the one

hand a Right deviation which feared that the united battle-front would be endangered by the development of the peasant movement, and on the other hand, a Left deviation that demanded the immediate formation of peasant soviets. On this question we have laid down the principle that the land must belong to the peasants, and the practical measures for the effectuation of this principle are also correctly formulated.

Then the question of our attitude towards the Kuomintang. The Commission is unanimous against the demand of the Russian Opposition that the Communists should leave the Kuomintang. We are of the opinion that the relations between the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang must be consolidated even more than heretofore. The number of workers in China is not small, but the organisations of the workers are not yet large enough. These organisations must be extended and consolidated. Only through powerful workers' organisations can the Chinese revolution be led to victory.

The question of the Communist Party: in the period just past, the Party made no serious mistakes. The Comrades have worked actively, but the Party is still very weak in membership, and it must be broadened. Cadres must be created and trained. In this draft thesis, the trend of the Chinese revolution is outlined and in addition the practical measures have also been worked out. This draft thesis is a very important pre-requisite for the victory of the Chinese revolution. The Chinese revolution is developing further and further, and for this reason the tasks which confront the Party are very great. The Party is still weak and young. But the imperialist offensive against the Chinese revolution is very pressing. Therefore I urge that the Comintern give even more practical leadership to the Party than heretofore.

It is necessary that the world proletariat, which has heretofore always devoted great attention to the Chinese movement, should support our movement even more actively. In the Commission the comrades from the German, British, French, American and Indian Parties have furnished especially extensive advice.

Comrade THALMANN (Chairman):

I propose that the resolution on the Chinese question be voted upon at tomorrow's closing session...

(The proposal is adopted.)

# Report on the Organisation of the Leading Organs of the C. I.

Comrade ERCOLI:

Comrades, I am authorised by the Presidium to present to you the resolution on the organisation of the leading organs of the C. I., and to explain it briefly.

I will confine myself to a few words on some of the chief points of this resolution, e. g. the abolition of the post of Chairman of the C. I. This question may be viewed from various angles, first of all, it is bound up with the collective organisation of the leading organs of our Parties and of the C. I. This is a principle to which we hold, which we advocate, and which in our opinion should be accepted and made the rule in all Parties.

A further angle from which this question should be viewed is connected with the necessity of more and more drawing non-Russian, West European comrades into the actual leadership of the C. I. You undoubtedly know, comrades, that a resolution along this line, formulated by the XIV Congress of the C. P. S. U., was accepted by the VI Enlarged Executive of the C. I., and that in the period since the VI Enlarged Executive, the leadership of the Communist International has been carried on in this sense. We must now go further in the application of this resolution and work with even greater energy than heretofore, so that the best leading elements of the Communist Parties will be assigned to us for leading work in the Communist International.

We must, comrades, also take into consideration a historical point in the evolution of the C. I. We must recognise that today our Parties are developed very satisfactorily, that they are no longer in a constituent period, but that they have consolidated themselves, likewise also their central organs, so that in all of our Parties new forces have grown up. These new forces must be utilised not only for the work in the various countries, but also in order to create a good collective leadership of the C. I.

These are the weightiest reasons that have moved the Presidium to propose to the Enlarged Executive that the post of C. I. Chairman, be abolished and that it be replaced by a collective unit, by a collective international Secretariat composed of nine comrades from various Parties.

This question involves the statutes of the C. I., § 9 and § 18 of the Statutes contain definite provisions for the post of Chairman. Therefore our decision, i. e., the resolution proposed by us to this Plenum, must be referred to the VI Congress for confirmation, since only a World Congress has the right to alter the Statutes adopted by a former World Congress.

Now a few words about other points in this resolution.

I have already mentioned that instead of a Chairman, we propose the establishment of a collective Secretariat consisting of comrades from various countries. What is necessary for a really collective and international leadership of the C. I. is the formation and proper functioning of a real leading organ of the C. I. The leading organ of the C. I. is the E. C. C. I. It must be said, however, that thus far this organ has not functioned regularly, for in periods between meetings of the E. C. C. I., the whole leadership of C. I. activity was left in the hands of the Presidium. But when international gatherings were called together they were either a world Congress or an Enlarged Executive. Therefore the E. C. C. I. as such never functioned quite regularly.

We believe that we must now bring about a more regular functioning of the E. C. C. I. For this purpose it is desirable that the E. C. C. I. should come together regularly. We propose

that it meet at least every four months, viz., all comrades who are members of the E. C. C. I. and who also occupy leading posts in the various Parties must come to Moscow every four months in order to participate in a plenary meeting.

The resolution which we recommend for adoption enumerates a series of measures to assure that the regular meetings of the E. C. C. I. every four months will be prepared for in a manner that will permit the E. C. to actually function as the leading organ of the E. C.

The E. C. will elect from among its number a Presidium of 18 members and 7 candidates, and we believe that all members of the Presidium must remain constantly in Moscow. But we propose, however, that the Presidium no longer meet every week, but every two weeks, in order that the political work may be better organised and that the Presidium can actually be a collective leading organ which performs the work of leadership in the C. I.

These are the measures that we propose to you, and that are connected with the problem of organising the leading organs of the C. I.

Just a few words about another measure which we propose: The dissolution of the Org Bureau. What is the reason for this proposal? The most important political tasks which we put to our Parties today is the constant struggle for the winning of the masses, by means of work in all mass organisations (trade unions, co-operatives, etc.), where a directive work can be carried on among the masses. During this time, the organisational work will perhaps become even more important than heretofore, yet we believe that the most striking feature of our organisation work at present is that it must be done in closest connection with the political work. In our Parties a certain tendency is becoming apparent to consider organisational work as separated from the political work, as something that can be done apart from the political work. We believe that this tendency must be combated and that the organisational work must be in closest relationship with the political work.

Our proposal to dissolve the Org. Bureau, so that organisational questions will be discussed and solved by the Presidium and in the political organs, is in line with this tendency to tie up the organisational work with the political work; this idea must be taken up by all Parties.

Comrades, I shall not go into the other points of the resolution. I believe that you have read it. I should only like to emphasise that the spirit of this resolution, with regard to the work of the various E. C. C. I. organisations, comes to a head in this:

We maintain that the secretaries of the E. C. C. I. working here in Moscow cannot confine themselves merely to the criticism of our Parties, to the writing of resolutions, to the sending of letters to the Parties — in the future they will have to try to aid our Parties to apply the resolutions adopted by international sessions to their concrete political tasks. That is why we think that the national secretariats are of greatest importance for the organisation of the work of the E. C. C. I., since they give us the possibility of specialising the leading organs of the C. I. They give us the possibility of not only issuing directions, but also of aiding our Parties in their work under the various concrete conditions and situations that confront them.

This, comrades, is the reason for the resolution submitted to you for ratification. We hope that it will meet with your approval.

The resolution is adopted unanimously.

# Report of the Agrarian Commission.

Comrade DENGEL (Germany):

I am authorised to make the following report to this Plenum on behalf of the Agrarian Commission.

The development and strengthening of the revolutionary peasant movement in the East, the increasing political activity and radicalisation of the peasantry in both the agrarian countries and in those with advanced capitalist development, confront the Communist Parties with the necessity of devoting greater attention to their work in the village. On the basis of the work that was carried out in line with the decisions of the Comintern, and especially of the II. World Congress and the V. Plenum of the E. C. C. I., we have gathered certain experiences. This fact confronts the E. C. C. I. with the task of summarising the chief achievements and most serious errors in the practical work of the Communist Parties among the broad masses of the peasantry.

This task devolved upon the Agrarian Commission appointed by this Plenum.

The Agrarian Commission by its work has contributed to the solution of this problem even though it is unable to present the Plenum with a finally formulated resolution on this question. On the one hand, it cannot be denied that the task of dealing concretely with our work in the village is a very difficult one which demands very thorough preparation; and on the other hand, it must be admitted that the various Communist Parties and the Comintern, prior to the Plenum, were on the whole not sufficiently prepared in advance.

To be sure an Agrarian Commission, appointed by the E. C. C. I., did take up the agrarian question and our work among the peasantry, yet the collection of material for the political reports of the E. C. C. I. retarded the process of the Commission's work, especially the formulation of resolutions which were to have given the Communist Parties concrete suggestions on a series of new phenomena in the peasant movement and which were to have laid down the basic lines of our organisational and agitational-propagandistic work. Practically all delegates, without exception, representing the various Communist Parties considered the formulation of such a resolution to be necessary. Only in the course of the work of the Commission did we proceed to the formulation of this resolution — simultaneously with the other work of the Commission — which naturally made it impossible for us to present the Plenum with a finished draft.

In some of its sessions the Agrarian Commission received reports on the agrarian activity of a number of Communist Parties: the Parties of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Finland, France, etc. In addition the Commission was confronted with a number of theoretical questions bearing upon the present situation of the peasantry, and also with a series of tactical questions that arose from the reports made.

Of the theoretical questions, the most important were those concerning the influence of the present capitalist stabilisation upon the status of agriculture and the peasantry, the questions of the agrarian reforms, the concept concerning the agrarianisation of certain countries, agricultural taxes and in general all questions relating to the growth of the exploitation and oppression of the masses of the peasantry under imperialist conditions.

In connection with the question of the peasant movement, the tactical questions bound up with work among the village masses, were discussed, the question of the stratification of the peasantry which could be summarised from the various campaigns of the Communist Parties, especially the questions of the middle peasantry, the question of the necessity of developing work among the middle peasantry and the correct appraisal of their role in conformity with the concrete conditions in the various countries, simultaneously with our chief work among the agricultural labourers and small peasants.

The organisational questions that we discussed in the Commission sessions, involved the establishment of Communist organisations in the village, our relationship to the peasant organi-

sations, to the revolutionary Left, "neutral", and finally also the Right and openly hostile organisations. For the work in these organisations, the Commission has laid down the basic tactical line, and also the tasks and forms of leadership and activity, especially in the revolutionary and Left organisations. The Commission likewise discussed the question of our attitude towards the various forms of peasant organisations, towards the non-Party peasant organisations, the rural political and economic organisations, and finally also the mixed workers' and peasants' organisations.

In the discussions in the Commission the necessity of increasing our agitational-propagandistic work, and the necessity of strengthening and improving fraction work in the various countries was made clear. Especially the necessity of utilising the press, the Communist as well as the Left peasant press, for the development of election campaigns as well as elections to all kinds of local administrative units, to parliaments, etc., — and all this for the strengthening of the revolutionary alliance between working class and peasantry, and for the development of the Communist Parties' work in the village.

The Agrarian Commission turned its attention to the necessity of further developing our work of fixing the fundamental programmatic demands, slogans and tactics in the village. The Commission desires to call to your attention the task of formulating platforms and slogans for the peasant movement, and especially to the necessity of correctly combining the economic day-to-day demands of the peasantry with the political struggle. The Commission notes that in this connection one must take into consideration the character of the movement and the degree of its development.

In discussing the activity of Communists in economic organisations, especially in the co-operatives, mistakes of the various Communist Parties in this connection were observed, especially mistakes in appraising such new phenomena as the Canadian grain pool formed by the Canadian farmer co-operatives. The role of this phenomenon in the whole system of finance capital, in the subjugation of farmer economy by finance capital, was not correctly comprehended.

The discussion of the fundamental practical questions of the Communist Party's work in the village was closely bound up with the clarification of the new phenomena of agriculture, peasantry and peasant movements in connection with capitalist stabilisation. In the Commission sessions questions were raised concerning the present agrarian crisis, the "scissors", the extent to which they have been closed, and the prospects of a sharpening of the agrarian crisis.

The Commission dealt with the contradictions produced by the present imperialist struggle over markets for agricultural products, and also by the struggle for the conquest of markets for agricultural raw materials, especially in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The Commission emphasised the harmfulness of grain taxes not only for the agricultural proletariat, the poor peasantry and a section of the small farmers, but also for other rural enterprises which, specialising on one another special branch of agriculture, have themselves become purchasers of food and fodder. In this we point out the impermissibility of some Communist Parties, voting for the introduction of agrarian taxes as has actually happened.

In the commission we noted the negative influence which the stagnation or partial reconstruction of industry in various countries exerts upon the position of the peasantry. We noted an increase of the general exploitation in the village by commercial and industrial capital, as well as by finance capital as a whole, which of late has been more and more penetrating into agriculture, seizing for itself the furnishing of industrial products over the market for agricultural products and expropriating a section of the peasantry by means of credits, etc.

Another general phenomenon is also the growth of direct and indirect taxes which as a consequence especially of the growth of militarism, the increase of armaments, etc., is mounting larger and larger. In the Commission we noted the offensive

of the landlords, the raising of rents and all other payments that burden the peasantry in all countries where landlordism has maintained itself in one form or another.

We noted the phenomenon that the present capitalist offensive exercises a varied influence upon the various strata of the village, we noted especially that the village bourgeoisie was interlocked with the landlords and urban bourgeoisie, which leads to a strengthening of Fascism in the village and to the Rightward trend among the upper strain of the peasantry, while at the same time augmenting the ruin of the masses of peasants and a section of the middle peasantry, who consequently, are being driven towards the Left.

We pointed out furthermore the specially hard lot of the agricultural labourers, the cutting of wages, the lengthening of the work-day and the annullment of the social achievements which the agricultural labourers in various countries won during the post-war revolutionary years.

The reports from various countries pointed out the despotism of the authorities and police, which in most countries oppress the peasantry, and to this must be added the brutality of rural Fascism. Especially in the reports of the representatives from those countries in which the national questions is raised sharply, the growth of national oppression was to be noted. The Commission gave special attention to the question of the attitude taken by the Communist Parties towards the national question; and to the mistakes made by the various Communist Parties on this question.

In the reports of the various countries, the growth of the nationalist activity of the peasantry could be observed, as well as the revolutionisation and radicalisation of the toiling peasant strata in a number of countries, which in turn accelerates the development of the Communist Parties' work in the village. We emphasise furthermore the work among the peasant women, the village youth and the soldiery.

In the colonial and semi-colonial countries we find that either a direct civil war has already begun, as in China and Indonesia, where the peasantry takes an increasing part in the national liberation movement, or else a revolutionary mass movement of the peasantry is maturing, as e. g. in the various countries of Latin America. In these countries the work of the Communist Parties in the village has only just begun. In other countries, however, especially in China and Indonesia, the Communist Parties have succeeded in gaining a certain success in the leadership of the movement, and especially in the work among the peasant organisations.

In the countries with a considerable agrarian population we can observe in recent times, on the basis of a general differentiation of the peasantry, also a differentiation of the role of the peasants' political organisations — a crystallising of Right and Left groups. A general radicalisation of the small and middle peasantry is to be observed, while simultaneously there is a rightward trend among the upper peasant strata. In a number of agrarian countries, e. g. Finland, Poland, and Italy, the Party has developed its work in the village considerably, in the building up of the Party organisations in the village as well as in working among the masses, and this by means of activity in the peasant organisations. At the same time it must be stated that other Communist Parties have not been sufficiently active on this field.

Of late in the industrial countries, under the pressure of the developing monopolisation and the transfer of the costs of crisis phenomena not only upon the proletariat, but also to the middle strata, we can observe a growth in the political activity of the peasantry, a radicalisation of the small and partly also of the middle peasantry, e. g. in such countries as Germany, France, the U. S. A. and Canada. In France the work of the Left peasant organisations has been taken up. The rural department of the C. P. F. has made certain principal mistakes in its mass work among the peasantry, which were corrected by the C. C. of the French Party. In Germany, the Communist Party has succeeded in developing a rather extensive work among the small peasantry, and at the same time it has carried out a series of successful campaigns which also included other strata of the village. In the United States of America and in Canada the work has begun, it is being carried on correctly in general, but thus far the results are not very great.

All the questions which in one form or another were raised in the Commission have been formulated, upon instructions of the Commission, in draft resolutions by individual comrades.

Since the questions raised and discussed in the Agrarian Commission require further study and elaboration, the Agrarian Commission accepted the draft resolution prepared by Comrades Dombal and Dubrovski as material which is to be utilised in formulating an E. C. C. I. resolution on the work of the Communist Parties in the village.

The experiences in the work of the Agrarian Commission, to which the Communist Parties assigned comrades who for the most part had not participated directly in rural work, undeniably proves that it is necessary for the E. C. C. I. to devote a maximum of attention to the organisation of the Communist Parties' work in the village. A systematic direction and control of the work of the agrarian departments of the various sections by the Comintern is necessary. It would be desirable to call a special conference of functionaries of the agrarian departments of the Parties in the most important countries as soon as possible.

The Agrarian Commission believes that the theoretical and practical questions of the work of the Communist Parties in the village which were raised in the course of this work, should be most painstakingly elaborated by the E. C. C. I., and that they should be discussed in the Party organisations so that on the basis of the material prepared by the Commission the resolution on the activities of the Communist Parties in the village can be worked out and published. The Agrarian Commission has adopted the following resolution, which we hereby submit for your information.

Upon the receipt of the Sub-Commission and the Editorial Commission which worked on the basis of the draft resolution of Comrades Dombal and Dubrovski, the Agrarian Commission decides:

1. In view of the fact that the questions dealt with in the Agrarian Commission require further study, the resolution submitted by Comrades Dombal and Dubrovski is accepted as material to be used in the elaboration of the E. C. C. I. resolution on the work of the Communist Parties on the countryside.

2. The chairman of the Commission is instructed to report to the Enlarged Executive on its work and there to introduce the following resolution:

The VII. Enlarged Executive of the C. I. takes cognizance of the report on the work of the Agrarian Commission and instructs the Presidium to work out, on the basis of the work and material of this Commission, a resolution on the work of the Communist Parties on the countryside; and to refer it to the next Plenary Session of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern for adoption.

Comrade THÄLMANN (Chairman):

We come to a vote. Is there any opposition to the proposal of the Agrarian Commission? ... There is none. Then the proposal is adopted.

On the request of the Commission which has met to-night, the question of the expulsion of Maslow, Ruth Fischer, et al, will be dealt with to-morrow; it will be included on the agenda of to-morrow's session.

The following telegrams have been received from Russian organisations in various Russian gubernias.

FROM PERM:

"The VII. Perm Town Party Conference, in the name of 3000 Party members, greets the general staff of the proletarian world revolution, the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International. We are following the work of the Enlarged Executive with closest attention and observe with indignation the attack of the Opposition who bring up the brazen calumny of a Right deviation against the Party of Lenin: the Town Party Conference is convinced that the Enlarged Executive will most decidedly repudiate the calumnious insinuations against the Party of Lenin. Long live the E. C. C. I. and its Leninist unity!"



## FROM NIZHNI-NOVGOROD:

"The VIII. Town District Conference of the Party in Nizhni-Novgorod extends to the general staff of the world revolution, the Enlarged Executive of the C. I., its Bolshevik greetings.

The Conference, which has gathered for the solution of practical questions, does not for one minute forget the tasks of the Communist International, which organises the proletarian masses for the decisive struggle against the world bourgeoisie.

Every attempt to weaken the ranks of the fighting world proletariat on the part of the Social Democratic traitors of all shades, as well as of every Right or Left deviation in our own ranks, will positively be shattered against the iron ranks of the Communist organisations. An end must be made to every lack of faith in the workers' cause and in Socialist construction. After we have repudiated and defeated the Opposition within our Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we also repudiate it on an international scale. In solid militant, iron ranks, under the leadership of the Comintern, we march on the right road, forward to the world revolution.

Long live the General Staff of the International labour movement — the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Presidium of the Conference."

## FROM STALINGRAD:

"The Town District Conference of the Stalingrad organisation of the C. P. S. U. has received notice of the attitude of Comrade Zinoviev at the Enlarged Executive of the C. I., where he dealt with questions that had already been settled by the XV. Party Conference. We consider his present behaviour as a continuation of the factional struggle, although in a concealed form, which has led to the repudiation of the entire Opposition together with Comrade Zinoviev. The previous declaration of immediate cessation of factional struggle, as well as the form and manner of Comrade Zinoviev's attitude, once more emphasise that certain comrades of the Opposition continue as before in their desire to persist in the factional struggle against the C. P. S. U. and its C. C., and to extend it to the international arena.

The conference expresses its firm conviction that the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern will deal out a devastating rejection, regardless of from whom these attempts proceed. The Enlarged Executive of the Comintern by its decisions will once more confirm the necessity of the preservation of the Leninist unity of the C. P. S. U. in the ranks of the Comintern, it will completely confirm the decisions of the C. P. S. U. in the struggle against the Opposition and will make an end once and for all time to all efforts to divert the Comintern from the tried and tested Leninist path.

Long live the Leninist unity of all Sections of the Comintern! Long live the VII. Enlarged Executive of the Comintern, which stands under the banner of Leninism.

Presidium of the Conference."

(Close of the Session.)

## FROM VYKSUN:

"The XI. District Party Conference of Vyksun has learned with indignation of the appearance of the Oppositional leaders, Comrades Zinoviev and Trotsky, at the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International. This new appearance of the Opposition cannot be described otherwise than as an attempt to shift the discussion to the international arena and thereby give a signal to call together all disaffected elements of the Communist International for a joint struggle against the Leninist leadership and against Leninism. Comrades Zinoviev and Trotsky want to sow renewed doubts in the cause of the Socialist construction and in the cause of the Socialist revolution.

We hope that the representatives of the foreign Communist Parties will most decidedly repudiate this attack of the Opposition, which has lost its head, and we hope that in their ranks, as in ours, no one will falter. Jointly with you we will carry to its conclusion the cause of the world revolution. Here we are building up Socialism, there you are fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We believe that the C. C. of our Party, expressing the will of our whole Party, must take the sharpest measures against those who have broken their pledges to the Party.

Long live the Socialist work in our country!

Long live the heroic struggle of our Communist brother Parties!

Long live the united Bolshevik world Party!"

## FROM KANAVINSK:

The V. District Conference of the C. P. S. U. of Kanavinsk extends to the Staff of the proletarian revolution, the Communist International, its flaming Leninist greetings.

At the same time the conference raises decided protest against the action of the Opposition at the Enlarged Executive of the C. I., where Comrades Trotsky and Zinoviev have persisted in their views, which have already been condemned by the XV. Party Conference and by our whole Party.

We believe that this action of Comrades Zinoviev and Trotsky is bound up with the fact that they have departed from the Leninist teachings and that they have embarked upon the road of Social Democratic opportunism. We believe that thereby they wanted to make a new attempt to develop a discussion in C. P. S. U. and the Comintern.

The Conference expresses its firm conviction that the doings of the Opposition and its attempts to bring disorder in the ranks of the Leninist Guard, will be shattered against the iron unity of the will and deeds of the Communist International, which, as always, will firmly and decisively overcome all obstacles in its way, and lead the proletariat of all countries upon the Leninist road, to the international victory of Socialism.

Long live the proletarian world revolution!

Long live the Communist International;

Presidium of the Conference."

## Twenty-Eighth Session.

Moscow, December 16. 1926.

Comrade THÄLMANN (Chairman) opens the Session and announces the following agenda for the closing session:

- 1) Vote on the Chinese Resolution.
- 2) Report of the Trade Union Commission.

Reporter: Comrade ERCOLI.

- 3) Report on the Maslow-Ruth Fischer case.

Reporter: Comrade KUUSINEN.

- 4) Report of the German Commission.
- 5) Report of the British Commission.

Reporter: Comrade SEMARD.

- 6) The Dutch Question.
- 7) The Souvarine Question.
- 8) The Brandler-Thalheimer case.
- 9) Adjournment.

The first point on the agenda, the Resolution on the Chinese Question, was adopted unanimously\*).

## Report of the Trade Union Commission.

Comrade ERCOLI:

Comrades, I am to report to you on the results of our work, viz., on various resolutions that we are to submit for your adoption.

What is involved here first of all is the general resolution, upon the basis of which Comrade Lozovsky has already reported, and which was changed in certain respects by the Trade Union Commission and its smaller sub-commission.

I must remark that none of these changes affects the basic lines of the resolution.

In § 1, where we speak of rationalisation and trustification and their specific results on the trade union field, our conclusion is identical with that of the political resolution.

The point dealing with the effects of rationalisation upon the structure of the working class was changed somewhat.

We have characterised the new phenomena within the working class as a consequence of the introduction of rationalisation. We remark that as a result of rationalisation, there appears a general tendency towards the reduction of the numerical strength of the labour aristocracy, the old skilled workers are supplanted by new non-skilled or semi-skilled workers. The skilled section of the working class is changing, yet the labour aristocracy does not disappear altogether, it shrinks numerically, there remains only a small strata of highly skilled workers which, as in the past, or even to a greater degree than in the past, inclines toward collaboration with the employers. In this manner we characterised these happenings.

The struggle against the capitalist offensive in this period of trustification and rationalisation was dealt with in our Trade union resolution in the same manner as it was formulated in the political resolution.

Our conclusion here coincides with the conclusions arrived at by the Political Commission, similarly also on point 8 of the resolution before us, which deals with this problem.

But with respect to the capitalist offensive in the present situation we have made a slight change in § 9, this paragraph now includes a special slogan which is not contained in the political resolution. This deals with resistance against the activity initiated by the reformist trade union bureaucracy in those countries where rationalisation appears with special intensity, e. g. in Germany.

We must counterpose this slogan with another, that of workers' control of the trusts. On this basis, in this manner, the trade unions must wage the struggle.

A further point with which we have concerned ourselves is a paragraph on unity, i. e. the tactic of international trade union unity and the method of its application. As far as the sense goes we have changed nothing. Nevertheless we believed that it was necessary to insert a few sentences in order to characterise the new phenomena in the reformist trade unions, especially in their Left wing. After the British General Strike, after the coal strike and the sharp conflict which broke out in consequence between the two sections of the Anglo-Russian Committee, i. e. between the General Council of the British Trade Unions and the Central Committee of the Russian Trade Unions, a process of differentiation is continually sharpening, and has set in within the Left wing of the reformist trade unions as a result of these events and the development of the politico-economic situation in Europe.

In considering this process within the Left wing of the reformist trade unions, we had to change somewhat our tactics towards the unity groups and in general towards this reformist Left. We must manoeuvre with dexterity and be able to carry on an active propaganda, an active struggle, so that the masses clearly see the difference between reformist and revolutionary policy, that difference which appeared so sharply during the British strike and during the crisis of the Anglo-Russian Committee, and which today must be simultaneously the foundation and result of our whole attitude towards the Left in the reformist trade unions.

In the original text these considerations were not included, but we have taken them into the resolution (§ 14).

As to the manner in which the tactics of trade union unity is to be applied, we have changed the sentences on this point, especially § 16, in order to permit the general line to stand out more plainly and in bold strokes.

Now I should like to call your attention to § 20 of the new resolution. In this point we have enumerated a number of mistakes, errors and weaknesses of our Parties on the field of trade union work, and we believe that all our Parties must bestow special attention on this point in order to avoid such mistakes in the future.

These are the changes, comrades, that we have made in the general resolution, and in this form we now present it to you for adoption.

In addition the Trade Union Commission has also prepared certain special resolutions on specific questions of our trade union tactics, but they have not been distributed, they were given out instead to the delegations in the general session of the Trade Union Commission. A discussion has taken place on the general line of this resolution, and unanimity has been arrived at in the small commission, though various details were changed.

Experience has shown that the line laid down by this conference was correct: the comrades who direct the Communist work in the trade unions must at the same time be comrades who are carrying on active work in the trade unions and who are responsible to the trade union masses.

Another mistake that we have observed is the following: The meetings of Communist fractions are inclined to occupy themselves more with general political questions, with general questions of trade union politics, than with the questions of practical work in the respective unions. It must not be forgotten that precisely when we hold to a definite policy in our practical work, when we have applied and are also applying a definite policy for the practical solution of all the questions that arise in the course of our work, we will extend our influence in the trade unions and we shall be able to establish a firm organic basis there.

When we now enumerate the mistakes that must be eliminated, we at the same time advise our Communist fractions to occupy themselves chiefly with such questions as are dealt with in the trade union meetings, questions of the everyday life and current activity of the trade unions which form the real contents of trade union life.

\*) All resolutions not published in the report of the session at which they were read or adopted will appear in a special number of the Inprecorr.

Some discussion took place among us on the question of "trade union days". By "trade union days" we understand a periodical calling together of the trade union fractions for a discussion of the problems of general trade union policy.

We are opposed to the calling of such trade union days under present conditions, because we have already observed that the chief shortcomings of our trade union fractions consist in that they occupy themselves too much with questions of high politics and that they do not want to busy themselves with current practical work. That is why we must at present decide against the calling of such periodical discussion meetings. We believe that the trade union fractions must get together before the regular trade union meetings in order to discuss the practical questions that are being dealt with in the leading organs, and we think that the trade union fractions should first of all occupy themselves with the entirely practical questions that make up the vital content of the trade union organisations.

We have adopted a resolution in which this policy is laid down with all emphasis.

In connection with this resolution we have discussed also two special problems and we shall submit our opinion on them in special confidential resolutions to the C. C.'s of our Party.

We believe that it is our task to train for trade union activity not only the Communist fractions, but also the non-

Party workers who make up our following on the trade union field.

Furthermore, we hold to the standpoint that today, when we are confronted with the task of extending our influence in the trade unions as far as possible, when we issue the advice to our Parties "75% of the work in the trade unions" — when we say that the central point of our Party activity must be directed towards close contact with the masses, we must warn our Parties against withdrawing the best forces of the Party from the trade union work. We have discussed this question and will send a corresponding resolution to the C. C.'s of our Parties, because we have noticed that there is a tendency to withdraw from the trade union field those best Party forces who are doing really good work — such comrades are generally demanded for political work.

Summarised briefly, these are the resolutions that the Trade Union Commission submits for your approval.

Comrade THAELMANN (Chairman):

We now come to the vote on the trade union resolution. . . . (The resolution is adopted unanimously. In addition it is decided to authorise the Presidium to issue directives on the basis of the unpublished decisions of the Trade Union Commission.)

## Report of the Commission on the Maslov-Ruth Fischer Case.

Comrade KUUSINEN:

Comrades, you have given our Commission a task which, while it was necessary, it was certainly not an agreeable one. We had to deal with the appeal of the five who were expelled from the German Party: Ruth Fischer, Maslow, Urbahns, Schwann and Scholem, and to go through all the material which refers to their expulsion.

For this purpose, the Commission gave a personal hearing to those expelled. For many hours we listened to everything they had to say to us. All rights which they could possibly claim under the statutes, were extended to them. But of course our Commission was no court of arbitration. We did not treat them as though the Comintern were one Party, and the Maslow-Ruth Fischer group another party of equal standing, with the Commission carrying on a horse trade between the Parties, and concluding rotten compromises. We did not conceive of the task of the Commission in this way. We gave them a hearing in order to establish whether they are Communists or anti-Communists, whether they deserved to be taken back into the Party and the Comintern, or whether their expulsion was to be finally ratified. The appellants were not satisfied with this procedure, and they complained, for instance, to Comrade Radek. (Interjection: Hear, hear!)

The Commission found, however, that the expelled had rather strangely misconceived their status in the Comintern. For example, Ruth Fischer said:

"We did not come here as accused, but as accusers (!) against a policy now being carried on in the C. I. and C. P. G., which will bring the C. I. and C. P. G. to their ruin."

Thus these people wanted us, the representatives of this Plenum, to take the stand as accused and listen to them as accusers. Of course we sharply repudiated such pretentiousness, and said that the appellants had an absolutely wrong conception of their status.

This was not the only case in which they tried to put things upside down in the Commission. This happened also in answering the question of how their Opposition came into existence. For example, Urbahns said the following:

"From the day that the Open Letter was decided upon, a change of course took place, viz. a course that veered to the Right. From this day on, Maslow, Ruth Fischer and others who would not . . . participate in this altered course, were to be removed or expelled from the Party".

Comrades, what were the facts? The whole world knows what happened. There was the Ruth Fischer regime. Ruth Fischer, at the head of the Party, was guilty not only of ultra-Left but also opportunistic "schweinereien", and the Executive was forced to intervene repeatedly in order to bring it to a correct policy and to compel the toleration of an elementary inner-Party democracy in the Party. Finally, when it became evident that the Ruth Fischer clique at the head of the Party was practically in a way of ruining the Party, the Executive had to come out publicly and make a change in the leadership of the German Party, through the Open Letter, in complete agreement with the majority of the leading comrades of the C. P. G.

That is how matters were. But in the caricature presented by Urbahns, everything is the other way round: first, for some reason or other, there was an Open Letter, and from this day on there followed a Right change of course; and then, because the Executive wanted to carry out this change of course, Maslow and Ruth Fischer had to be eliminated. Thus the elementary laws of logic and causality, are applied absolutely upside down by these people.

One of these "accusers" of ours was missing from the Commission. Of the five, only four arrived. The band conductor ("kapellmeister") did not show up. He preferred to continue his charges against the Comintern and the German Party, under the protection of the German police, instead of defending his charges before the Commission of the Enlarged Executive. The four who did come said, as they had been instructed to say by the fifth:

"We did not bring Maslow along, in order not to deliver him into your hands".

This was a reference to his case in the International Control Commission, whither he has been repeatedly invited to appear and answer for his unworthy behaviour in a bourgeois court. But he did not deem it advisable to render an accounting before the International Party Court. He did so once. At that time the matter involved his behaviour before the Berlin police presidium, — behaviour unworthy of a Communist. At that time he was forgiven, but it seems that his evil conscience must have told him that the flat repetition so soon after could not so easily be excused. Therefore he has no further desire to come. He apparently had every reason to fear complete exposure here.

His colleagues implied in the Commission that Maslow's freedom to return might have been endangered if he had come here. We said that the Party organs have only moral means at their disposal, that the decisions of the Party court are but



morally binding. But these people replied: We have no faith in the Soviet organs! That is the kind of Communists and supporters of the Soviet power that came here to appeal against their expulsion!

In the Commission we asked each of them the same question:

"Do you recognise that every Communist is duty bound to appear without delay and without pretext upon the demand of the I. C. C.?"

These people replied: "Under conditions of normal Party life, it might be so, but Maslow should not appear". Thus Maslow, of whom they told us that his function was to fight against opportunism in the Comintern, he was to be in this respect the great exception among all other Communists, he was not to be bound by the statutes of the Comintern.

We also put to them the simple question:

"Are you ready to recognise the validity and power of the decision of the Enlarged Executive in your case, no matter what it may be?"

How do you think, comrades, that anyone can reply to such a question? Either with yes or no, or perhaps evasively. One can probably hardly conceive of any other possibilities. But these appellants employed none of the three possibilities, instead they found a fourth way out. Through Ruth Fischer they actually replied:

"We are ready to share and support, as disciplined Communists, every decision and every action that the Party carries out. We are not ready to change our political views".

Therefore, first: "Disciplined Communists!" But we can lay this aside because we know very well what kind of disciplined Communists these professional disorganisers are. But mark well that when we were speaking, in our question, of the decision of the Enlarged Executive, these people in their reply talked about the decision of the Party. And when we in our question talked about the decision of the Executive on their personal case they answered: We are ready to share every action that the Party conducts. They therefore replied as if they had not even heard what we asked them.

Of course these people hear very well, but when confronted with a ticklish question, they act as if they had heard nothing. Just like the deaf carpenter who pretended to be able to hear, so he prepared in advance his reply to strangers, so that it happened that when a stranger said "Good-day", he replied "An axe handle" because he believed they were asking him what he was making. But these appellants pretend at certain moments to be deaf, so that they can reply "axe-handle" to ticklish questions.

But we knew our friends, we knew especially what the last Executive had said about their "diplomacy, so injurious to the Party". For that reason we did not confine ourselves to one question. Altogether we put 16 questions to them. I will report very briefly on their replies to these questions, because by merely mentioning how they replied it becomes clear what these people really are.

For example on the second question.

"Do you recognise the C. P. G. as a Communist Party in the Leninist sense?"

Ruth Fischer replied the following:

"We will take up this question in its connections. We are of the opinion that the present leadership of the Executive and of the C. P. G. deviates from the Leninist path, and this in the direction of opportunism."

We repeated the question to them:

"Whatever may be your opinion of the Party Executive — do you recognise the C. P. G. as a Communist Party?"

But again they would answer neither yes or no. Nothing more was to be got out of them on this question.

We asked further:

"Do you recognise the impermissibility and harmfulness of factional work in the ranks of the present C. P. G.?"

Ruth Fischer replied:

"We are enemies of all factional work (!) in a Communist Party, also against the factional work of the majority."

In this connection we also asked: "Do you recognise that despite the decisions of the E. C. C. I. and of the C. P. G., and in some cases also despite your own promises, you have carried on factional work?"

Ruth Fischer replied:

"In our platform and other documents we have made clear why this happened. We decline to assume responsibility for this condition. We reject the question."

Even this simple question was so embarrassing. Why could not these appellants have recognised at least this world-known fact that they have carried on factional work, and said: yes, we carried on factional work but for this and this reason? But they did not even want to recognise this, that they had carried on any sort of fractional activity.

Only two questions out of the whole 16 — everyone of which any Communist could have answered affirmatively without further ado — have these people answered affirmatively, and even this is characteristic — which questions they answered in this way. After all we know that their whole factional work has been anti-Party on the one hand, and anti-Soviet on the other. Therefore it was no accident that they wanted to reply affirmatively when we asked them as to their loyalty to the Party and to the Soviet Union. The first question read:

"Are you prepared to submit to all decisions of the C. P. G. and its Central Committee?"

Ruth Fischer replied:

"Of course!"

She, the signer of the Open Letter, she, concerning whom the last Enlarged Executive stated among other things:

"The Enlarged Executive records with indignation, that Ruth Fischer has broken the pledges which she undertook by her signature to the Open Letter".

Now she declared once more that "of course" she would submit to all decisions of the C. P. G. and its Central Committee. On another occasion Ruth Fischer also called out the words: "Of course" in the Commission. This was when we read from the factional documents of these appellants the following citations:

"The claim of Korsch that we waver between the C. C. and the Real Left, and that we fought more against them than against the C. C. is for any one who has observed our attitude during recent months, so ridiculous that Korsch thereby exposes only his incapacity to see things as they really are."

Upon this followed the interjection by Ruth Fischer:

"Of course".

Scholem went still further (and the others agreed). He declared:

"It is self-understood that our chief foe was not Korsch, who represents only a tiny group and who achieved importance only thanks to the C. C. and its wrong policy, of course it was not Korsch, whose views we repudiate and concerning whom we only wish to win his supporters, which to some extent has already been accomplished. The chief foe is the Central Committee..."

After this he most brazenly scolded the present Central Committee of the C. P. G. and then added:

"The fight against such a C. C., as long as it is the official leadership of the Party, is the chief task for every oppositionist".

Thus in the same session in which these people so solemnly declared that the "chief foe" is the Central Committee of the C. P. G., and that their "chief task" is the struggle against this Central Committee, in this same session, half an hour earlier,

they promised with equal aplomb: "Yes, of course we submit to all decisions of the Central Committee! Thus the notorious **double bookkeeping** about which the Last Executive spoke, was again demonstrated by these people in a garish light. They showed themselves to be eels, when one wanted to hold them they slipped through one's hands.

Then another important question:

"Do you recognise that there is no antagonism whatever between the policy of the U.S.S.R. as the State of the proletarian dictatorship, and the interests of the international revolution?"

Ruth Fischer replied:

"On this question we stand upon the viewpoint of the Russian Opposition and join fully with the formulations of Comrade Zinoviev".

To this we remarked: "But Comrade Zinoviev has publicly disavowed you". But Ruth Fischer only repeated the first part of her answer in the following form:

"On all these Russian questions we stand by the viewpoint of the Russian Opposition".

She emphasised that some of their formulations are identical word for word, with those of the Russian Opposition. In addition Ruth Fischer said:

"Especially the honest supporters of the proletarian dictatorship must most sharply combat this policy (viz. "the policy of the Soviet State" and "this Stalin policy" — she used both of these expressions).

We know full well that their systematic struggle against the policy of the Soviet State in fact leaves nothing to be desired in point of sharpness. They have carried on a systematic incitement against the policy of the Soviet State. But they must necessarily present the matter as if they are not fighting the Soviet Power as such, but only against the policy of the present Soviet State. In practice, however, this fine distinction disappears entirely.

The following question dealt with the same subject:

"Do you recognise that any counter-position of propaganda for the U. S. S. R. as the State of the proletarian dictatorship as against propaganda for the fundamentals of Communism is injurious to the revolutionary movement and useful only to the foes of the revolution?"

On this question Ruth Fischer naturally again answered with the words

"Of course!"

With this answer these people wanted to cover their anti-Soviet incitements. They again claimed that their propaganda was not directed against the Soviet Power as such, but against the present policy of the Soviet State. This is, of course, a very cheap excuse.

The eighth question dealt with the standpoint of Korsch. We asked:

"Do you recognise as counter-revolutionary the standpoint of Korsch (his appraisal of the character of the Russian Revolution and his denial of the proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R., his identification of the international policy of the Soviet State with that of the imperialist States, his propaganda against the Comintern and the C. P. G.)?"

It was hard for them to answer this. They did not want to say that the standpoint of Korsch is counter-revolutionary but it was not good either to say that it was not counter-revolutionary. Ruth Fischer said:

"The standpoint of Korsch is reformist, even liquidatory, but not counter-revolutionary."

The expulsion of Korsch from the Party they considered unjustified and unnecessary. On the contrary, they expressly disputed this necessity and said that they were opposed to such expulsions.

When we asked them what were their relations with Korsch, Urbahns replied:

"We were fellow members of the C. P. G. with Korsch. After the expulsion of Korsch and after the formation of the Korsch group, we were in no organisational connections with Korsch."

Ruth Fischer interjected:

"And in no political connections."

Urbahns repeated:

"And also in no political connection."

But when we thereupon asked them whether what Korsch writes in his circulars about the negotiations they carried on with him was a lie, they had to admit that they had taken part in such negotiations. But — they said — we had no connections with him, we only negotiated with him in order to win him for our standpoint, to win him over to the platform of the Russian Opposition. Thus they did negotiate with Korsch and considered themselves justified in continuing to deal with him also in the future. But this is supposed to mean: being in no political and organisational relationship with him.

In this connection, Ruth Fischer also said:

"A healing of the Party is not possible until all of the elements shoved out of the Party are shown that the C. I. opens its door to all the expelled under the one and only condition that they recognise the principles of the C. I."

They themselves recognise (with their lips) really only the principles of the I. and II. Congresses of the C. I. but the III. Congress already appears to them no longer representing Communist principles.

Ruth Fischer said:

"One can also win back a Comrade Korsch, for after all you want to win the whole Social Democracy."

We had to remind her that we did not at all want to win the Social Democrat leaders, but only the workers, and that this gives them no right whatever to maintain connections with such covert Social Democrats as Korsch. But as I said, in their opinion the chief enemy is the C. C. of the C. P. G., and, at the same time, the present leadership of the C. I.

We then put three questions of the following nature to them:

"Do you recognise that your talk about the leadership of the Comintern entertaining a tendency to liquidate the C. I. is a calumny?"

Do you recognise that your talk about the leadership of the C. P. G. entertaining a tendency to liquidate the Communist Party and to amalgamate with the S. D. P. is a calumny?"

"Do you recognise that your talk about the decay and disintegration of the Comintern is contrary to the facts and that it serves only the enemies of the Comintern?"

Of course Ruth Fischer replied to these questions with a veritable avalanche of words, from which one could draw but one conclusion, that she still stands by her calumnies.

Our last question read:

"Do you recognise that every elected deputy of the Communist Party is duty bound, on the decision of the C. C., to surrender his parliamentary mandate?"

To this Urbahns replied:

"We are not now members of the Communist Party." (Laughter.) "We were thrown out of the Party and we do not need to submit."

I then wanted to find out:

"Then you are of the opinion that you are not in duty bound to surrender your Reichstag mandate?"

But Ruth Fischer wanted to reply more diplomatically than Urbahns:

"I should like to state that Comrade Kuusinen is mistaken. No one maintains that one is not in duty bound on the demand of the Party to surrender his mandate. Of course, every Communist has this duty."

This kind of double-dealing they carried on the whole time. If for once the stupid Urbahns wanted to answer quite clearly, Ruth Fischer immediately intervened and took the words out of his mouth. Not so much as a single word would she retract from any of her mistakes. These people have no mistakes, no blame, whatever. One could question them for weeks on end and they would still recognise no blame, no mistakes. Last Sunday we questioned them for many hours with greatest patience, and finally, we grew somewhat tired of all these questions and answers — because these people pulled themselves up as really without error or fault.

We had a situation similar to that of the holy monk in the well-known legend of Gottfried Keller. As this legend is very instructive in this connection, permit me to give you a brief glimpse of its content (as far as I can remember them). A holy monk once wandered along the highway. A well dressed stranger approached him with the request that the monk take his confession. The monk agreed. He asked whether he had ever murdered anyone or whether he had ever lied: and received a definite reply: no. He asked further: Had he ever committed adultery — never. And so the monk went through the whole long catalogue of sins. The unknown had done nothing evil. The poor monk began to sweat, because never before had he met a person who had committed absolutely no sin. Finally, in desperation he shouted at the unknown "Confess at least one sin, or" — the monk drew back in alarm — "or else you are no man, you are the devil himself". And in fact it was the devil in disguise — that is, in the legend of Gottfried Keller. (Laughter.)

Comrade Zinoviev also spoke about this group at the last Executive. He said that one must differentiate between the ultra-Left convulsions that we had in the German Party and in the past, in 1920, and those of the present day. He said: In 1920 there were largely naive and inexperienced elements, which in part still went along with us, whereas in 1925, there are elements gone wild, of whom some may tomorrow be on the other side of the barricade.

Our Commission has established with full conviction that these people are already on the other side of the barricade. Our Commission can, with full conviction, assure the Left workers in the German Party, who perhaps are not yet quite sure whether in the past we did not deal too stringently with this group by expelling them, we can assure them with full conviction: These are elements that do not deserve to be members of a Communist Party. They do not deserve the confidence of the revolutionary workers.

And in reality, they no longer possess this confidence. These five who were expelled could not show us that when they were expelled any larger or smaller groups of workers left the Party with them. In some other expulsions such a thing has happened, but this was not the case with their expulsion. They have practically no supporters in the Party any longer.

Yet, nevertheless, these people were brazen enough to talk as if the Comintern leadership did not have the confidence of the workers. This Ruth Fischer, bankrupt in every respect, said:

"You can elect a new Presidium, the secretariat may function — but the confidence of the workers in this Presidium, in such a leadership, is inwardly catacombed and buried."

These people wish that it were so. And they are working to bring this about. But they have no prospects for the success of their enterprises. They talk about a "crisis", a "decay", a "disintegration" of the Comintern. Yes, they would be delighted if it were so. But thereby they project only their own anti-Communist desires as pictures upon the screen of political publicity, and act as though these pictures correspond with the facts.

One more fact that testifies to the moral status of these people. At the conclusion of the hearing in the Commission they uttered threats to the effect that they would make some sort of "publication" in an effort to compromise the Communist Party.

"Some of these days we shall publish these lists for you", Scholem said about certain lists he had in his possession. Urbahns said:

"But if you attempt to continue the personal character examination, then we also will unload, take note of that, you over there in the corner." (He said this to the representatives of the German Party), "you can be sure of that. If you contemplate spreading more stuff about stealing mandates, money matters, etc. — this became clear to us at the last session — then we will also unpack, and I can tell you that you will get the short end of the stick".

These people have sunk to such a moral depth that they now try to extort foul compromises from us.

We say quite decidedly: The C. P. G. cleaned house when it cleared these people out from its ranks. The Comintern will become sound by cutting such a cancer from its body.

I recommend that the Enlarged Executive accept our draft resolution and thereby say to the honest ultra-Left workers in the German Party: The highest organ of the Comintern has now finally dealt with this affair and has spoken the deciding word. (Applause.)

(The resolution is adopted unanimously.)

Comrade THÄLMANN (Chairman):

The next point on the agenda is the report of the German Commission. The Commission requests that since its work is not yet quite completed, the VII. Enlarged Executive should decide to refer final action on the work of the German Commission to the Presidium of the Executive. I only wish to remark that there were no principal differences of opinion in the Commission, and that this desire is expressed only because the work has not yet been completed. The first session took place only the day before yesterday, so that the final resolution could not yet be finished by the sub-commission.

(The Commission report is referred to the Presidium unanimously.)

## Report of the British Commission.

Comrade SEMARD:

Comrades, I will be very brief with my report on the resolution proposed by the British Delegation.

I must first of all emphasise that the Commission came to an agreement very quickly, it had only a single Plenary session. It had to consider the resolution presented by the Communist Party of Great Britain itself.

We emphasise that this is a good example, and that the various Sections of the Communist International in the future should themselves propose theses which outline the mistakes, perspectives and tasks of their Party.

The Plenary Commission, on the basis of the resolution proposed by the British Party and of supplements proposed

by Comrade Pepper, instructed Comrade Murphy to make a report to the Plenary Session of the Enlarged Executive. The report that was made here and the speech of Comrade Murphy gives a very exact presentation of the contents of the resolution presented to you for adoption, as it was unanimously accepted by the British Commission.

I shall therefore, neither read it nor comment upon it at length.

After an introduction dealing with the political and economic situation in England prior to and during the general strike, and after an investigation of the situation, especially of the miners' struggle, with due regard to the lessons to be drawn therefrom, the resolution determines the perspectives and tasks of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

The resolution emphasises that the British working class

is entering upon a period of ever broader struggles, from an economic as well as from a political viewpoint.

It likewise emphasises that the class-consciousness of the British proletariat has grown correspondingly in the course of these struggles, that in these battles the British proletariat has comprehended the political character and significance of all strikes, in England as well as in other countries.

The resolution brings out that the Communist Party of Great Britain, in entering this struggle, must organise the proletariat in order to lead it into struggle against capitalism. The political and organisational tasks are defined precisely and this in connection with and on the basis of the decisions already adopted at the VIII. Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

I will cite only the most important section of this resolution, the paragraph dealing with the lessons to be drawn by the international working class, which summarises the conclusion of the resolution.

We point out that the British miners' strike has shown that the efforts of the British bourgeoisie to stabilise capitalism must necessarily lead to violent mass struggles, and that these mass struggles in their turn weaken the position of capitalism.

We emphasise that in the present period, in view of important events of the labour movement, this movement takes on international importance. One must therefore lay the foundation for international solidarity actions participated in by the entire proletariat.

We emphasise that in this period of capitalist decline every great economic struggle must be made into a political struggle, that the miners' struggle has shown how in a great general strike, the mass strike can function as a weapon in the struggle of the proletariat.

The workers cannot win in any major struggle under the leadership of their old reformist leaders, Right or Left, such as the British or all international reformists. In the course of these struggles, the II. International, Amsterdam, and the International Miners' Federation, proved themselves utterly incapable of directing these fights and leading the proletariat to victory.

The workers learn this truth only through their own experiences, through the experiences of the British miners, which furnished the weightiest of lessons for the International proletariat.

We give decided emphasis to the necessity for a revolutionary Communist leadership not only in the final struggle of the proletariat, but also in its daily battles in defence of its standard of living.

Comrades, I ask the Executive to adopt this resolution, and in so doing I again emphasise that in the Commission it was not the subject of a big discussion, but that it was adopted unanimously. (Applause.)

(The resolution on the British question was adopted unanimously.)

## Report of the Dutch Commission.

Comrade PEPPER:

This is really a Dutch question in a very narrow sense. What is involved is a final confirmation of the expulsion of Wynkoop and Ravensteyn, who formed a Party group of their own and brought about a split in the Dutch Section of the Communist International.

These two comrades who were expelled this year by the Dutch Party Congress have fallen into the renegade class rather precipitately. Already in the first years following the foundation of the Comintern, Wynkoop had rather peculiar views concerning the leadership of the Comintern. He wanted an out and out West European leadership.

Later, in 1922, he suddenly discovered that the Communist Party, and the Social Democratic Party were really brother parties, both have their roots in Marxism and, according to him, there was really no reason why these two Parties could not form an alliance. He shared all the pacifist illusions of the British MacDonald Government — this is really a matter of course with him. When, in 1923 there was an immediate revolutionary situation in Germany, he declared that the German revolution was neither to the interest of the Soviet Union, nor to the interest of the workers themselves.

In their position on the colonial question, these two ex-comrades have remained good and faithful Social Democrats. Instead of waging a struggle against the imperialist Dutch Government, instead of fighting for the liberation of Indonesia, they gave good advice to the Government as to how it could avoid the colonial revolution. Instead of fighting against the exploitation of the natives they declared themselves in agreement with the Social Democratic proposal according to which the so-called Coolie Law, which permits the most unrestrained exploitation of the natives, was to have been extended for many years.

Wynkoop is really a quite rare sample of a typical Right sectarian, and for this reason he has many points of harmony with the ultra-Leftists. His trade union policy was always a peculiar mixture of an unbounded opportunism and an equally unbounded sectarianism. In the Party leadership he initiated a quite dictatorial regime. In this respect he can really to some extent be considered next to Ruth Fischer. Simultaneously,

however, he constantly fought against the discipline of the Communist International.

Outwardly, both have broken with the Social Democracy many years ago, but inwardly they have never developed themselves into Communists. After having left the Comintern, they completely exposed their political character. Both of them began to talk glibly about the "Ukase" of the Comintern, about "heresy hunting" in the C.I. They both wrote that after the death of Lenin the Comintern was developing into a new church, with dogmas, rigid rules, confessions of faith, priests and a mass of more or less stupid believers.

Ravensteyn even attacked the Party and the Comintern through the bourgeois press. He went to work on a paper on which fascists collaborate, and he sought to justify this by saying that he wanted a larger public, viz. the bourgeoisie. These people even went so far as to draw a parallel between the Soviet Union and Mussolini. They declared, a strange compliment — that there were only two constructive governments in existence: the Soviet Government and the Mussolini government. When they want to be, one might say, they are pro-Soviet, almost like Korsch and his comrades.

After these ex-comrades left the Party, for a time they carried on a remarkably sanctimonious policy. They founded a committee which they called a "Committee for Appeal to the Third International". But this whole Committee was nothing else than an attempt to mislead the few hundred workers who still followed them. They wanted it to appear as though they still continued to have something in common with the C.I. We must now declare officially, in the name of the Enlarged Executive, that these people have nothing in common with the Comintern, and that the C.I. will have nothing to do with Wynkoop and Ravensteyn.

Wynkoop and Ravensteyn have never appealed to the Executive, and not once did they turn to the E. C. C. I. in protest against their expulsion. Despite the fact that they were invited several times, they did not take advantage of the present opportunity of the VII. Enlarged Executive, they have not appeared and they have not appealed. Instead of this they have formed a party of their own against our Party, they have established an organ of their own against ours, and in the elections they nominated their own candidates against ours.

The resolution that I propose here on behalf of the Dutch Commission proposes that the Enlarged Executive finally ratify the expulsion of Wynkoop and Ravensteyn, and that we declare that this so-called party usurps only the name of a Communist Party, only the rank of a Section of the Comintern. This resolution declares that we recognise only one single Communist Party, and that is our Section of the Comintern. At the same time we call upon the workers who still follow this couple to return to the C. P. of Holland.

I believe that the adoption of this resolution will also prove that the Enlarged Executive has not succumbed to the errors of which it is accused by the leaders of the Russian

Opposition. They maintain that Right mistakes have been granted a general amnesty in the C.I., while the ultra-Left is being persecuted. That is a calumny. The truth is that the Comintern quite concretely determines, in each country and in each situation, who are our foes, whether Right or whether Left. According to the material before us, we can establish that in Holland, we have the Right sectarians as our foes. We must ratify the expulsion of these people in order to give our weak young Communist Party of Holland, a real chance to live.

(The resolution of the Dutch question was thereupon adopted unanimously.)

## Report and Resolution on the Souvarine Case.

Comrade MURPHY:

Comrades, in the name of the British Delegation, I should like to introduce a resolution concerning Souvarine. As you will remember, Souvarine was expelled by the V Congress because of his factional activity in the Communist Party of France. He was given the opportunity of returning to the Comintern, however, provided that he would behave as a Communist should.

However, since that time Souvarine has carried on an outspoken anti-Communist policy in his whole propaganda, and an outspoken anti-Party activity against the Communist Party of France. For a time he worked on the so-called "Bulletin Communiste" and used this organ in order to split the Communist Party. After vigorous intervention on the part of the Party, this organ was discontinued and Souvarine transferred his activity to a periodical owned by the Syndicalists, Rosmer and Monatte. This organ was known as the "Révolution Proletarienne" and Souvarine used it to carry on an insinuating propaganda against the Party, and against Russia as well. I will give you just one example to show how deep Souvarine sank in his work against the Communist Party. After coming out in favour of the Oppositional elements in the Russian Communist Party, and supporting them in all their activity, he writes in this organ:

"Uneasy at the persistence of an Opposition that cannot be disposed of by the usual methods of intimidation and corruption, the all-powerful faction has applied a tactic of provocation. It probably hoped that attempts would be made to resist, in order to give a pretext for bloody suppression, a classical method that is not original, and the success of which is certain for several months, or even years, for the former Bolsheviks. Robbed of all right of existence, the Opposition could choose only between uprising or submission. It has submitted, without in any way recanting from its views, in order to avoid bloodshed".

Souvarine continues a lengthy tirade in this style, in a periodical which is circulated among the revolutionary workers of France. This is quite an important paper in which even some of our Party members have collaborated, in order, under assumed names, to make their articles available to a broader circle of readers. From this it can be seen that there are elements in the Communist Party of France who support the Opposition in the C. P. S. U. Those of you who have read the letters of Suzanne Girault will recognise that this comrade has embarked upon the same line as that of the Opposition in the C. P. S. U. and that she has declared that the statement of the Opposition is not a surrender, but only a compromise. As long as these elements have any influence whatever in the Communist Party, it is clear that it is very dangerous to permit the continuation of this work without taking some energetic action and issuing a definite statement on Souvarine's position. We therefore propose the following resolution:

Resolution of VII Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. on the Boris Souvarine Case.

"The VII Enlarged Executive resolves:

1. That Boris Souvarine be definitely expelled from the Communist International for counter-revolutionary propaganda.
2. That the organ directed by the Monatte-Rosmer group, the "Révolution Proletarienne", in which Souvarine writes, must be considered as a counter-revolutionary publication.
3. To request the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. formally to prohibit any member of the C. P. S. U. from employing Boris Souvarine in any capacity whatsoever.
4. That all Communists be forbidden to give any assistance, literary or otherwise, to the Monatte Rosmer group or to the "Révolution Proletarienne".

We believe that this resolution is necessary in order to make clear the position of the Communist Party towards Souvarine.

Comrade BERNARD (France):

The French Delegation is in complete agreement with the proposals which Comrade Murphy has introduced concerning Souvarine and with his characterisation of the activity of Comrade Suzanne Girault.

Comrade Semard has already stated the position in which we found ourselves on the eve of this Executive.

The French Party, especially at its Lille Congress, and also the VI Executive, have already condemned the wrong policy that was carried on for a certain period by the Party. The French Party was of the opinion that Comrade Suzanne Girault was the one chiefly responsible for this policy. At the Lille Congress she was not re-elected to the Polbureau of the Party. These facts show that Comrade Suzanne Girault does not represent the French Party.

The position of Comrade Suzanne Girault on the French question widened still further the chasm which separates her from the overwhelming majority of the French Party.

But Comrade Suzanne Girault is a candidate on the Executive. We did not prevent her from exercising her mandate. We only explained to her that each time she participates in the debates the delegation will declare that Comrade Suzanne Girault was not expressing the view of the Party. Like Comrades Trotsky and Kamenev, she remains a candidate on the Executive until the VI Congress. The French Delegation declares that we will not prevent her from exercising her mandate. But we are already now informing the Executive of the position of Comrade Suzanne Girault so that it is decided that she is not exercising her mandate, which she still holds under the statutes, as a representative of the views of the French Party.

(The motion on the Souvarine case was adopted unanimously.)



# Resolution on the Brandler and Thalheimer Case.

Comrade STUTSCHKA:

In the name of the International Control Commission I have the following resolution to submit to you:

Having considered the appeal of Brandler and Thalheimer (November 20, 1926) for the repeal of the V. Enlarged Executive's decisions condemning the political errors of Comrades Brandler and Thalheimer, and excluding them from activity in the C. P. G. and Comintern because of their factional activity, the I. C. C. proposes the following decision to the VII. Enlarged Executive of the E. C. C. I.:

"While adhering to the condemnation of the political errors of Comrades Brandler and Thalheimer by the V. Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I., the VII. Enlarged Executive takes cognisance of the fact that in the course of the period which has elapsed since the V. Plenum of the E. C. C. I.,

Comrades Brandler and Thalheimer have refrained from conducting factional activity, thereby loyally carrying out the undertaking they gave to the I. C. C., to refrain from such work.

"The Enlarged Executive resolves that section 2 and 4 of the decision of the V. Enlarged Plenum on the Brandler and Thalheimer case be repealed and that the comrades mentioned be given the opportunity to resume work in the Comintern. The question of utilising the comrades mentioned for German work is left to the C. C. of the C. P. G.

"The decision is not to apply to Comrade Radek, for the reason that Comrade Radek has not refrained from factional activity in the period since the V. Enlarged Executive."

(The resolution is adopted unanimously.)

## Concluding Speech of Comrade Semard.

Comrade SEMARD:

The matters on the agenda of the VII. Enlarged Executive are disposed of. This Executive was one of the most important in the history of the Communist International.

This Executive has thoroughly studied the international situation and has laid down the perspectives and tasks for a fruitful work of the Sections of the Communist International. We were able to note an active participation in the discussion by all Parties. This is characteristic of the raising of their ideological level and is a good promise for the future of the Communist International, for the development of its various Sections and of the world revolutionary movement.

We may say that although sometimes there were lively discussions in the Commissions, especially in the Trade Union Commission, we nevertheless observed a common will to find the best ways and means to develop Communist influence by winning the broad masses of workers and peasants.

One must likewise emphasise that criticism of mistakes and weaknesses was not only brought forward by the Communist International but also by the Sections. I have already mentioned that the British Delegation itself presented the resolution regarding the Communist Party of Great Britain, the resolution which you voted on.

This is a gain for the Communist International, and it is also a proof of its consolidation.

In the period before us the Parties must simultaneously be on guard against Left mistakes and Right deviations, so that the Parties and the Communist International will remain upon the correct line of Leninism.

At this Executive we did not confine ourselves to easy formulas: temporary, partial stabilisation, etc. A correct analysis of the degree of capitalist stabilisation was undertaken. If a certain capitalist stabilisation was recorded in Germany, if capitalist stabilisation is proceeding successfully in France, the inadequacy of this stabilisation as a whole can only be emphasised by a thorough study of the contradictions and antagonisms of interests which divide the imperialists among themselves, and which array one against the other.

The Executive has especially emphasised the factors of decay which mark the decline of capitalism, particularly in analysing the situation in England, where the disintegration crisis is sharpest, and where it is the result of social movements and the extent of this social development. One can therefore note, in connection with the General Strike and the struggle of the miners, a rise in the class consciousness of the British proletariat. This also is a weighty factor which contributes to the overthrow of capitalism.

The Executive has studied the situation in China and the various liberation movements of the colonial peoples; these

movements have multiplied in the period between the two last Executives. The international character of the Chinese revolution and its shattering effect upon capitalism, the blow which this national revolution delivers against the various imperialisms and against British imperialism in particular, was thoroughly studied in order to lay down the tasks of the Communists in the support of this movement.

The Executive has taken special note of the increasing political and economic development of the U. S. S. R.; this development is becoming a third chief factor in the disintegration of capitalism. Russia's tremendous market is more and more being withdrawn from capitalism, and despite all difficulties, Russia is marching forward, firm and decided, in the building of Socialism, and this robs the imperialists of every hope of putting an end to the proletarian State.

The tasks of the various Parties, the various Sections of the Communist International, consist in accelerating this capitalist disintegration by a methodical organisation of Communist activity, and by an ever-increasing agitation among the masses.

The various Sections of the Communist International must not only intensify their activity against their own capitalism, but also, on the basis of the experience of the British strike, they must develop a greater international solidarity.

The shortcomings exposed in the support of the British strike must be overcome by creating a much closer contact with the British proletariat, and especially with the miners. All Sections of the International must set the proletariat into motion in effective support of the Russian trade unions and their international activity, to back them up in their criticism of the capitulation of the leaders of the British General Council in particular, and the reformist Amsterdam leaders in general. The Russian trade unions must be supported in their effort to create international united front organs, which will be permeated by the spirit of the class struggle.

The Sections of the C. I. must actively support the colonial peoples in their struggle for independence. In the coming months, the proletariat must be mobilised on behalf of the national revolution in China, because this is one of the most important factors in the struggle against imperialism. I must emphasise here that this question was the subject of a very detailed study and that proper resolutions have been adopted. However, all Sections of the International must devote similar attention to this matter, and must carry out the decisions upon which, to a certain extent, the triumph of the international movement will depend.

Finally, the U. S. S. R. must be defended against all its enemies and opponents from within and from without. We must help it in the work of building Socialism by mobilising the broad masses against a capitalist intervention. The mobilising of the broad masses must proceed by our indicating what the

proletarian State has already accomplished, by sending workers' delegations to Russia, who on their return to their own country tell the workers the truth, and thereby foster the Left movement and the unity pressure within the reformist trade unions.

All Communists must fight vigorously against the menace of imperialist war. It has been noted here that this danger exists in China, that it lurks on the Pacific Ocean, and that there is likewise a menace of war between France and Italy. In this connection the Sections of the C. I., and all Communists, must denounce the imperialist role of the League of Nations, they must unmask the pacifist Left, the Social patriots, and must mobilise the broad masses of workers and peasants against the war.

This Executive has once more said that the struggle to win over the masses is more than ever in the foreground. It has pointed out that the united front tactic must be applied persistently and thoroughly and that every Section of the International, and every Communist, must advocate a programme of immediate demands and must mobilise the workers for this programme, vigorously exposing the Social Democratic leaders when they reject the united front for the common struggle against capitalism. The Executive has likewise pointed out that the struggle for trade union unity must be continued with tireless activity in the reformist trade unions by developing our fractions and their systematic work.

Comrades, this work for the united front and for the realisation of trade union unity must proceed hand in hand with a strengthening of our trade unions and our revolutionary minorities in all countries and also a strengthening of the R. I. L. U. It is indispensable that the R. I. L. U. occupy a more important position at the side of the Comintern. It is certain that the stronger the revolutionary trade union movement will be, the closer will we come to trade union unification.

In order to defeat capitalism, mass trade unions must be built in all countries, and our Parties must become strong enough and they must conduct a correct policy so that they can spur on and lead the trade unions. This must, before all things, be the chief object of work of all Sections of the C. I.

We must work to build up stronger and more influential Parties in all countries, Parties able to serve as the proletarian vanguard in all struggles against the bourgeoisie and for the conquest of power. These are the tasks of the morrow for all Sections of the International, upon the basis of the theses and resolutions which have been adopted here unanimously.

Comrades, in order to hold to the correct Leninist line, in order to fight against extreme Left opportunism and against opportunism from the Right, this Executive has finally expelled Souvarine, Wynkoop, Ruth Fischer and Maslow. This is a warning to those who might indulge in factional activity on the basis of extreme Left and Right deviations.

The Opposition in the C. P. S. U. felt that it had to appear at this Executive. It has presented us with its political platform, a platform of struggle against the Russian Party and against the C. I. We have all listened to the pessimism of the Opposition leaders regarding the possibility of building Socialism in Russia.

They believed that this international forum would be more hospitable to them than was the XV Conference of the C. P. S. U. Violating their recently issued declaration of submission, they wanted to use the tribune of the Executive to speak to their disciples, to rally them. Their appeal was directed simultaneously to those expelled from the International — Ruth Fischer, Maslow, Souvarine et al — of this there can be no doubt.

This Executive has given them a rebuke equally as sharp as that of the Communist Party nuclei in the U. S. S. R. It is clear that, in the eyes of all delegates to this Executive, their

attitude can be interpreted only as an intention to continue factional work on an international scale. This activity can lead objectively only to the disruption of the C. I. and the formation of other Parties.

The Executive has replied unanimously to this, by expressing its confidence in the Russian Party and its Central Committee. All Parties have placed themselves firmly on the side of the C. P. S. U., in order to combat energetically Social Democratic deviations and factional activity. This Executive says in a quite clear and definite manner, so that the whole world can hear, even the doves of the Opposition, that the unity of the C. P. S. U. shall be preserved! All Sections of the International have placed themselves at the side of the C. P. S. U. in order to preserve the unity of the Bolshevik Party and in order to continue the Socialist constructive work and bring about the final victory of the world revolution! (Long continued applause).

Comrades, we have observed here not only the collective work of the various Sections of the International, but also a much closer collaboration with the Young Communist International. It is indispensable that this joint work which prevails in the headquarters of the International, must be carried on more and more in the various countries by the establishment of close connections and relations in anti-militarist work and in all other tasks to which the Communist youth organisation devotes itself. (Applause).

Comrades, in conclusion. This Executive marks a serious step forward in the Bolshevisation of the Parties and in the strengthening of the C. I., and, we may say, also in the strengthening of the world revolutionary movement.

It signifies progress in the relations of the various Parties to the C. I., in the course of which they will now participate even more closely in the work of leadership.

The Executive, after a very painstaking study of the world situation and of mistakes made in connection with the British strike, calls upon the Parties to look beyond their borders and to develop a much stronger international activity.

The Executive records the advance of Communism throughout the world, thanks to the growing strength of its Sections and the ever greater political and economic role of the Soviet Union. We can part with the cry:

**"Forwards to new Communist conquests!**

**Forwards to the mobilising of the working and peasant masses against capitalism!**

**Long live the C. P. S. U.!**

**Long live the International Party of Lenin!**

**Long live Communist International!"**

(Long continued applause, the delegates sing the "International").

**Comrade SEMARD:**

Before the Presidium declares the VII Enlarged Executive adjourned, it extends its thanks to the technical personnel for their devotion during the work of this Executive.

We call upon the Executive to prove its most complete solidarity with the workers who are standing in battle against capitalism, we call upon it to display the greatest solidarity with all victims of white terror and facism.

We close this Executive with the call: **"Long live the world revolution!"**

(Long and stormy applause, the delegates and visitors sing revolutionary songs in various languages).