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**SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.**

(FULL REPORT.)

**Third Session.**

July 19, 1928 (morning).

(Conclusion.)

**Report on the Activity of the Young Communist International.**

**Comrade SCHÜLLER (Y. C. I.):**

**THE NEW GENERATION OF THE WORKING YOUTH.**

Young Communist Leagues have to deal today with different human material which cannot be compared with the generation of the working youth which we had before the war, but which cannot at the same time be placed on a par with the stratum of the working youth which has gone through the world war and the revolution.

In connection with this we must say that the working conditions of the Y. C. I. have, after all, undergone a certain change in the last years. I mean that we notice a considerable change among members of Young Communist Leagues and also among the functionaries of the Young Communist movement.

I will give you as an example a characteristic organisation, namely, the Young Communist League of the Berlin-Brandenburg district in 1927; 87% of the membership had joined it between 1924 and 1927. These years coincided with the relative stabilisation of capitalism. They were the years when stabilisation assumed for the first time a more accentuated form: rationalisation; they were also years when the revolutionary wave subsided, only to come up again later on. These young people, these 87% of the membership who joined our League between 1924 and 1927, are mostly youngsters between 16 and 19 who were born just before the war and could therefore not become impregnated with the revolutionary impressions of the war and post-war period, as this was the case with the young people who had joined us sooner.

It is a fact that in spite of relative stabilisation, the contradictions within the stabilisation had their effect also on the

working youth, with the result that we notice in the last years a growing radicalisation also among the youth.

**CAPITALIST RATIONALISATION AND THE YOUTH.**

The consequences of capitalist stabilisation affect adult young workers alike: reduced wages, a longer working day, creation of an enormous army of unemployed, the speeding up system, reduction of protective measures, etc. But that stabilisation is in many ways harder on the youth than on adults, is a fact which does not require special explanation. The two main effects of rationalisation on the youth are: first of all we notice that capitalist rationalisation reduces the number of skilled workers to a minimum and endeavours to replace them by unskilled or partly trained workers. The result of this is that the apprenticeship system is being steadily reduced. This applies of course only to industry, for in handicraft which goes now through a period of fierce competition, efforts are made to employ more young people than before, under the cloak of apprenticeship.

Another and more important consequence of capitalist rationalisation is: it lends greater importance to the rôle of the youth in the process of production. The Congress of the C. I. must pay special attention to this point because this offers wonderful opportunities to the Communist Parties of enlisting the services of youth reserves which have not yet been drawn upon. It is a fact which can be borne out by figures that there are many cases when adult workers are ousted by young workers because, owing to the simplification of the

process of production under the rationalisation regime, the work can be done as well by young or partly trained workers. But not only is the number of young workers increased compared with the number of adult workers in certain factories and branches of industry, the specific weight of young workers is greater now in rationalised enterprises. It stands to reason that young workers employed now at the conveyor and doing the same work as adult workers, play a more important role than before, as apprentices not only in handicraft but also in industrial enterprises, when their work was not so closely linked up with the entire process of production.

What can we infer from this for the C.I.? Firstly, the greater importance of young workers in labour struggles and strikes, the possibility for Communist Parties and revolutionary trade union oppositions, to utilise reserves which were not drawn upon by them at all, or hardly at all, in the past.

Therefore we demand: inclusion of young workers into labour struggles against trust capital, utilisation of the reserves which we have in this domain for the Communist Parties, linked up with a concrete treatment of young workers' demands, for it is only thus that we will be able to draw them into labour struggles and to organise them within the trade unions.

But we must admit that Communist Parties have many shortcomings in this domain. Let us take, for instance, the question of young workers' and apprentices' participation in labour struggles against trust capital, their participation in strikes. We had many discussions on this question especially in Germany and Norway. In most countries apprentices are not included in the collective agreements of the adult workers, even in industry. They have as a rule a special contract with the employer, and in most cases an individual contract which is utterly different from the adult workers' labour agreements. A characteristic feature of these capitalist labour contracts for apprentices is that they are not allowed to participate in strikes.

From the standpoint of class struggle the position is: firstly that apprentices still play an important role in industrial enterprises, that there are hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands of apprentices in industrial enterprises; secondly, that the apprentices themselves want to participate in these struggles. Comrades, if it comes to a strike, to a labour struggle of the workers, and apprentices are not drawn into it, this means nothing but strike-breaking work, it means that apprentices are utilised against adult workers. We say: we must also draw apprentices into strikes. It is essential that apprentices should also use the weapon of the strike. In such a struggle it is of course incumbent on us to bring forward the demand that apprentices be included in collective agreements, that they be given equal rights with other workers, that individual agreements be abolished.

But what kind of discussion did we have for instance in the German and Norwegian Parties? It was proposed by the Y. C. L. that apprentices be drawn into the strikes which took place there. But Party members upheld the standpoint that apprentices should not be drawn into these strikes because if they were they would infringe existing labour contracts. The slogan was issued that apprentices should not do strike-breaking work. But this slogan is utterly useless. It is as clear as daylight that if apprentices refuse to do strike-breaking work, they will come into conflict with the employer, and then the situation will be much more difficult. Adult workers are no longer in the enterprises, and the youngsters are left to themselves. The result of this is that disciplinary measures, dismissals and persecution on the part of the capitalists have a better chance of success than if apprentices had a direct share in the strike. Therefore the slogan: "refusal to do strike work" is dangerous; firstly, in many cases it cannot be acted upon at all, and if it can be acted upon, namely, if apprentices are able to put up a fight, it is easier for them to participate directly in the strike, for in that case they are better protected by the solidarity of the adult workers.

We have mentioned the fact that in some strikes apprentices themselves were in favour of participating in the strike, although the adult workers, including Communists, were against it. This is testimony of the fighting spirit of the youth. However, this is borne out also by another fact: we have had lately many youth strikes not only in Germany but also in Poland, Norway, Great Britain, Holland, Czechoslovakia and even Tunis. Most of them were carried on without and even against

the will of the trade union leaders. But can such strikes be conducted without trade union leadership?

I do not know if all the comrades here are aware to what extent trade unions exclude young workers from their organisation and leadership. It is a fact that there are laws in some countries which forbid organisation of young people under 16 or 17 in trade unions. It is also a fact that many trade unions have themselves established such age limits. Moreover many trade unions do not give equal rights to young workers with the adults, they do not treat them as full-fledged members. The result is that the percentage of young workers in the trade unions is very small.

It is a fact that young workers want their demands to be brought forward, it is a fact that frequently they do not wait for the trade union or the Young Communist League to undertake something on their behalf, but organise strikes spontaneously. This adds to the importance of this question as far as we are concerned. We are advocates of trade union organisation for the whole of the proletariat, we want all young workers to be organised in trade unions. We think that trade unions should lead the struggle of the whole proletariat. We believe that Young Communist Leagues must play in this respect the rôle of stimulator within the trade unions. They must induce trade unions to pay attention to youth questions. At the same time Young Communist Leagues must also have an activity of their own. If they succeed in mobilising the trade unions for the demands of the youth, for a struggle against employers, they must also induce the Parties to give their support to the struggle, within certain limits. I lay emphasis on the term "within certain limits" because this must not be made the rule, it must be rather an exception under particularly favourable circumstances. The special economic struggle of the Y. C. L. is one of the best means for converting our youth organisation into a mass organisation.

This question is to a certain extent connected with the general question of Communist trade union tactics. If we were to adopt the line that we can only conduct a youth strike if it be sanctioned beforehand by the trade unions and the majority of the workers, or if its success is guaranteed, we would be guilty of a social-democratic error. Our view is that Young Communist Leagues must take on themselves leadership in every strike and must endeavour to secure the solidarity of the adult workers. They must also endeavour to organise young workers in the trade unions. If a favourable situation exists, if considerable sections of workers are supporting us, if we can reckon on the participation of a considerable number of young workers in the struggle, and if they play an important role in the production of the enterprise, we will also organise such struggles ourselves.

However, the question of these strikes and of the special struggle of the Y. C. L. is only a secondary question. The main question in the struggle against capitalist rationalisation is the organisation of young workers in trade unions and work there so as to compel trade unions to take themselves a lead in the struggle. We were guilty of a gross error in the past in regard to trade union work, i. e. our Second Congress in 1921 passed a resolution declaring that we do not stand in need of a special organisational form for the youth within the trade unions. In the last years we have come to the opposite conclusion: we do stand in need of certain organisational forms within the trade unions, forms which must not separate young workers from adult, which are built up on a revolutionary basis, and are capable producing revolutionary work, but special organisational forms nevertheless. Among them is also establishment of youth sections in the trade unions built up and led in a revolutionary spirit. We have already created such organs in a number of countries. We have youth commissions and youth sections and through them we offer opposition to the reformist distortion of youth sections and to their misuse as rival organisations against the Young Communist movement, as organisations which separate the youth from the adults.

#### THE WAR DANGER AND THE WORKING YOUTH.

The question of war danger is more important than ever for the youth at the present juncture and has assumed a different aspect.

In most countries we witness a reorganisation of the bourgeois army which brings up the numerical strength of the standing army to the standard of a capable fighting cadre which is to be supplemented through a system which implies

the militarisation of the whole nation. This militarisation of the whole nation is to provide the necessary reserves for the well-trained cadre army. These reserves come first of all from the ranks of the youth, and therefore we see that in individual countries various forms are being or have already been adopted for the militarisation of the youth. Children and youngsters alike are to undergo obligatory military training during school, apprenticeship and working time. This militarisation of the youth is bringing us face to face with utterly new tasks.

Another circumstance which, as far as we are concerned, adds a new interest to the question of war danger, is the new position which the youth occupy now in the process of production. To a greater extent than previous wars the coming war will be a technical war, and therefore the question of young workers in industry assumes special importance. Considering that the weight of the youth in industry and production in general has increased, it is clear that their weight in the anti-war struggle in connection with employment in war industries, has also increased.

As to the first part of the question, **work within the army** and in all organisations which depend on it, we as Young Communist Leagues have already done much in this domain. But in regard to **work in war industries** it is unfortunately true that in this respect we have as yet done very little.

The bourgeoisie is trying every possible means to gain spiritual influence over the youth. For this purpose it makes use of two weapons: firstly, chauvinist and Fascist propaganda, and secondly pacifist propaganda. We must continue with the utmost energy the **struggle against Fascism** and attempts to Fascise the youth. From the ideological standpoint **pacifist propaganda** is a more dangerous weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie as far as the organised working youth are concerned.

In regard to **struggle against militarism and the danger of imperialist war**, the Young Communist International has an enormous field of activity, because the youth play a very important role in connection with the war danger. We all understand why **Comrade Bukharin** made the question of war danger the main point in his report; we also realise how important it is to raise in connection with it the question of the Young Communist International and of the capture of the youth. We are justified in saying that in this domain, particularly in regard to agitation and propaganda within the army, the Young Communist International is already carrying on a serious struggle. There are of course several leagues who have only just begun to carry on work of this kind.

In the important countries our agitation and propaganda is carried on on a large scale. Of course this work is not so well developed everywhere as in France and Greece. Our shortcomings in this respect are a very sore point with us, because this is one of the main questions in regard to world politics and the activity of the Y. C. I. We must remedy a state of affairs in which there are still Y. C. L.'s which pay very little practical attention to this work. Anti-militarist work, from being an occasional agitation, must become continuous systematic everyday work. However, we are making steady progress in this domain. Comrades, this shows us, that our experiences in the Ruhr, in France and Greece, are not casual and isolated cases, that the Young Communist Leagues have taken up this work in good earnest, that in the coming war and in connection with the war danger the Y. C. I. will probably become the most important weapon of the C. I. for the disintegration of the imperialist and bourgeois armies.

#### THE QUESTION OF THE MILITARY TRAINING OF THE YOUTH.

Our standpoint in this respect is the same as Lenin's, who upheld his standpoint in regard to this question mainly in the famous article on the question of disarmament. We struggle against the military training of the youth as carried on by the bourgeoisie, but not in a pacifist sense, only because of its class substance. We set against it the necessity of military training for the proletariat as demanded by Lenin: voluntary military training of the working class and establishment of proletarian military organisations. We must also carry on within bourgeois organisations for the military training of the youth disintegrating work which must be adapted to conditions prevailing in individual countries. We will make it a practice of inviting young workers not to refuse military

service, to join the army in order to learn, in the interests of the proletariat, the art of war and to carry on disintegrating work there in the interests of Communism. In voluntary military organisations we cannot adopt the same tactic for all countries. But as a general rule, disintegrating work must be carried on in all of them. We will send Communists to do work there but we will abstain from urging the mass of the working youth to join these organisations. We will limit ourselves to encouraging (apart from Communists) also young workers who are already in the ranks of these organisations, to carry on their revolutionary agitation, and we will also endeavour to popularise and organise proletarian defence and other military organisations.

In this connection the question of the **Red Front League** and the **Jungsturm** assumes particular importance. It would be a great mistake to believe that the R. F. L. is only an organisation to combat Fascism. The R. F. L. is something much more than an anti-Fascist fighting organisation.

Re the **pacifist question**, it is essential for us to carry on energetic and systematic work against pacifism among the youth. In this connection we decided to participate in the **World Youth Pacifist Congress in Holland**. This Congress was convened by a number of pacifist petty bourgeois and partly also bourgeois youth organisations in all parts of the world, and its main task will be: to take up a definite attitude to questions connected with pacifism, war, the colonies, etc. We think that we ought to make use of this opportunity for anti-pacifist propaganda and for the popularisation of Communist conceptions in regard to war, the colonies, etc., from the platform of the Congress.

#### YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUES IN THE COLONIES.

In this connection the question of the organisational form of the youth movement in the colonies stands paramount. What form it should take, is not a very simple question. We think that in the interests of the youth movement we should divide the colonies and semi-colonies into two groups: the more advanced and the more backward. We think that it is incumbent on us to form Young Communist Leagues in all colonies and semi-colonies. But we must adopt diverse tactics in regard to utilising, side by side with our own organisations, also broader forms of organisation.

In the more advanced colonies and semi-colonies, as for instance in **China** and **India**, it is incumbent on us to form a Young Communist League. At the same time it is possible but not necessarily essential to form, apart from the Young Communist League but under its leadership, also a broader organisation of the working youth in the interests of the national-revolutionary struggle. On the other hand, in backward colonies, we should reckon with this possibility as with a probability. For instance, in most African colonies, we shall want, side by side with the Young Communist League, a broader national-revolutionary organisation in the first stage of our work.

The Young Communist International has penetrated mainly into advanced colonies and semi-colonies. We have organisations in **China, Korea, North Africa, Palestine, Canada, South Africa (weak), Australia (weak)** and beginnings of them in **India**. In **South America** we have organisations mainly in **Argentina, Uruguay and Chile (weak)**.

Comrades, this exposé shows you that the Young Communist International has penetrated into colonies and semi-colonies, that it has its organisations in the most important of them, and also that it has as yet done relatively little there, that it will have to explore virgin ground, the importance of which we must on no account under-estimate. Apart from the war danger this is perhaps the main question to which the Young Communist International must devote special attention in the immediate future.

All of us understand that precisely in this domain the young generation plays a very important role, in the present stage of the revolution a relatively more important rôle than in many capitalist countries.

I will deal with experiences of colonial work in two countries: **China and India**.

On the whole our positive experiences in the Young Communist movement have been in **China**.

The Young Communist League of China was established in 1920 as the Young Socialist League. Prior to the struggle in Shanghai, May 1925, it had only 2900 members, 90% of them students. In September 1925 it had 9000 members, 49% of them students. In July 1927 it had 35,000, 38% of them students.

One notices an enormous upward development in the membership, a reduction in the percentage of students, and an increase in the percentage of workers and peasants. In July, 1927, we had there the so-called Wuhan period when we enjoyed a certain amount of legality on the territory of the Wuhan government. Of course this explains to a considerable extent the strength of the Young Communist League at that time. But I think that precisely for this reason you will be surprised by the subsequent figures. In July, 1927, we had 35,000 members. When the terrible reaction set in afterwards, our organisation decreased, of course, and became strictly illegal. It was reduced to 15,000 members in August 1927.

In November 1927 the organisation had again increased its membership to 20,000. In March 1928 — under conditions of very strict illegality — it had 33,000 members (applause). These 33,000 members were entirely outside the Kwantung Province. In addition to them we have 45,000 members in several regions with revolutionary Soviet and self-governments, so that on the whole we have over 70,000 members. But even if we deduct the 45,000 members in Kwantung, the fact that there are 33,000 Young Communists in China under appalling conditions of white terrorism, constitutes a glorious page in the history of the C. I. and Y. C. I. and proves that even under conditions of strict illegality we have splendid opportunities for the capture of the youth not only in capitalist countries but also in the colonies.

The percentage of students in this membership of 70,000 is only 22%, the overwhelming majority are workers and peasants.

I will give you a short outline of the position which the Y. C. L. of China took up during the Chinese revolution.

During the Northern Expedition the Y. C. L. fully agreed with the policy of the Party, i. e. support for the Northern expedition. But already in the last stage of the Northern expedition, — you probably remember that this was in the beginning of 1927 — the Y. C. L. warned against the errors which were cropping up in the Party and against the mistakes and deviations which made already their appearance in the National Government. When Shanghai was taken by the workers in March, 1927, the Y. C. L. played an important role, and displayed great heroism; ditto in the struggle against the traitor Chiang Kai-shek. In Wuhan we notice that the growing differences between the Y. C. L. and the Executive of the Party have become more and more evident.

When our comrades in the Chinese Y. C. L. saw that the Executive of the Party was more and more inclined to capitulate before the Kuomintang and the bourgeois elements, its representatives and ours warned against the impending treachery, and the Y. C. L. published a declaration to this effect.

We can say that the Y. C. L., far from having a share in the treacherous policy of the Party Executive and its capitulation at the end of the Wuhan period, did on the contrary its utmost to make the policy of the C. I. prevail. When the C. I. proceeded to remove from the Party Executive and the Party the opportunist elements, the Y. C. L. helped not only politically but also organisationally by contributing new young forces to the Executive and the Party cadres.

But we must also mention the mistakes made by the Y. C. L. of China. It went subsequently to two extremes: Vanguardism and putschism. By vanguardism we mean the endeavour to take the place of the Party. But we opposed this vigorously and succeeded in liquidating this deviation. The same applies to the question of putschism, which was however not a special Y. C. L. error, but rather an error committed by the whole Communist movement in China last winter. This error, too, has been liquidated.

To sum up, we can say that the Y. C. L. of China is developing favourably: from being a students' movement it has developed into a proletarian movement, from being a small group it has developed into a mass organisation, out of various errors and much confusion of ideas it has evolved a truly Bolshevik policy.

Therefore, we can draw a valuable lesson from the Chinese example: for us, as the Communist Youth there is every possibility of forming mass Young Communist Leagues even in the colonies.

In this connection I would like to deal with the question of the Kuomintang Youth. In 1925 Kuomintang elements proposed to form a Youth organisation in the Kuomintang. Our comrades in the Chinese Y. C. L. were opposed to this; they looked upon it as an attempt of the opportunist elements in the Kuomintang at forming an opportunist rival organisation against the spread of Communist influence within the Youth movement. When recapitulating today this first stage, we can say that it was correct not to form a youth organisation in the Kuomintang, because it would not have helped us, it would have become a tool in the hands of the opportunist Kuomintang executive to be used against us, whereas we have now succeeded in developing into a mass organisation.

In regard to India we are of the opinion that the bourgeoisie in that country is not playing a revolutionary rôle, that it has rather taken up the attitude of a more or less loyal opposition, which will soon be converted into treachery. Consequently, we consider as our main task in India the formation of a Young Communist League. There are already beginnings in this direction, but not yet a Youth League in the strict sense of the word. It has been suggested that we should form there a Young Comrades League instead of a Young Communist League. It was to be not a Communist organisation but first and foremost a students' and not a workers' organisation. We were told that it would be premature to work now among the Youth as Communists. We reject this suggestion. Such an organisation would only benefit the bourgeoisie and be an obstacle to us. We are of the opinion that we should take in hand the formation of a Young Communist League.

It is quite possible that in India a broader legal organisation of the working and peasant youth will have to be formed side by side with the Young Communist League, an organisation which can affiliate to the workers' and peasants' party. To sum up, we see that we have a big field of activity in the colonies, that Young Communist Leagues can be formed and developed into mass organisations there, and that we must give an impetus to our activity.

#### THE YOUTH IN THE RECENT ELECTIONS.

We witnessed in the elections in France and Germany an increased participation of the Youth, and a great improvement in the activity of the Young Communist Leagues. This is rather important, because in Germany, for instance, two and a half million young people who have reached the age of twenty participated for the first time in the elections. The bourgeois and Social Democratic Press point to a bigger participation of the Youth and to a considerable participation of the young proletarian electorate in the Communist camp.

Moreover, there is the important fact that the Young Communist League not only contributed to the success of the Party but endeavoured also for the first time to approach the Youth, within the limits of Party agitation, with separate slogans and as a separate organisation. For instance, Y. C. L. leaders came forward as Communist candidates in the elections, they endeavoured to agitate among the youth for the special demands of the Young Communist League, and to recruit members for it. The results were not so bad, and in Germany they were in some cases very good indeed. We have seen that the Young Communist League adopted new methods in its agitation among the youth, which secured young voters for the Party, through which the Party was able to increase the influence of the C. I. during the election campaign. There is for instance the fact that Comrade Blenkle, Secretary of the German Young Communist League, will sit in the Reichstag as the representative of the Communist Party (applause). We hope that Comrade Blenkle will make use of the parliamentary platform as a revolutionary platform of the suffering and struggling mass of the working youth. Comrade Barbé was not elected owing to the abominable attitude of the Left Social Democrats, only because he was six votes short. Generally speaking, the participation of the Y. C. L. in the election campaign has resulted in strengthening our mass work.

## STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

Comrades, I will deal now with our special struggle against the Social Democrats. I think that in this domain we have achieved considerable results. We are only stating a bare fact when we say that the **Young Socialist International** is at present in a state of serious crisis, in its decline. The signs of this decline are, on the one hand, steady numerical retrogression, and on the other hand, continuous formation of opposition within its organisations.

I will give you a few interesting figures in regard to membership.

**Germany:** S. A. J., 1923—24, 110,000 members. Today its membership, according to its own figures, is 50,000. We know that this is an exaggeration and that the S. A. J. has today 40,000 and at the utmost 45,000 members.

**Belgium:** The membership there has decreased from 24,000 to 13,000. In **Great Britain** the collapse is particularly serious. The membership was declared to be 9,000 in 1926. But we knew that this was not true, that they had barely 5,000 members. At present they have barely 1,000 members as they themselves admit. It is rather interesting in connection with this that we have in **Great Britain** a **Young Socialist Workers' League** affiliated to the I. L. P., to Maxton's Party which indulges in such remarkable Left demagoguery.

The total membership of the **Young Socialist International** has considerably decreased, from 250,000 to 125,000. It decreased by one half within four to five years.

This means, of course, a very serious crisis in the **Socialist International**. Socialists do not make a secret of it, they admit it. What are the causes? We think that they are twofold: 1. the radicalisation of the working youth and 2. in a certain sense the work of the **Young Communist Leagues**.

As to the radicalisation of the working youth, it is clear and is becoming more and more evident that **reformism** as a **political tendency** is **losing gradually its attraction for the working youth**. I do not say that **Reformism** in another form, a sport and cultural organisation, shows the same tendency, but it is a fact that **Reformism** as a political form, has gradually lost its power of attraction as far as the working youth is concerned. The latter who want to be particularly active cannot get any satisfaction out of reformism, they are veering more and more towards the **Communist organisations**, or they simply leave the ranks of the **Reformist organisations**.

The **economic position** of the working youth is another explanation of this phenomenon. Comrade **Bukharin** pointed out that the economic basis of **Social Democracy** consists mostly in the creation of a labour aristocracy and labour bureaucracy. The **Social Democratic youth** lacks this economic basis which keeps together **Social Democracy**. A certain number of bureaucrats can be trained in the **Young Socialist organisations**, but the special economic basis for the youth is lacking, the power of attraction of political reformism is decreasing as far as the youth are concerned, and the membership of these organisations is steadily dwindling.

As to the work of the **Young Communist Leagues**, we have paid considerable attention to this question. We have combined united front tactics with the development of truly oppositional groups of the working youth in **Young Socialist organisations**. We have above all applied the united front tactic from below. This tactic has proved to be the best means for the capture of the rank and file in the **Social Democratic youth organisations**.

The **S. D. P.** and the trade unions see the crisis in their youth organisations, and are looking for means to save them. Firstly, efforts are made to transform the remnants of the **Young Socialist movement**, for instance in **Great Britain**, into Youth sections of the respective **Social Democratic Party**, i. e. to put an end to the independence of youth organisations. Secondly, attempts are made to form mass parallel organisations, i. e. sport and cultural organisations, trade union youth sections, apprentices' sections, etc., and to federate them with the **Young Socialist Workers' Leagues**. A new theory has even been invented. When it became evident that the political young socialist movement was retrograding it was declared that the **Young Socialist organisation** must be an elite organisation, a politico-educational organisation which should form a uniform whole

together with all the mass organisations of the youth, that it should represent together with them the **Young Socialist movement**. We ought not to under-estimate this social democratic tendency. The social democrats can no doubt improve their position in this manner, not so much with respect to their political youth movement, — but they could increase their influence on the working youth by bringing these mass organisations under their direct influence. This is one more reason for us to work with increased energy in these mass organisations.

We must pursue our **united front tactic**, particularly with respect to the united front from below; we must support the opposition in the young socialist organisations, must combat in this connection the misuse of parallel organisations, trade union youth sections, etc., for the political purposes of the young socialist leagues.

I frankly admit that there are countries where the young socialist movement has grown. This is the case in **Scandinavia**. But on the whole the picture which I have presented is a true illustration of the situation in the **Y. S. I.**

## THE GIANT OF THE BOURGEOIS ORGANISATION.

It is a fact that the number of young workers and of the working youth in general in bourgeois organisations is considerable, and also that we have not yet made a proper beginning with work in their ranks. Something has been done in this direction in **Great Britain** in regard to the **Boy Scouts**, in **Germany**, in the **Catholic movement**, and something is being done now in regard to the **Fascist movement** which is carried on on an imperialist scale. Real work in bourgeois organisations is still in store for us. This work is very important because half the members of bourgeois organisations ought by rights be in our organisations. There are oppositional tendencies also in the bourgeois organisations, hence the very radical tone adopted by them which is one more proof of the radicalisation of the working youth.

## THE RADICALISATION OF THE WORKING YOUTH.

Comrades, the main result of the examination of the international situation and its effects on the youth was that the latter are becoming gradually radicalised. Moreover, the political activity of **Young Communist Leagues** is more effective than before. By this we mean not only increased participation in the life of the Party, but also adaptation of general political questions to special youth questions. However, the background of this radicalisation of the working youth are stabilisation conditions, and this makes our work more difficult. The peculiarity of this radicalisation is — that it has very little effect on **Young Communist Leagues** from the organisational viewpoint.

## THE POSITION OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

When we turn our attention to the **Young Communist International** we find first of all that its influence is growing and that it has considerable political successes to its credit. But we also find — and this is a **much more important fact** — that this growing influence is not translated at all or hardly at all into organisational consolidation and extension of the **Young Communist movement**.

As to its growth, we witness in **Great Britain** the defeat which it inflicted on the **Young Socialist movement**. Then there is the fact that we have secured **Communist leadership** in the new workers' sport movement and that we are its guiding spirit, that we have captured important positions in the trade unions. Symptoms of this growth are also the recent election results in **Germany** and **France**, the very successful youth day in **Germany** when there was in **Chemnitz** a magnificent muster of the young proletariat behind the banners of the **Young Communist League**; in **France**, we witness big successes in the army and navy; in **China** the development of the **Young Communist League** into the leading organisation of the young masses; on an international scale we had anti-war actions, struggle against the **Young Socialist International**, etc. But as I already said, these successes do not satisfy us, we realise that the main question is that in spite of growing influence and political successes there are hardly any or very few effects of all this on the **Young Communist Movement**.

When we want to ascertain the present position of the Young Communist International, we stick to facts. First of all we eliminate the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union and we divide the remaining leagues in the capitalist countries into three groups:

1. Big legal Leagues which are mainly in the most important capitalist states;
2. Small legal Leagues which are mostly in small countries;
3. Illegal organisations. Then we add the Soviet Union and Soviet regions in China.

Let us take first of all the first group, the **big legal leagues** in Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, Sweden, North America, Greece, Canada and also Austria. Round about 1925 our movement reached a very high state of development. But in the winter of 1925-26 a certain decline took place in it. The reason of this is that we did not discover with sufficient rapidity methods of work commensurate with the new situation created by stabilisation. But since this decline about the beginning of 1926 we have been steadily **increasing** our membership in this group of our Leagues. Beginning of March 1926 we had in this group 57,000 members, and today we have 69,000. It is not a big increase compared with the membership of March 1924-25 (60-62,000).

The second group: **smaller Leagues**. In this group we had about 3,000 members in 1925. Today we have a few hundred more; thus not much change in these small Leagues.

In regard to **illegal Leagues**, a considerable improvement has no doubt taken place, which is of course mainly due to the successful work in the Y. C. L. in **China**. We take China here exclusive of the Soviet region, and illegal conditions of work are very difficult throughout China, much more difficult than in other countries. In 1915 we had in these illegal Leagues a little over 24,000 members. Thus we see that we experienced a **considerable increase** in the group of illegal Leagues, of course mainly through China, but not altogether through it.

In this connection we must point out that also outside China our illegal Leagues are doing excellent work. In spite of terrorism, the **Polish and Bulgarian** Leagues have increased their membership and the **Italian** League is maintaining its positions. This explains the numerical growth of the illegal Leagues. I take advantage of this opportunity to send greetings to our brave comrades in the illegal Leagues. We must give them more support.

If we take the Y. C. I. as a whole, exclusive of the Soviet Union and Soviet regions in China, we had in the beginning of 1925 in China a membership of 94,000, whereas now we have 102,000 members, i. e. no big increase but a certain stability. But within this stability there is a decidedly upward tendency because in March 1926 we had fewer members than now, namely, 88,000. If we take the whole Y. C. I. without the Soviet Union, but with the whole of China, we have now 127,000 members compared with 94,000 in 1925.

Inclusive of the Soviet Union we had in March 1925, 1,300,000 members, whereas today we have 2,150,000.

The political inference is:

We can place on record with regard to all three League groups, a greater stability than at the time of our last Congress. But within this stability we notice in the last two years a decided tendency towards **steady growth**.

But in regard to the most important leagues such as those of **Germany, France, Czechoslovakia and Great Britain**, membership has hardly undergone any change in the last years, which is a considerable problem to us.

Of course this does not mean that the same members are in the organisation as a few years ago. In **Berlin** 87% of the members joined only in the last three years, in **Austria** over 60% after July 15. This means of course a stronger influx of new members in the last years in spite of the general numerical stability of the membership. This also means that there is **considerable fluctuation** within our organisations. This big fluctuation within our organisation is a serious problem, which occupies our attention.

As already mentioned, we are not satisfied with this state of affairs. It would be a serious mistake if you were satisfied. We make ruthless use of self-criticism.

## WHERE IS THE WORKING YOUTH?

I said just now that the social democratic Youth International has lost half its members, but only a very few of them have come to us. Most of them have gone to the trade unions and sport organisations, even to bourgeois organisations or have become indifferent.

There are 325,000 members throughout the world in the Y. C. I. and Y. S. I., exclusive of the Soviet Union. But the **Catholic Youth International** has 2,400,000 members, half of whom must be certainly elements who deserve our attention — workers and small peasants. Even if it were half this number, it would mean a membership of 1,200,000. **Evangelical youth organisations** have 1,150,000 members. If we reduce this by half, we would still get 600,000. This, 1,800,000 young people are organised in the Catholic and Evangelical youth movement, whereas there are only 300,000 young people organised in the Y. C. I. (exclusive of the S. U.) and the Y. S. I. This shows that the majority of young workers are to be found not even in reformist, but in **bourgeois organisations**.

This also shows that we have an enormous task confronting us which we have hitherto underestimated. The main danger is of course social democracy, particularly because it is organised not only politically, but also in trade unions, sport organisations, etc. However, we have already learned how to struggle successfully against the Social Democrats, but we have no experience as yet in the struggle against bourgeois organisations. And yet the task is enormous. On an international scale, we are already stronger than the Y. S. I., but we are much weaker than the bourgeoisie.

I will give a few examples from **France**, and **Germany**. France has no great traditions in regard to the political organisation of the working youth. Germany is the country with the greatest tradition in this respect. There is hardly any reformist youth movement in France. It has barely 1,500 members and the reformist trade unions have 18-20,000 young members. On the other hand, we have in bourgeois sport organisations over 90,000 young workers up to the age of 20, whereas a much smaller number has been organised under our influence. If we take the Young Communist Leagues and the youth in the Red Sport Leagues we get altogether not more than 110,000 young people up to the age of 20 in our organisations. If we compare this with bourgeois organisations (sport and others) which have about one million members, most of them in sport organisations, we get the following picture: about two-thirds of the youth in bourgeois organisations (mostly sport); about 7% in class organisations, 3-4% in the Y. C. L.; hardly any with the reformists.

The distinguishing feature in **Germany** is the greater political maturity of the youth. Therefore, political and religious organisations grow in importance, although bourgeois sport organisations play also a considerable role. Moreover, in Germany reformist organisations are also opponents to be reckoned with as far as we are concerned. We have in Germany at least 325,000 young people under the age of 20 in workers' sport leagues. We have about 250,000 young people up to the age of 20 in trade unions. Thus, we have considerable numbers of young people in class organisations, over 550,000 whom we can influence directly in sport organisations and trade unions. But of course much bigger numbers are in bourgeois organisations among which sport leagues play again the most important rôle. According to our estimate there are about 1,900,000 young workers up to the age of 20 in the various bourgeois organisations.

But it would be erroneous to assert that fewer young workers are organised now politically than before the war. The Socialist youth movement had before the war about 90,000 members and at that time there was only one International instead of two as today, which taken together embrace 300,000 young people, exclusive of the Soviet Union. But even this state of affairs is not satisfactory.

## CAUSES OF Y. C. I. WEAKNESS.

We will deal now with the subjective causes of errors and shortcomings which we can remedy. First of all, we think that the Young Communist International does **not sufficiently adapt its activity to the youth**. We do not mean by this that Young Communist Leagues should not turn their attention to political matters, that we must limit political activity. We mean that the methods of the Y. C. L. in all the domains of our work are

not sufficiently adapted to youth psychology. We must absolutely create youth conditions in all domains.

Another cause is **inadequate utilisation of parallel organisations** in the interests of the Y. C. L. (trade union organisations, Jungsturm, Free Thinkers, etc.). The social democrats are, literally, throwing themselves on these organisations. They realise that here they have a source through which new life can be put into their dying youth organisations. We must learn to be active also in this field. In the past we committed a serious error in this respect, but in the last years we adopted another course and have been working for the creation of auxiliary organisations.

The third cause is **fluctuation** which is due to the fact that the work of our Leagues is not youth-like enough, that our inner organisation is weak and that we have not sufficiently trained cadres. Just because the membership has been fluctuating in the last years we want well trained cadres of functionaries in our organisation.

#### A TURNING POINT IN THE WORK OF THE Y. C. L.

Comrades, for all these reasons we are of the opinion that our **V. Congress** must constitute a turning point in the work of the Leagues.

For several years we have been working in this direction. Since 1926 we did much in regard to introducing new and attractive methods of work and have brought interesting methods of agitation and propaganda to the fore. But hitherto only the German League has done serious work in this domain. Most leagues resemble the Party still in their methods, their internal life is very dull. At most of our sessions the decision was made to form auxiliary youth organisations, above all **trade union youth sections and youth committees**. We also pay ever growing attention to sport.

It is significant that at our **V. Congress** the main questions, side by side with the general report, the programme and colonial question, are new interesting methods of work and agit-prop and sport questions.

Our programme adopted in draft form already at the IV. Congress and which will be laid before our V. Congress, emphasises this role of the youth leagues which was assigned to us already by Lenin who considered the Young Communist League as a mass school of Communism. All we have to do is to translate into actions the whole meaning of the role of the Young Communist League as a mass school of Communism. Lenin says that young workers' Communist education must be in every one of its stages linked up with **active struggle** against the present social order which implies exploitation, he says that struggle is the foundation of education. It is unfortunate that we have not yet succeeded in acting up to the principle of our programme, which is due to the historical development of the Young Communist movement as former vanguard organisation.

It has been suggested to us that we should give the Y. C. L.'s and their activity a less political character. Our reply to this suggestion is an emphatic **no**, for we do not think that this is necessary.

We have received yet another suggestion; instead of trying to develop our Y. C. L. into a mass organisation, we are to form a broad semi-Communist non-Party young workers' organisation in which the Young Communist League is to continue its existence and activity as a **fraction**. We reject also this suggestion. We think that the Young Communist League itself can and must develop into a mass organisation. We know, and we want to emphasise it, that for this purpose we must of course form parallel organisations, for we stand in need of auxiliary organisations from the ranks of which we must recruit members for the Young Communist League in order to develop it in this manner into a mass organisation. But the Young Communist League must continue to exist as a fighting and educational Communist organisation and must be developed into a mass organisation.

#### THE POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF THE Y. C. L.

When we are told that we must set a limit to our political activity, we say that it is incumbent on the C. I. to find out if this political activity was hitherto sufficiently youth-like and also if it was conducted on correct lines. If this political acti-

vity has not been correct, we could understand the desire for a change, the desire to set a limit to the political work of the Y. C. L.

We think that the political activity of our Leagues is not sufficiently linked up with special **youth questions**. This is an error which we must put right. But we also think that the policy of the Y. C. L.'s and the Y. C. I. was in most cases correct. This is one more reason for insisting on the Y. C. I. retaining its political character.

Let us take as an example the big political C. I. questions in the last period: firstly the **struggle against Trotskyism**. It is a fact that there was only a feeble opposition in the Y. C. L., and that wherever it existed it was quickly overcome. Y. C. L.'s have even helped the Parties to overcome it, for instance in **Belgium and France** where Y. C. L.'s played an important role in regard to overcoming this peril and in strengthening correct leadership in the Communist Party.

The second political question was the new tactic towards the social democrats which was brought into play in France and in **Great Britain** more than anywhere else. In this respect, too, the Y. C. L.'s and the Y. C. I. have done their utmost to carry out this policy, doing thereby a great service to the respective Parties and also to the C. I. Our Young Communist League played an important role in the **French Party** in regard to self-criticism and also in regard to the "rectification" (Redressment) of the Party, i. e. in regard to remedying mistakes. The Y. C. L. took up also a fairly correct attitude in the last discussion and combated ultra-Left errors, recognising at the same time that Right errors are the most dangerous for us. French Party comrades have acknowledged that the Y. C. L. has played an important role in this question.

In the **British Party**, too, the Y. C. L. played an important role when the new tactic was adopted. I have already dealt with the Communist Party of **China** and the activity of our Young Communist League there. The Y. C. L. of **Greece** is taking an active part in the present struggle and has also been combating ultra-Left and ultra-Right deviations.

In **Austria** the Communist Party had not sufficiently dissociated itself from the Social Democracy and therefore could not profit of the treachery of the S. P. on the 15th July. Therefore the Y. C. L., immediately after the 15th July, had certain differences with the Party concerning erroneous slogans, for instance, "municipalisation of the police". Even today when the majority of the Party is carrying on the struggle for the C. I. policy against the Right deviations in the Party, the Y. C. L. is on the side of this struggle which has not yet been brought to a conclusion and must be pursued.

In **Germany**, too, there have been relatively few Left deviations in the Y. C. L. membership and still fewer Right deviations. Hitherto all attempts to form Right groupings in the Y. C. L. have failed.

In **Poland** we have a group struggle and not everything in the activity of the Y. C. L. has been beyond criticism and just as it should be. Mistakes were made on both sides, we share Comrade Bukharin's view that we must intervene energetically so that a uniform Bolshevik executive be established capable of putting an end to the present shameful state of affairs. We must energetically protest against the organisatory measures which have been adopted by the Party Secretariat against the Youth Central. These are no proper methods of conducting the Youth movement by the Party.

As to the **Czech Party**, the political activity of our Czech Young Communist League within its ranks was not up to much. Although the Y. C. L. protested after the Red Day against the Party's mistakes, it did not do sufficient for the prevention of the Red Day errors which were but a link in a perfectly erroneous chain of Party policy.

The Red Day was a big defeat for the Czech Party and thereby for the whole Czech proletariat.

On the whole, to judge by the entire political activity of the Young Communist League and the Y. C. L., their general political line was correct. There were of course also errors and shortcomings. But generally speaking, we have not much cause for reducing the political character of the Young Communist League.

## LET US GO ON WITH THE NEW METHODS.

We agree to a change of methods in regard to tactical policy on the basis of our principles. We will carry out this change at our Congress. We will take steps towards making the internal life, the recruiting agitation and propaganda methods, the educational and cultural work and the political activity of our League more youth-like. We must make it a point of enlisting the sympathy of bigger sections of young workers so as to draw them in to the ranks of the Young Communist International and to secure them as a reserve force for the C.I. We must give an impetus to our work in sport and trade union organisations. We must make a more effective use of the auxiliary organisations of the youth. We must make the Y.C.L. a genuine mass school of Communism for the working youth.

We acknowledge our mistakes, we have corrected them in theory, but we intend also to correct them in practice. Since

1921 we have been developing into a mass organisation. We had to learn much before we could reach our present stage of development. But we have now elaborated a correct type of a Young Communist League, such as it should be.

With the help of the Comintern we have pursued our difficult path and we feel confident that with your continued help we will be able to make now the necessary changes in our methods of work.

We will gain in strength and then we will be able to rally the masses around the banner of the Communist International. Our firm conviction in regard to this originates in the trend of our entire development: we believe that the Comintern can depend also in future on the Young Communist International as one of its most loyal, brave and best sections! (Loud Applause.)

(Close of Session.)

## Fourth Session.

July 19, 1928 (Afternoon).

The Chairman, **Comrade Garlandi**, opened the session and called upon **Comrade Pervukhin** to deliver a welcome address as representative of the Old Bolsheviks.

**Comrade PERVUKHIN.**

(Applause, all delegates rise to their feet.)

Dear Comrades, dear fellow fighters for the victory of the world revolution! The members of our Society are deeply interested not only in your current work, they follow also with the greatest attention every one of your steps and all obstacles which you have to overcome. They watch with still greater interest your work at this congress: the tasks confronting you which are awaiting solution.

Comrades, your struggle which is difficult and complicated and is carried on under very peculiar conditions, finds an echo among us. We watch it with unabated interest and are convinced that your work will be all the more fruitful if all of us constitute a strongly welded whole. In our difficult struggle you are our stronghold and this gives us strength and security. Thus, a close contact is established between you and us, although we work under utterly different conditions.

Our comrades, members of the Society of Old Bolsheviks, have instructed me to transmit to you the following welcome letter which I would like to read to you now. (Applause.)

"To the VI. Congress of the Comintern, our hearty greetings!

On behalf of the Society of Old Bolsheviks and all its branches we greet enthusiastically the VI. Comintern Congress, the General Staff of the World Revolution which has met in Red Moscow in order to bring into a state of fighting preparedness all its sections which throughout the world are arming the workers and peasant battalions for the final assault on imperialism.

There is on the agenda of the VI. Comintern Congress a question of paramount importance — elaboration of the **Comintern Programme**, the leitmotiv for the militant activity of the numerous Comintern sections. There is also another question on its agenda which is watched by the whole world with bated breath — the colonial question. We have no doubt whatever that the workers and peasants of the whole world will follow with the greatest attention the work of their representatives at this Congress, while the lackeys of capitalism gnash their teeth and besmirch and slander in every possible way our comrades who are instructed to work here for the

organisation of the final victory over executioners of the working class and the peasant masses.

We know that on the basis of Marxist-Leninist teaching the proletariat of the world is growing into an ever developing revolutionary force and we express our firm conviction that the Comintern, the General Staff of this force, will inspire, organise and coordinate into fighting columns millions of proletarians and peasants who will crush the bearers of imperialist oppression and all those who support them.

Long live the unity of World Communism!

Long live the glorious Comintern!

Long live the Comintern Sections which shed their blood in this struggle!

Down with those who betray the working class!

Death to the world bourgeoisie and Fascism!"

(Loud applause.)

**Comrade REMMELE** thereupon read the following two telegrams:

**1st Telegram:**

"The released political prisoners assembled on the premises of the Central Committee of the C.P.G. send hearty greetings to the general staff of the world revolution. Fritz Ebert's and Hindenburg's penitentiaries were to us revolutionary universities. We wish success to the work for the speedy overthrow of bourgeois domination in capitalist countries.

**Political prisoners from Sonnenburg,  
Colnov, Brandenburg, Plötzensee."**

**2nd Telegram:**

"Thousands of revolutionary Hamburg working men and women, assembled at three crowded welcome demonstrations for political prisoners, send greetings to the Red general staff of the world proletariat and for the defence of the Soviet Union against imperialist war machinations and reformism. We pledge ourselves to fight and win under the glorious Red banner of the proletarian class struggle."

Thereupon the Chairman, **Comrade Garlandi**, called upon **Comrade Stutschka** to present the Report of the International Control Commission.



# Report of the International Control Commission.

## Comrade STUTSCHKA (International Control Commission):

Comrades, my speech will be a brief one. The written report of our Commission has been distributed and there is no point in adding here something to the details given in that report. I merely want to rectify something in the written report. A very unpleasant printing error has crept in: the number of White Russian items is given as 29. This is, of course, nonsense. There are only two such items and 9 represents the whole number of discussions re Poland including White Russia.

I should like to say here a few words about the role and future activity of the I. C. C. The I. C. C. was elected for the first time at the V. Congress. There was no definite idea what powers this Commission should have and therefore the formulation of its tasks was very vague and casual, very limited and at the same time very broad. It was said then that the Commission is instructed: 1. To discuss complaints about individual departments of the E. C. C. I.; 2. Complaints of individual members of party and whole organisations about expulsion from the party; it was said at the same time that these discussions in the International Control Commission should be only of a consultative nature as decisions are made by the E. C. C. I.; 3. There was also talk about auditing finances in general and the finances of individual Parties. During the first discussion days the Commission came to the conclusion that the second point was far too broad, for if the Commission were to deal with all expulsions from the Party, thousands of cases would be sent here, particularly from the C. P. of the Soviet Union. Therefore, the Commission limited the scope of its work in this respect as follows: **the Commission was to discuss only cases of political importance**, when disciplinary measures had been taken against individual comrades or organisations because of their political differences, but under the cloak of disciplinary matters. In the course of the Commission's activity matters were added which came to the Commission from the Secretariat and the Executive. We could, of course, cope with the auditing work here in the centre, but auditing the accounts of the individual sections was entirely out of the question, for the Commission consisted of 17 members who were hardly ever in Moscow and who therefore never met. The activity itself was to be of a consultative nature, but assumed in the course of things an executive form, except that it had to be confirmed by the Executive or the Secretariat. This is, after all, the order which developed gradually in the practice of the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. I think that this order should be definitely adopted for the future, if the International Control Commission is to function at all. If the I. C. C. is necessary, and I think that our activity will be necessary, as shown by the report, the Commission must be of a nature to enable it to develop a proper activity. A decision must be made that a definite number of members are to be always in Moscow, or that they are at least to meet there. At the same time the activity of the Commission must be more definitely formulated in the Statutes. Therefore we propose to take also this point into consideration in the Statute Commission which will be appointed here. We intend to place before the Commission a proposal to this effect.

Most of the cases with which we have had to deal were in the period of the various oppositions. As you probably remember, during the first Right opposition in Germany, expulsions from the Party were too frequently applied. Old Party members, workers, were expelled; in fact it looked as if no other measures existed but expulsions. The I. C. C. maintained the standpoint that in many cases when workers did not relinquish party activity, although they participated in some way or other in the Opposition, one should do everything to bring them back into the party. The Commission was of the opinion that there are also other means to make good the errors of individual members. We have strictly adhered to this tactic and experience has shown that we were right. The cases of those groups of the German Party which we referred back to the Central Commission for reconsideration have been happily solved. These groups proved themselves

subsequently good comrades. This shows that our standpoint was correct.

Also in regard to the second Opposition, the Ultra-Left, we carried on various negotiations, for instance in the **Ruth Fischer-Maslov case**; the Maslov case was of particular interest for the activity of the Commission. These negotiations proved that young comrades abroad had not a very clear notion of what their duty as Communists should be in court or before official authorities. We had to point out sternly that Maslov's attitude at his trial was non-communistic; therefore the I. C. C. suggested that a general proposal be addressed to all Parties that in regard to any legal proceedings they should determine on definite rules commensurate with the revolutionary traditions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. I must say that this decision which was endorsed by the Executive had a certain influence on the Parties; even if such matters do crop up again in the I. C. C., we must say that this problem can be considered to certain extent solved.

There was in the I. C. C. a whole series of cases concerning **emigration**. As all of you know emigration is a bad disease; re emigration divergencies of opinion in the parties can be much more acute than in connection with practical work. Moreover, they assume a personal character and at times utterly inadmissible forms: comrades slander one another. We even had a case some time ago when it came to murder on this basis; this happened in the Finnish Party. You will probably remember that this affair ended in court proceedings. We had also to deal lately with such differences in the I. C. C., but not on as large a scale as in the past. However, there was a case when the Commission had to adopt the drastic measure of relieving a comrade of his responsible post because he had gone too far in his slanderous accusations. However, some of the most characteristic cases are given in the report; other details are not fit for wider publication and therefore I will not go into them. I only mentioned a few cases to convince the Congress that there are serious cases which demand treatment in a special commission.

I must also say that another old tradition still exists in the Executive: prior to the existence of the I. C. C. special commissions were frequently formed, but it happens even now, although a definite commission already exists, that special commissions are appointed for individual cases, sometimes with the cooption of a representative of the I. C. C. and sometimes without such cooption. I think that in this respect, if the Commission is to continue its existence — and it seems to me that its composition guarantees a correct treatment and rapid settlement of affairs — the appointment of other commissions has no justification. My view is that this is merely a tradition which is gradually dying out.

I must also point out that provision is made in the Statutes that the I. C. C. does not deal with political differences. This is correct, for there should not be two political authorities side by side in the Comintern; there should be only one authority, the Executive, which determines the political side of the activity. Therefore we propose that this paragraph be retained in the Statutes.

The I. C. C.'s other activity is **auditing**. The International has no special Auditing Commission and I think that there would be no sense in setting up an Auditing Commission side by side with the I. C. C. In my opinion, the Control Commission should also function as **Auditing Commission**. Our action in this respect was that we elected a permanent Auditing Commission from our midst. But this Commission has no apparatus at its disposal. For a long time we did not even have a secretary, no assistant with definite practical functions. We used to apply to the Central Control Commission of the C. P. S. U. for a Communist expert (bookkeeper). But I think that this is unsatisfactory. Accounts and reports on financial matters concerning the individual parties have to be and were audited by the I. C. C. As provided for in the Statutes, the cash balance and the finan-

cial operations of the Executive were also dealt with by us. We found the activity in this domain correct and approved it, of course, with a few remarks which in some cases had good results. Particularly revolutionary parties are a bit careless in regard to their book-keeping. This must of course be changed. The activity of the revolutionary parties must be kept up to the mark also in this direction, it must be more particular and exact than in an ordinary legal party.

We had to make a few remarks on the general activity of a few parties where the tendency existed to spend all on the central institutions and to be a little indifferent concerning the financial position of local Party institutions. This was particularly noticeable in one respect: the Budget Commission had decided that not less than 20% of the revenue of the Party which goes to the central fund should be spent for local needs. The Auditing Commission declares that this was not the case. But as I have already said, the auditing activity of the Control Commission was not adequate in the past, and if the Control Commission is to continue its existence it should be given the possibility to develop this activity on better lines, which means that the Central Control Commission must have more authority than before in regard to business matters.

Therefore my proposal is: that the question of the competence of the Control Commission be referred to the Commission which will draw up the Statutes. Then we will lay our proposal before this Commission. This is what I wanted to say about the Commission.

On the whole we dealt with over 200 cases, but most of them were of a purely formal nature: they were complaints lodged by comrades whose sections had refused to propose or recommend them as members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, because without such recommendation comrades cannot become members at once but must, according to the general rules, be candidates of the party first or stay out altogether. In such cases our standpoint has always been that one cannot compel individual sections to recommend someone because the central authorities of the individual parties must know themselves who they are recommending. If, for instance, someone has left the Party and has come to Russia one should certainly recognise the right of the said party not to recommend him if it considers him practically a deserter. This is also the standpoint of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and in such cases it is left to it to admit the comrades in the usual way after a period of candidateship. We considered this standpoint correct except in cases when such an attitude of the central authorities of the respective sections rested on political differences and their views were erroneous. I mean, that when a recommendation was refused for political reasons, we considered that the I. C. C. has the right to deal with the matter. In connection with the paragraph re improvement of the Statutes, we propose that the I. C. C. be empowered to deal with matters also on its own initiative or at the proposal of the Executive when it is a question of giving an estimate of the role and activity of individual members of the Sections, as Communists. That is to say, when it is a question of their moral character as party members. In this connection we had some rather complicated cases. There were for instance cases where party obligations clashed with purely private affairs, with family affairs. Individual Parties get into all sorts of situations, so that one has to reckon with such questions. Of course in such cases it is best to negotiate in a special organ and not in the central organ of the given Party which in this case is so to speak passing judgement on itself. In cases when the Central Commission had not interviewed the comrade concerned, when the Central Commission decided on expulsion concerning a comrade to whom it had not given a hearing, we adopted the

practice of the Central Control Commission of the Party of the Soviet Union and referred such cases to the Central Committee of the respective sections for reexamination.

This is about all what one can briefly say about the Control Commission.

After Comrade Stutch's report the chairman, Comrade Humbert-Droz, make known proposals re the composition of the Programme Commission, the Credentials Commission and the Secretariat of the Congress.

#### Comrade HUMBERT-DROZ:

The Delegations have proposed the following comrades for the Programme Commission:

Bukharin, Stalin, Rykov, Molotov, Manuilsky, Skripnik, Ossinsky (C. P. S. U.); Dengel, Schröter (C. P. of Germany); Ercoli, Serra (C. P. of Italy); Brand, Lenski (C. P. of Poland); Thorez, Semrad (C. P. of France); Arnot, Bennet (C. P. of Great Britain); Weinstone, Cannon (C. P. of United States); Reimann, Koras (C. P. of Czechoslovakia); Strakhov, Li-Huang, Chan-Bian (C. P. of China); Schüller, Kharitov (Young Communist International); Lidin (C. P. of Yugoslavia); Katayama, Katok (C. P. of Japan); Kopenig (C. P. of Austria); Kemeny (C. P. of Hungary); Krebs (C. P. of Switzerland); Flyg (C. P. of Sweden); Hermansen (C. P. of Norway); Anwelt (C. P. of Estonia); Kolarov (C. P. of Bulgaria); Manner (C. P. of Finland); Darsono (C. P. of Indonesia); Carillo (C. P. of Mexico); Stutchko (C. P. of Latvia); Angaretis (C. P. of Lithuania); Thögersen (C. P. of Denmark); A. de Vries (C. P. of Holland); Sultan Sade (C. P. of Persia); Sala (C. P. of Uruguay); Lacerda (C. P. of Brazil); Cardenas (C. P. of Colombia); Parades (C. P. of Ecuador); Rasa (C. P. of India); Coenen (C. P. of Belgium); Spector (C. P. of Canada); Petrulesku (C. P. of Roumania); Syfisos (C. P. of Greece); Bunting (C. P. of S. Africa); Not yet appointed (C. P. of Australia); Fachri (C. P. of Turkey); Cheidar (C. P. of Palestine, Syria, Egypt).

Also Comrades Kuusinen, Clara Zetkin, Varga, Humbert-Droz.

Comrade Humbert-Droz was proposed as secretary.

Adopted unanimously.

#### Comrade HUMBERT DROZ:

The following comrades have been proposed for the Credentials Commission:

Arnot, Bennet, Bernard, Bernhardt, Celor, Engdahl, Ferriti, Garlandi, Grschegoschewski, Grünbaum, Haken, Johnstone, Manner, Münch-Petersen, Opitz, Ossipow, Piatnitzki, Remmele, Sala, Sartis, Smeral, Tschang-Tschen, Tschen-Kuan, Wassiliew, Weirauch.

As secretary, Comrade Abramov.

\*

The proposal was adopted unanimously.

Comrade Humbert-Droz: The Delegations propose that the composition of the Congress Secretariat be as follows:

Barbe, Engdahl, Ercoli, Gorki, Nikolos, Rothstein, Schneller, Smeral.

\*

This proposal too was adopted unanimously.

## Fifth Session.

July 20, 1928 (afternoon).

# Discussion on the Report of Comrade Bukharin.

Chairman Comrade Tom Bell.

Comrade MÜNZENBERG (Germany):

Comrades, the V. Congress of the Comintern made it expressly incumbent upon Communist Parties to take up mass agitation among sympathetic and mass organisations. This question was further dealt with by the VII. and VIII. Plenums of the Enlarged Executive. It is to be regretted, however, that quite a number of Communist Parties have yet done little along these lines, whilst the achievements in this respect have been relatively slight.

Comrade Bukharin pointed out in his report how our struggle against the social-democratic parties must be conducted more sharply and fundamentally than hitherto, and namely, both against their right and left groups. Thus, our struggle against the social-democrats must be carried on with all vigour, and consequently we must exert our increased efforts to win the non-Party and social-democratic workers, if not directly into the Communist Party, at least into a sympathetic organisation as the bridge towards the Communist Party.

What do we expect from the mass organisation, from the sympathetic organisations?

Our aims are as follows:

1. To arouse the interest of those millions of apathetic and indifferent workers who take no part whatever in political events, who are not interested either in the economic or cultural struggles of the proletariat, who simply have no ear for Communist propaganda. These people we wish to attract and arouse through new channels, by means of new ways.

2. Our sympathetic organisations should constitute bridges for the non-Party workers, for the social-democratic workers, and for the workers in the bourgeois parties — like the Centre Party in Germany — who have not yet mustered the courage to take the final step and join the Communist Party, but who are nevertheless in sympathy with the Communist movement and are prepared to follow us part of the way.

3. By means of the mass organisations we wish to extend the Communist sphere of influence in itself.

4. The organisational linking up of the elements in sympathy with the Soviet Union and with the Communists. The experience of recent years has shown that even with our utmost organisational exertions we may expect, before the victorious proletarian revolution, that millions of workers would not be organisationally drawn into the Communist Party. Nevertheless we ought to increase our efforts to organise solidly the most essential portion of the proletariat in the Communist Parties.

5. We must build up our own organisations in order to counteract the increasing efforts of the bourgeois and social-democratic parties in this respect, and

6. Through these sympathetic and mass organisations we should train the cadres of militants and officials of the Communist Party possessing organisational experience.

If we take up this work, we must give a clear account to ourselves as to the scope of this work.

Neither the I. R. A. nor the I. W. R. organisation — which, although not Communist organisations, are nevertheless under our influence — nor other similar organisations constitute mass organisations. The mass organisations are those which have been existing for years, such as the trade unions, the co-operatives, the federations of officials, the tenants' associations, the freethinkers' organisations. But these organisations are in the hands of the enemy, or at least, are mostly dominated by

our opponents. So far we have only those little organisations which we have formed after the war and which have not yet gained the masses, but constitute only the nuclei of larger organisations to be formed.

Our tactics should therefore be to win the old mass organisations that are swayed by the social democracy with whom we vie for influence, to extend and build up the mass organisations and to develop them into real mass organisations.

Besides political misgivings, some of the Party leaderships and groups entertain also strong organisational misgivings in regard to this work. The deciding fact is that it does not depend entirely upon ourselves how many of such organisations should be formed, because the bourgeois and the social-democratic opponents create such organisations on their own account. It is worth recording that of all the Parties there is one Party which has carried out the rulings of the Enlarged Executive concerning mass activity, and it is not a Section of the C. I. namely, the Social Democratic Party of Austria. Comrade Kuusinen, in his report on mass organisations, told us at the time how the parties should extend a planetary system of sympathetic and auxiliary organisations, yet none of our Parties has managed to form more than two or three such organisations. As against this, the Austrian Social Democratic Party has surrounded itself with 50 such sympathetic and auxiliary organisations, in order to poison the working class ideologically and politically and to lead it in opposition to Communism.

Take another case. In Germany the Social Democratic Party at its Kiel conference took up a special item on the Agenda dealing with the question of auxiliary organisations. The German S. P. has undertaken a big offensive: it has pushed us back in the sport movement; it has expelled us eight days prior to the Freethinkers Congress in Frankfurt, and a year ago it captured the Radio Amateurs Club. Thus we find that the enemy is by no means negligent as regards mass agitation but is forming hundreds of strongholds and supporting points.

Another argument against the work of mass agitation is to the effect that the mass organisations develop at the expense of the parties. This objection is refuted by the whole of our experience. In those countries where the Communist Parties are relatively strong in point of organisation, they have also relatively well-developed auxiliary organisations. The C. P. of Germany possesses today such real forces as the R. F. L. and similar organisations upon which it may rely for support. The same is partly taking place in Czechoslovakia. It is a certain survival of the sectarian sentiment on the part of some Party groups who believe it wrong to build up any auxiliary organisations in connection with the Party.

A third objection is to the effect that we do not dispose of sufficient officials to conduct this work. Properly speaking, we need just as many officials as to secure that the enemy should not grab these organisations, and also to secure for ourselves the necessary and due influence therein. Those officials who do the work in these auxiliary organisations should not and need not necessarily be Party members, but may be drawn from the large reservoir of the unorganised workers.

The most important organisations now supporting the Communist International are the R. F. L. (Red Front Fighters' League) and the International Red Aid which have just now carried out an excellent amnesty campaign in Germany. The Sacco-Vanzetti campaign has shown into what the Red Aid may develop. A highly important non-Party organisation is the International Workers Relief. In Germany we have experienced in the course of strikes in Halle, Middle Germany, and Saxony, what great services may be rendered by such organisations in the coming fights between the workers and the reformist trade union bureaucrats.

Comrade Bukharin is mistaken when he underestimates the activity of the Anti-Imperialist League. Not only was the Brussels demonstration one of the most powerful and grandest demonstrations against imperialism in recent years, but the League can also register today some excellent organisational achievements. Comrade Bukharin complained that no Communist Party has paid attention to the struggle in Nicaragua. He should have spoken on what the League has done in Mexico. It was one of the strongest mass movements ever seen in Mexico. Of course, the League is not a Communist Organisation, but a broad organisation of workers and national-revolutionary groups deserving our full support.

Important organisations are the "Friends of Soviet Russia" who recently organised themselves upon their own initiative. In France alone they have already over twenty thousand members, whilst in England and elsewhere they may be expected to give decisive support in the anti-war campaign.

An important task belongs also to the culture and film organisations. In the Exhibition you will find statistical data showing that the "Potemkin" film alone was seen in Germany

by 5,000,000 workers. These figures should convince you of the great value of the film as a weapon, which we have not yet sufficiently utilised.

Supplementary to the mass and auxiliary organisations is the distribution of Party literature, newspapers and magazines. In this respect we have achieved some very good results in Germany, particularly with our Illustrated Labour Newspaper.

The bourgeoisie, the social democracy and the Second International, at the time of the growing menace of war, have enlarged their mass organisations. They have produced further channels to reach the masses. It behoves us to meet the enemy here upon his own ground. The formation and extension of the mass organisations is of paramount importance to the growth of the Communist Parties; the mass agitation is an important part of the United Front tactics. From the Communist propaganda groups of 1919 we must grow into real revolutionary mass parties, and our auxiliary organisations into mass organisations gathering millions of workers, in order to be able to inaugurate and lead the struggle for power in all countries. (Prolonged cheers.)

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