

The VI. World Congress and the Fight for Communism.

By W. MOLOTOW.

**Report delivered to the Leningrad Functionaries of the C. P. S. U. on the
7th September 1928.**

Comrades! The work accomplished by the VI. Congress of the Communist International is of extreme importance for the development of the communist movement. The agenda of the Congress in itself shows this importance. The Congress not only discussed the leading problems of the international situation, and arrived at decisions respecting them, but issued a document determining the extended perspectives of the proletarian struggle — the Programme of the Communist International. Besides this, the Congress has made decisions of the utmost importance in the question of the measures to be taken in the struggle against the danger of imperialist war,

in the questions of the revolutionary movement in the colonies, and, finally, with respect to the situation in the Soviet Union and in the C. P. S. U.

I should like to point out to begin with that a report on the results of the Congress cannot do justice to the most important decisions. I shall have to concentrate my attention on these points affording a general characterisation of the work of the Congress. Special attention must of course be accorded to the programme, and to the resolutions containing our estimate of the present epoch of international development, and determining the political line of the Comintern for the

next stage. But first an outline must be given, if only a rough one, of the general character of the Congress.

The growth of the international Communist movement was mirrored in the composition of the Congress. Whilst at the V. Congress the representatives of 49 Communist Parties were present, this time 9 communist sections more were represented, making a total of 58. It is of equal importance to note that on this occasion the delegates of most of the Communist Parties have taken active part in the work of the Congress. This was seen in the plenary sessions, and even more in the work of the commissions of the Congress. The various nationalities of the Comrades who delivered reports to the Congress served to show the active participation of many Parties in the work of the Congress. Besides Comrade Bucharin, who gave the report on the general questions of the international situation and on the programme of the Comintern, a number of other comrades from leading sections of the Comintern delivered reports or co-reports on two other questions — war and the colonies. Thus on the war question, in addition to the chief reporter, Comrade Bell (England), there spoke Comrades Barbé (France), Schneller (Germany) and Lovestone (U. S. A.). On the colonial question, in addition to the chief reporter, Comrade Kuusinen (Finland), co-reports were delivered by Comrades Ercoli (Italy), Strakhov (China), Sikander (India) and Humbert-Droz (Switzerland). Comrades Varga and Manuilsky reported on the situation in the C. P. S. U. and the U. S. S. R. This list of reporters suffices in itself to show that the experience of the leading Communist parties has been brought to bear on the various problems. The greatly increased participation in the discussion on the reports and in the work of drawing up the resolutions must also be welcomed as a distinguishing feature of this Congress. How collective the

work of the Comintern has become may be illustrated by the fact that the original draft of the programme was supplemented, within a relatively short time, by close on 1000 written suggestions as to corrections and amendments. (Many of these came from members of the Parties, and not from the Congress delegates). These suggestions enabled a number of essential additions and even alterations to be made in the original text of the programme, indubitably tending to its considerable improvement.

At the Congress there took place an extremely lively discussion on a number of important questions. To take only a few big questions, we can mention the following themes which were discussed in connection with the Programme, the rôle of financial capital, the social bases of reformism, the nature of Fascism, the perspectives of bourgeois democratic revolution, the most important types of countries and the possibilities of their transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the problems of the N. E. P. and War Communism, and so forth. In the debate on the international situation and the tasks confronting the Comintern, special attention was paid to the question of the "3rd period" in the development of post-war capitalism and to the question of the internal and external contradictions existing in the imperialist States and their influence on the war danger. The discussion on the colonial question led to great debates on the theory of "decolonisation" and on the part played by the national bourgeoisie in the colonies. It is not possible here, to go into the details of these discussions. It must, however, be observed that the characteristic feature of the decisions of the VI. Congress has been their unanimity. The work of the Congress lasted 1½ months. The result of this work is unanimous decisions on all questions.

I.

The Programme and the Perspectives of Communism.

1. The Significance of the Acceptance of the Programme.

The chief decisions of the Congress have already been published in the press. Others will be published within the next few days. I shall deal briefly with these decisions. Among them the first place is necessarily occupied by the Programme.

It is the first time that the Communist International adopts a programme. This is an event of extraordinary significance for the whole international labour movement. The programme of the Comintern differs from other Comintern decisions, which determine this or that current task of international Communism, in that it lays down the general and most urgent tasks of the Communist International for the whole epoch of the revolutionary struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat. Up to the adoption of this Programme, the Comintern has confined itself to decisions on the perspectives of the struggle of the proletariat in connection with this or that specific task of proletarian revolution, or determining the general tasks of the coming period. The adoption of the programme signifies the establishment of our most important perspectives for the whole epoch of international socialist revolution.

Marx stated that the epoch of international proletarian revolution would last for 1½ to 2, or perhaps for even 5 decades ("15, 20, 50 years of civil wars and international wars"). The founding of the Communist International itself signifies that the history of the world has already entered this epoch; it was inaugurated by the October Revolution. The October Revolution again gave the impetus for the development of the revolutionary movement in other countries, and evoked a powerful revolutionary fermentation in the colonies. This epoch, beginning 11 years ago, set the Communist International a fundamental task, that of the scientific generalisation of the experiences gained in the international proletarian revolution begun in October 1917, combined with the general analysis of the development of present day capitalism and of the perspectives of the internal struggle for Communism. The adoption of the programme signifies that from now onwards we bear a brightly burning torch in our hands, or, better said, a searchlight of the highest illuminating power, directing its penetrating rays into every detail of the development and

perspectives of the whole epoch of international proletarian revolution. The fact of the adoption of the programme of the Comintern furnishes fresh proof that we are truly already standing with both feet in that new epoch which is — the epoch of international socialist revolution. The very fact of the approval of the Comintern Programme, which consists of a generalisation of the experiences of the international labour movement and of the revolutionary movement of the oppressed peoples in the colonies, signifies that Communism has already become an international force which is consciously hewing its pathway, in principle and practice, to complete victory.

In the whole history of mankind, it has never yet happened that a class has possessed a uniform international programme of action. There has never before been a class capable of it. It has been left to the working class, the class inscribing on its banner the abolition of the system of class society, that is, the abolition of classes, to draw up an international programme of action, the international fighting programme for the communist reorganisation of human society. In the past, even in relatively remote times, there have been great minds with great dreams of the reformation of society on "principles of justice", isolated individuals cherishing Utopian dreams of a communist reconstruction of society. The first half of the 19th century witnessed the visions of a constellation of noteworthy socialist Utopians. These men, and the small group of followers gathering round them, had no possibility of creating anything resembling an international programme of action for the realisation of the reorganisation of society. Marx and Engels' "Communist Manifesto", however, laid the first foundation stone of the future programme of the Communist International. But it is only today that the Comintern could undertake the first attempt at a programme of international communism. From now onwards the world proletariat possesses the scientifically grounded programme of the Comintern, and opens a new, and indeed the most important page in the history of its struggle for communism.

It is very characteristic that the II. International not only possesses no programme of its own, but does not even raise the question of a programme. Although the first imperialist great war showed plainly enough that the capitalist system,

despite the profound contradictions inherent in the imperialist system of today, is striving towards the firmer establishment of world relations; although it is plain that the post-war period further confirms the fact of the development of capitalist world economy which increasingly tends to bind the separate capitalist states more and more to one another, whilst on the other hand the development of the class struggle of the proletariat in the various countries sets the international proletariat the task of solving fundamental problems of a world-wide extent — it never occurs to the so-called "socialist" International to draw up an international programme. Whilst the Comintern has been preparing its programme for five years, the II. International has no programme of an international nature at all, nor does it want one. The various constituents of the II. International have, in the national social democratic parties, become so closely bound up with their "own" bourgeoisies, that the II. International does not feel the slightest desire for an international programme. The II. International thereby adds still another proof that it does not represent a proletarian International, but is inextricably entangled in an ideology entirely foreign to the working class, the ideology of the bourgeoisie, of the exploiter; that social democracy today is a "labour party" in name only, but in reality is an out and out bourgeois party. It is therefore easily comprehensible that a "socialist" International of this description, representing in actual fact nothing but the ideological chaff of a decaying capitalist class, does not feel any need for drafting an international fighting programme for socialism.

The fact of the adoption of the Comintern programme means that, in spite of the varied national participation in the communist movement, the conditions making an international communist revolution possible are already maturing; that the proletariat has recognised the chief ways and means of overthrowing capitalism and that the **Communist International is the real guide and leader** of international proletarian revolution, possessing from this time onwards a scientifically substantiated international programme of action for the whole epoch of struggle for the victory of Communism. The programme which has been adopted is the first attempt in this sphere, but it is at the same time the product of the last few years' work of the Comintern. The programme-question was first taken up at the IV. Congress (1922). The VI. Congress will live in the history of Communism as the Congress first establishing the programme of international Communism. With the publication of this programme international Communism unfurls to its full extent the flag of struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of imperialism, for the abolition of classes, for the abolition of all exploitation of man by man. This programme, incorporating the international experience of the proletariat and the most important achievements of the scientific theory of Communism, will become the base of the communist world movement for the whole epoch of international proletarian revolution.

The Fundamental Idea of the Programme.

What is the fundamental idea of the programme of the Comintern? It is that the **programme of the Comintern is the programme of the proletarian world dictatorship.**

The programme contains only a relatively short chapter on the final aim — world communism. The programme does not set out to describe in detail what communist society will be like. As consistent Marxists we hold to the science of dialectic materialism, the spirit of which permeates the whole programme, and therefore we cannot occupy ourselves with prophecies and predictions as to the lines on which the future communist order will develop. Our programme, which is hostile to every variety of programme based on the idealist conception of history, throws light solely on the main supporting pillars of the communist system which will replace decaying capitalism.

On the other hand, the programme contains an exhaustive analysis of present-day capitalism and its imperialist epoch. Every essential point is dealt with, both with reference to the roots of present-day capitalism and to the conditions and perspectives of its development. This analysis of the international capitalist system reveals the nature of its present stage of development and its inevitable, approaching decay. Special attention is here devoted to the general crisis of capitalism, to the resultant worsening of the situation of the

working class and the whole proletariat and to the consequent development of the first phase of the world revolution. It is made clear that the history of capitalism in the last decade, especially when viewed in the light of the imperialist world war, demonstrates with all clearness the complete hopelessness of the present general crisis of capitalism. The increasing exploitation of the working class and of the colonial peoples, and the aggravation of the class struggle thereby conditioned, are gradually arousing the mighty forces of international proletarian revolution. The growing contradictions in present day capitalism and the tremendous breach torn in the international imperialist system by the existence of the Soviet Union, place the decisive questions of the struggle of Communism against capitalism on our agenda of practical action.

Especially characteristic of the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism is the rule of Fascism in certain countries and the extension of Fascist methods to others. Fascism, upon whose flag the annihilation of the revolutionary proletarian vanguard is inscribed, reveals by its deeds the nature of the bourgeois dictatorship of modern society in all its nakedness. Fascism, substituting for bourgeois democracy the methods of direct bourgeois dictatorship, reveals the entire hopelessness of the present crisis of capitalism. The logic of the development of the Fascist regime leads not only to a failure to ameliorate the class struggle, but on the contrary drives the struggling classes forcibly and definitely forward to the main problem, the problem of power. In spite of the direct and indirect support received from social democracy, Fascism is not only unable to secure the power of capital, but renders the question of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie more acute than ever. The rule of Fascism in Italy continues to exist only by means of a jail regime towards the revolutionary elements in the working class; Fascism in Poland is treading the same path. The methods of Fascism which are indissolubly bound up with sharper reprisals against the working class can only lead to an intensification of the class struggles which will at a certain time annihilate with elementary force the Fascist hull of the capitalist regime. The Fascist sentences of 20 and 30 years penal servitude for communist leaders only serve to fan the flame of indignation, and cannot but arouse the desire for proletarian vengeance against the regime, which is doomed to perish, of the capitalist exploiters.

Under present day conditions the crisis in capitalism is international in character. Imperialism has converted the capitalist states into one interdependent organism on an international scale. The separate parts of the capitalist system are developing today in intimate communication with the main centres of capitalism. In the capitalist system of today the inner antagonisms in the separate countries are becoming increasingly international in character. There is not one economically developed country which is not dependent on the world's markets, or is not subject to the influence of some great capitalist State.

The antagonisms between the great imperialist states themselves not only show no sign of declining, but are acuter than ever. At the present moment international antagonism is especially concentrated in the conflict between the two capitalist giants, England and the United States. The conditions under which capitalism evolves force more and more into the foreground the problems of the hegemony of the capitalist giants in the imperialist world system. The nature of the present development of the capitalist system, and above all the inevitable intensification of the struggle between world capitalism and the first socialist State, confront the working class with the whole extent of the problem of the world dictatorship of the proletariat. The importance of the programme lies therefore before all in the fact that in it world imperialism, theoretically and practically, is confronted with world communism, which has inscribed on its banner the victory of the proletarian world dictatorship. The programme of the Comintern, which forms the basis of the programmes of the Communist Parties of all countries, is the programme of the world dictatorship of the proletariat.

At the same time the programme had to take into account the fact of the existence of the still isolated socialist state, the U. S. S. R.

The programme which has been adopted differs from earlier drafts in devoting a special chapter to the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. Here an analysis of the conditions

and perspectives of the development of the Soviet Union is given, and in connection therewith, the question of the importance of the Soviet Union and its international revolutionary duties, as well as the question of the duties of the international proletariat towards the Soviet Union are elucidated. The fundamental question of the possibility of the victory of socialism in one single country is also accorded due attention, so that this question is no longer merely the subject of resolutions in the Communist Parties and in the Comintern, but is clearly dealt with in the programme of the Communist International itself.

Besides this, we find in the programme a very big chapter on the transitional period from capitalism to Socialism; here the main types of revolution in the period of struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat are delineated. These types are classified under certain headings, and examples of the three main types of countries given. The first type is that of the capitalistically highly developed countries (United States, Germany, England), in which the proletariat stands before the immediate struggle for the dictatorship; the second is the colonial or semi-colonial (China, India) and the dependent countries (Argentina, Brazil), in which as a general rule the conditions necessary for independent socialist development do not yet exist. Between these two types is the type of country at an intermediate stage of the development of capitalism (Spain, Portugal, Poland, Hungary, Balkans), in which a certain minimum of the objective prerequisites for socialist development exist, but where the bourgeois democratic transformations are not yet completed, but will probably have to be undergone to a greater or smaller extent. The programme shows the relations of these three main types of countries to the perspectives of the struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat. In doing this the programme points out, in a definite if general form, the road to the victorious struggle for world Communism.

3. Communism and "Socialist" Reformism.

The programme, representing as it does a carefully forged theoretical weapon of Communism against capitalism, necessarily accords a leading place to the question of the bitterest ideological enemy of Communism in the working class — the so-called "socialist" reformism. Therefore a confrontation of Communism, as the sole proletarian class ideology, with all and every variation of social reformism, underlies the whole programme. A brief analysis of the history of Socialism is given, followed by an analysis of the degeneration of social democracy into social imperialism, and by a survey of all the main ideologies in the working class hostile to Communism.

The outline given of the numerous ideological currents influencing the working class, beginning with the openly reactionary creeds with their dominantly religious ideology, and showing the intermediate stages to such currents as that of anarchism and "revolutionary" syndicalism, in which ideological subordination to the bourgeoisie is veiled behind Left radical phraseology, enables the programme to expose the ideological and actual hostility of these currents to the revolutionary proletariat. Special attention is drawn to two serious deviations from the proletarian class line — firstly opportunism in all its variations, and secondly, revolutionary adventurism, generally no more than a repetition of this same opportunism, but cloaked with Left phraseology.

The experience gained in our revolution taught us that during periods of abrupt change in the political situation, and especially during periods of temporary but unavoidable retreat, ideas are likely to become rife, even in the ranks of the Communist Parties themselves, which must be classified under Lenin's "Infantile Sickness of Communism". It will be remembered that this was the situation with us during the Brest period, when the group of so-called "Left communists" (not plain communists be it noted, but "Left" communists) was formed in our Party. And we need only recall the extremely difficult period which our revolution passed through, before the transition to the N. E. P., to have a striking example of the rise of such currents of opinion: the group which at that time flatly opposed the Leninist Party line under a specific "workers' flag". Today we are well aware that during those periods in which the revolution must fight its way through the countless

obstacles heaped in its path, especially those obstacles blocking the way to that first and most urgent task of socialist construction, namely the absolutely necessary industrialisation of the country, that during such periods certain ideological vacillations are liable to creep into even the Communist Parties, and even ideas which, although in reality only a repetition of social-democratic opportunism, are wont to appear in a Left garb and seek to hide their Right policy behind sham revolutionary phrases. The programme, taking into account not only the situation as it is today, has therefore devoted some space to the criticism of such ideological departures from the proletarian line and to a warning against possible future waverings in critical situations, in which failure to adhere to the Leninist line may dangerously disorganise the ranks of the proletariat and represents a serious hindrance to the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

The chapter on the strategy and tactics of the Communist International furnishes a characterisation of this ideology. At the same time special attention is here drawn to the most dangerous ideological foe of Communism: the social reformism led by the II. International. The programme expressly declares that present-day social democracy is the strongest pillar of imperialism within the working class, and is therefore the chief of Communism among the working masses.

It is characteristic of reformism that it will not show itself to the working class in its true colours. It prefers to hide its Philistine nakedness in attractive garments, and to hang out a "socialist" sign. The programme lays great stress on unmasking that "socialist" reformism which conceals its bourgeois character behind a "workers' flag". This special stress is justified by the fact that the exposure of the theory and practice of social democracy is one of our greatest difficulties in the ideological struggle for the masses. Although social democracy, beginning on that famous 4th August 1914, when the German social democrats voted for the credits to Kaiser Wilhelm to carry on imperialist war, has proceeded steadily on the downward path ever since, and is now not only the ideological support of imperialism, but an actual accomplice of Fascism, the power of bourgeois and petty bourgeois prejudices still exercises much influence over the working class, hence the influence still maintained by social democracy among the working masses.

Since the time that Socialism began to degenerate into social imperialism, that is, since the commencement of the imperialist world war, Communism has taken an energetic stand against the International of social betrayal. At first there gathered round the flag of Communist internationalism only individual revolutionary elements and groups from the working class. These first organisers of the Communist International were, however, — beginning with the celebrated international conferences in Zimmerwald and Kienthal during the war — already at that time the only representatives of the real interests of the proletariat. Since that time Communism has become a mighty organisation, the powerful representative of the revolutionary unity of the proletariat, the unity of the proletarian struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. Social democracy still continues its endeavours to fool the workers, declaring the communists to be splitters of the proletarian united front. The programme of the Comintern replies to this infamous lie and base hypocrisy by showing the real nature of the fight for the unity of the working class against the bourgeoisie and against the "socialist" agents of capital. In reality, especially under present conditions, it is precisely social democracy which disrupts and splits the united front of the proletarian struggle against capital and thereby becomes itself the active accomplice of the bourgeoisie. The programme stigmatises these real destroyers of unity in the working class, and shows that "the chief rôle played by social democracy today is to undermine the needful fighting unity of the proletariat in its struggle against imperialism". The real banner of working class unity is unfurled by the Communist International itself in this programme.... the banner of unity in the proletarian struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the revolutionary proletariat. The programme proclaims with the unanimous voice of the great proletarian vanguard that this revolutionary class unity of the international proletariat can and must be realised.

In conclusion, mention must be made of the former defects of the programme which the VI. Congress has endeavoured

to eliminate in formulating the final text. As compared with the original drafts, the programme adopted by the Congress has been greatly improved in the sections referring to the development of Europe and America, and of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The removal of the fault of what is known as "Europeanism" from the final draft has been an important point. The programme accords due consideration to the chief factors in the development of China and India today, and to the events in other colonial countries, so important during the present epoch. In connection therewith the programme devotes special attention to such ideological tendencies as Sun-Yat-Senism in China, Ghandiism in India, and Garveyism among the Negroes of America. The unmasking of these and similar bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologies, which play a leading

reactionary rôle under present conditions, is of enormous importance. The reactionary content of these ideologies is reflected to a certain extent in many strata of the working class, even today. Their influence on the peasant masses and on the masses of petty bourgeois slaves of imperialism is an especially dangerous obstacle to the spread of the revolutionary spirit. It is not possible for the programme of the Comintern to refer in detail to the many variations of these ideologies existing at the present time, the anti-revolutionary rôle of which is still of great importance in the further anti-imperialist struggles of the colonies; nevertheless the programme deals, clearly and definitely with all that is most important for unmasking and fighting against these influences.

II.

The International Situation and the Tasks of the C. I.

1. The Three Periods and the Present Situation.

The VI. Congress has given in the programme a characterisation of the general development of present-day capitalism, and has at the same time characterised in a special resolution the present international situation and the current tasks of the Communist International.

The chief resolution passed by the Congress speaks of three repioids in the history of the post-war development of the capitalist system, and in connection therewith, three corresponding periods in the development of the international labour movement. The first period, culminating in 1921, was a period of acute capitalist crisis, ending on the one hand with the firmer establishment of the position of the first Socialist State, the Soviet Union, and on the other with a number of severe defeats of other sections of the international proletariat. The second period, beginning about the end of 1923, is chiefly distinguished by the partial stabilisation of capitalism on the one hand, and by the rapid economic advance of the Soviet Union on the other. As the beginning of the third period we may take that juncture at which the capitalist system — in so far as it can be spoken of here in its entirety — began to overtake and pass its pre-war level; this period corresponds approximately to the transition to the reconstruction period in the Soviet Union. This third period, whose main features are already clearly distinguishable, does not by any means signify the security or durability of the capitalist development of today. On the contrary, the increasing inner contradictions prevailing in the capitalist countries are becoming more and more interwoven in the ever acuter antagonisms among both the capitalist countries themselves, and these and the Soviet Union. Under the conditions obtaining in this third period, in which the discrepancies between the increase in the productive forces and the insufficient absorbent powers of the market are becoming particularly acute, the fresh epoch of imperialist war approaches ever nearer and already announces itself (Japan and China).

Capitalism is making frantic endeavours to establish its position. For this purpose it perfects its technics, makes desperate efforts in the rationalisation of production, accelerates the process of monopolist organisation, makes greater use of such instruments as social democracy in the interests of its domination, and creates new state forms, such as Fascism. But all this cannot secure the permanent stability of capitalism. The contradictions of capitalism continue to increase inexorably, and will inevitably reach that stage at which the whole capitalist system collapses. The whole burden of the crisis of capitalism, which is spread over a number of stages, falls with ever greater weight upon the shoulders of the working masses. The proletariat, whose conditions of living worsen day by day. Capital redoubles its attack upon labour, wages are cut down still further, working hours lengthened, the army of the unemployed augmented. The rule of financial capital, constituting an amalgamation of banks with industry, leads to the greater centralisation of capital and this again to the amalgamation of the organisation of the exploiting classes with the organs of state authority. Bourgeois democracy is obviously undergoing an ever deepening crisis. The consequence is that the simple economic struggles of the workers for their interests encounter not only the resistance of the employers concerned, but to an increasing

extent come up against the whole system of the political rule of the bourgeoisie. Even the smallest economic strikes are beginning to assume a political character, whilst the great economic conflicts confront one class definitely with another — proletariat and bourgeoisie. This signifies a serious intensification of the class struggle, and finds expression in the growing radicalisation of the broad masses of the workers.

The fight against capital, under present day conditions, is indissolubly bound up with the struggle against social democracy, which is exerting every effort to prolong the life of capitalism, and comes forward with increasing openness as the ally of the capitalist class. Whilst ever fresh attacks are being made on wages, whilst the army of the unemployed increases beyond all measure, whilst the rights of the economic organisations of the proletariat are swept aside — social democracy smugly proclaims "industrial peace" and joins the bourgeoisie in advocating "economic democracy". All this, the whole logic of capitalist development today, urges the workers forward from small economic demands to great political problems, from the defence of their daily needs to the struggle for power. But social democracy, as the faithful agent of imperialism, deems its first duty to be the prevention of strikes, the amelioration of antagonisms, the distraction of the workers' attention from the main tasks of proletarian struggle. The sorry part being played by social democracy has not yet been clearly recognised by millions of workers, but everything goes to show that its policy, which openly amounts to service for capitalism, will lead to its complete collapse, together with the allegedly "socialist" but really petty bourgeois illusions and hopes still to be found among the working class.

These are the main features of the inner development of the capitalist state. These inner contradictions are indissolubly bound up with the inherent contradictions of capitalism in the international arena.

2. The Contradictions of Capitalism and International Politics.

None of the attempts to reorganise the technical basis of capitalism, to carry out capitalist rationalisation, or to attain even more comprehensive forms of capitalist organisation, can prevent the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system from growing and thereby at the same time check the intensification of the class struggle in the capitalist states. The capitalist states are involved in the system of world economy through the agency of the world market. This, on the one hand, makes the transformation of the inner class antagonisms into international antagonisms between proletariat and bourgeoisie inevitable, and, on the other hand, brings with it in proportion as the importance of world economy grows, an increasingly bitter struggle among the capitalist states for world hegemony.

The decisions of the VI. Congress emphasise once more, and more strongly, the fact, since the great war, that the centre of capitalism has shifted from Europe to America. The greatest international antagonism existing today is that between the land of growing American capitalism and Great Britain, which latter country, in spite of all its immense productive forces, is not even in a position to regain its pre-war level. This does

not mean that the antagonisms between the other imperialist states have lessened or lost their importance. Such a conception would unavoidably lead to opportunist conclusions both with regard to the judgment to be formed on the capitalist crisis and with regard to the immediate tasks of the revolutionary proletariat. This was the result of the well known "theory" of Europe put on rations by America, a "theory" which was in reality only the peculiar expression of the depression felt at that time by the Philistines at being pressed against the wall by the power of the imperialist giants. On the other hand, it would be an equally grave error to under-estimate the supreme importance of North America for the development of international imperialism. The resolutions of the V. Congress already pointed this out. Since this Congress the role of American capitalism has increased, especially in Europe. It is not for nothing that German economy is completely under the control of the American Gilbert Parker, plenipotentiary of the international banks and trusts. Nor is it by accident that the control of the financial and economic development of Poland is long since in the hands of the representative of the American creditors, Mr. Dawes.

The days are past when the United States of America did not interfere in the affairs of Europe. America is, on the contrary, now going further and further in its struggle against the countries dominant in capitalist Europe, especially against Great Britain, and obviously aims at the hegemony of world politics. One of the clearest proofs of this is the Kellogg Pact, of which so much has been heard of late. By means of this pact America seeks to attain the hegemony in international politics. Whilst many of the European states which are members of the League of Nations, itself subject to the hegemony of the British bourgeoisie, have signed the Kellogg Pact with anything but friendly feeling, and even with repugnance, America seeks to gain further signatories, not only in Europe, but in other parts of the world. The Soviet Union, too, has decided to sign the Kellogg Pact on the so-called outlawing of war as "an instrument of national policy".

A few words must be devoted to this question.

The motives inducing the Soviet Union to sign the Kellogg Pact are stated for the most part in the declaration made by the Soviet government. The Soviet Union has openly stated its opinion of this document drawn up by the "pacifists" of American imperialism.

To us it is perfectly clear that the unmasking of imperialist pacifism is and remains one of our most important duties towards the international proletariat. Viewed from this standpoint, our signing of the pact is nothing more nor less than the seizing of an additional opportunity of urging upon the signatory powers the all-important question of disarmament, the indispensable pre-requisite for the abolition of war, and therefore incompatible with the system of imperialist rule. When deciding on the question of signing the pact, we were bound to take into account the existence of antagonisms among the imperialist powers. The signing of the pact, in so far as it imposes certain objective obligations on the signatory powers with respect to public opinion, possesses therefore a certain value for the Soviet Union, especially with regard to those powers which are so anxious at the present time for fresh wars, and impatient to make an attack on the Soviet Union. The initiators of the attempt to use the Kellogg Pact as a fresh instrument for the formation of a united front of the bourgeois states against the Soviet Union are thwarted by our timely exposure of this attempt. It has proved not only impossible to ignore the Soviet Union, but on the contrary, the bellicose imperialists have been placed in the eyes of public opinion, and not only among the workers, but among the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie — in an extremely unpleasant position.

America is striving openly for the hegemony of world politics. This increases the friction between the United States and the second greatest imperialist power, Great Britain. The consequent antagonisms increase daily in acuteness. What, for instance, is the meaning of the attempts being made by the American government to establish immediate contact with Egypt and Ireland!

At the same time we see that in the whole world there is not one single capitalist state which is not taking active

part in the world politics. This means that all the nations and peoples of the whole world are being drawn into the conflict of interests being fought in this arena of world politics. The present conflicts between the capitalist powers, however, inevitably lead to the greatest of imperialist world wars.

3. The War Question and the Colonial Question at the Congress. The Fight for the Masses, and the Fight against Social Democracy.

At the present time world capitalism is passing through a period of severe economic depression. This is observable not only in the States of Europe, but even in the land of powerful American capitalism. The prevailing contradiction of capitalism, that is, the contradiction between the growth of productive forces and the deficient capacity of the markets, pushes the question of exchange with the colonies into the foreground. The colonial question is of supreme importance in the development of world economy and world politics. The question is rendered the more urgent at the present time by the fact that various colonies and semi-colonies, such as China, India to an increasing extent, and Egypt in the near future, are proving that, from the standpoint of international relations, they are no longer to be regarded as a bone of contention, since they are making their way to independence. The development of the colonial countries, under present conditions, cannot but pass through a series of acutely revolutionary stages. For instance, the last upsurge of the Chinese revolution is now being followed by a process of preparation for an even more determined uprising in China. In India the revolutionary fermentation is greater than ever, and is pregnant with great revolutionary storms.

This character of the development of the colonial countries is mirrored in the mighty convulsions shaking the capitalist contradictions, these again bringing in their train armed conflicts among the imperialists. The pacifist chatter of the peace-makers of America and Europe today is nothing but a veiled preparation for these imperialist conflicts. It suffices to remember that the pacifists of both Europe and America are steadily increasing their armaments and forming fresh military and diplomatic alliances with one imperialist group against another, and especially against the Soviet Union. One of the best means of unmasking imperialist pacifism is the disarmament proposal of the Soviet Union, first formulated as a general and complete disarmament, and later, as a minimum, demanding the partial disarmament of all States. All this makes the war question the most important question of the whole present epoch.

These are the reasons why the VI. Congress of the Comintern placed the question of war danger and of the methods of combating fresh imperialist wars in the front of its discussions, and why the colonial question was given so conspicuous a place on its agenda.

From what has been said, it will be seen that all Sections of the Comintern must redouble their efforts against social democracy, which forms at the present time the most dangerous influence in the service of imperialism. The VI. Congress has specially emphasised this task. The Congress in pointing out the process of radicalisation taking place among the workers and the growth of the Left current in the proletarian cadres of social democracy, emphasised the necessity of a determined exposure of the "Left" social democratic leaders, who must be shown to the working masses in their true colours as simply more subtle and, therefore, more dangerous pacemakers of bourgeois policy. The slogan of the "fight for the masses" must, under present conditions, when the class struggle of the workers against capital is becoming more acute and the danger of a new imperialist world war is increasing, become an immediate slogan. The tactics of the proletarian united front continue to be of the utmost importance, pursued under present day conditions solely on the lines of the united front from below, and aiding the acceleration of the withdrawal of the working masses from the Second and Amsterdam Internationals. These tactics have always been, and still are, the best means of unmasking social democracy down to the very last "Left" leader, for they gather together the forces of the proletariat in self-defence against the capitalist offensives.

In connection with the ever more urgent task of winning over the broadest masses of the workers, the VI. Congress drew special attention to the weaknesses of which various Parties have been guilty in the struggle against social democracy, and particularly to the inadequacy of communist work in the trade unions in the capitalist countries. The question of communist work in the reactionary trade unions continues to be of paramount importance for winning over the masses for Communism.

In the present international situation the intensification of our work in the trade unions has become a particularly pressing problem for the whole Communist International.

The task of working more energetically than ever to win over the broad masses is one which falls also to the Young Communist organisations and to the whole Y.C.I., who, in their future work, must make a definite turn in this direction.

III.

The Comintern and its Political Line.

1. The Unity of the Comintern and the Fight against Trotskyism.

The last question with which we have to deal is the question of the Communist International itself, and of the decisive line pursued by it during the present period.

One of the characteristic features of the VI. Congress was the complete unanimity of its decisions. During the period following the V. Congress we had repeatedly to fight against various oppositional currents which attacked the Leninist line of the C.I., both from the "Right" and from the "Left". But at the VI. Congress the Communist International showed that perfect unanimity of its ranks which it has won in its struggle against so many ideological vacillations, and especially against Trotskyism. Trotskyism arose out of our Soviet conditions, out of the C. P. S. U., nevertheless it represented a system of ideas consisting of Right policy draped in Left whilst attacking the Leninist line of the Comintern. Such an ideology as this naturally acted as a magnet attracting every imaginable opportunist element and group in the Comintern, where these had not fully overcome their social democratic tendencies. Trotskyism became at last the international banner of open, or sometimes concealed, opportunism in the Comintern. This enabled the Comintern to sweep a considerable number of the decaying elements of opportunism out of the Comintern. Of even greater importance than this is the fact that in this struggle against Trotskyism the Comintern has been able to sharpen its ideological weapons, and to carry the ideological banner of Leninism before the broad masses of the international proletariat.

The Congress has shown that Trotskyism has been completely exposed among the ranks of the communists. All Trotsky's attempts to gain the ear of the Congress by a variety of declarations, beginning with the criticism of the programme draft drawn up by the Comintern and fresh attacks on the policy of the C. P. S. U., and proceeding to requests for readmittance into the Comintern, found but little support, for even on this occasion Trotsky has continued in his old errors and has done little more than prove that he has broken once for all with Communism. It is easily comprehensible that the Congress unanimously rejected all appeals made by the Trotskyists against former decisions of the Comintern.

This does not mean that the Comintern is not still liable to encounter this or that relic of Trotskyist tendencies. The C. P. S. U. must be prepared for this under present circumstances, when the necessary acceleration of industrialisation unavoidably brings us up against tremendous difficulties and against the present aggravation of the class struggle. Therefore we are not yet relieved of the duty of a systematic ideological struggle against the remnants and new zigzags of Trotskyism. The decisions of the Congress have set a conclusion to this stage of development in the Comintern, which has been a period, to a great extent, of overcoming the Trotskyist danger in its ranks.

The VI. Congress of the Comintern has witnessed not only its purging from Trotskyist elements, whose influence has as a rule not reached beyond the confines of small groups, but at the same time the affiliation of seven new Sections. Among these we count the Parties of Cuba, Corea, New Zealand, and Paraguay, the Irish Labour League, the Socialist Party of Ecuador, and the revolutionary Socialist Party of Columbia. The affiliation of these new Sections to the Comintern is one of the most striking indications of the advancement of world Communism.

2. The Main Line is the Fight against Right Deviations.

What are now the characteristic features of the political line of the Comintern under present conditions, now that Trotskyism has been annihilated? What is the main line of our ideological struggle during the present and the coming period? What has the Congress of the Comintern decided in this direction?

The chief resolution passed by the Comintern gives a clear and unequivocal reply to this question.

In connection with the fact that under the conditions imposed by the continued partial stabilisation of capitalism, the social democracy, in its different varieties, is bound to influence some strata of the Communist Parties, the VI. Congress emphasised the necessity of intensifying the struggle against the Right danger in the ranks of the Comintern. And indeed we have reason enough not to forget the power still exercised by social democracy in the working class. This power of social democracy is not only seen in the fact that millions of workers still vote for the "socialists" at parliamentary elections. The ideological influence of social democracy frequently penetrates, to a very noticeable extent, the Communist Parties themselves. We must not close our eyes to the fact that many of the leaders of the Communist Parties have been recruited from the ranks of social democracy. This is shown particularly conspicuously in the report published by Comrade Piatnitsky on the mandate commission of the Congress; in this report we read that even at the VI. Congress 30 per cent. of the delegates belonged at one time to social democratic and socialist parties (exclusive of the R. S. D. L. P.). We must specially bear this in mind when dealing with parties that have not passed through any great revolutionary experience. Thus the situation of the strongest Communist Party in Europe, the Czech Party, differs rather considerably in this respect from that of the Communist Party of Germany, which has passed through a number of the greatest revolutionary events in the past decade. This fact must be taken to heart not only by the Communists of the Czechoslovakian Party itself, but by the whole Comintern.

In this connection it is easy to understand that under present conditions the VI. Congress found itself obliged to insist upon an intensified struggle against opportunist deviations as a necessity for practically every Communist Party. The need for more energetic measures against the Right tendencies was referred to with respect to the Communist Parties of France, Great Britain, Italy, and Germany. Here it must be mentioned that the Congress expressed its full approval of the tactics laid down by the 9th Plenum of the E. C. C. I., which mean a more energetic struggle on the part of the Communists against bourgeois "labour parties", that is, against social democracy. These more energetic tactics are an urgent necessity in France and England, and have already been carried out there, even if not without a certain resistance. It is unnecessary to deal in detail here with the relative parts of the resolution of the Congress. It suffices to cite that part of the concluding paragraph of the chief resolution in which the idea of the fight against the Right deviations is formulated for all Communist Parties. It states:

"At the present time we find that in the Communist Parties — as a result of the partial stabilisation of capitalism and as an immediate consequence of the influence of social democracy — the main line of deviation from the correct political line is to be found to the Right. This is expressed in the remnants of 'legalism', in the exaggerated

respect for the laws, in the 'tail policy', in passivity in strike movements, in wrong relations to social democracy (for instance a certain resistance in France to the decisions of the 9th Plenum of the E. C. C. I.), in a lack of reaction to international events, etc., These Right deviations became particularly dangerous where relatively strong social democratic parties exist; therefore, the fight against these deviations must be placed in the foreground, and this presupposes a systematic struggle against the conciliatory attitude sometimes adopted towards the Right tendencies in the Communist Parties. At the same time 'Left' deviations continue to exist, finding expression in a certain tendency to reject the united front tactics, a lack of comprehension for the enormous importance of trade union work, in the policy of the revolutionary phrase, and — in China — in putschist tendencies." (The emphasis is mine. W. M.)

It will be seen from the above-cited passage that the VI. Congress has pointed out the existence of "Left" tendencies, especially in the Chinese Communist Party. The Congress, however, lays most stress on the importance of the fight against the Right deviations, and upon the necessity of overcoming the conciliatory attitude maintained to Right tendencies in the Communist Parties. This same idea of the fight against the Right tendencies, and against their being tolerated, is again emphasised by the chief resolution of the Congress, especially with reference to the most important European Party, the Communist Party of Germany.

This, then, is the main line laid down by the decisions of the Comintern with respect to inner Party development for the whole of its next stage.

3. The Attitude of the Congress regarding the Soviet Union and the C. P. S. U.

The Comintern and the Slogan of Self-Criticism.

The Comintern expressed its general approval of the results of socialist development in the Soviet Union and recognised the further political perspectives laid down by the Party, especially in the decisions of the 15th Party Congress, as correct. The Congress fully approved the struggle carried on by the C. P. S. U. against the opposition centering around Trotskyism, and expressed its complete solidarity with the measures, dictated by revolutionary necessity, taken against the leaders of the opposition. Special declarations from groups of Congress delegates, representing the whole of the Parties present at the Congress, enabled the Congress to express as a whole its approval of the policy pursued by our Party. These declarations from the Congress delegations deserve the special interest of the working men and women of the Soviet Union.

And now in conclusion to self-criticism in the Comintern, as shown in the work of the VI. Congress.

The VI. Congress has drawn more express attention than any other to the faults in the work of both the separate Communist Parties and of the Executive Committee itself. During the present period, the period of preparation for the coming great class struggles, the slogan of self-criticism must be practically applied by both the individual Parties and by the Comintern as a whole. During this preparatory period the ideological soundness of the proletarian party must be our greatest care, and therefore the slogan of self-criticism must be an important means for destroying that rust of anti-proletarian and anti-revolutionary influences which attacks our organisation.

The initiative for the development of self-criticism was taken by the German delegation. This initiative was supported enthusiastically by the representatives of other Communist Parties, — that of Italy, the C. P. S. U. and others. It was unanimously decided that in the Executive Committee itself the active participation of the representatives of the largest sections of the Comintern should be increased. The Congress, in deciding on the composition of its new leading organs, proceeded from the standpoint of increasing the influence of the foreign Communist Parties in the leadership of the Comintern.

The Congress, when dealing with some of the faults marring the work of many Communist Parties, called special attention to the interest shown in raising the theoretical level of the Communist Parties in general and of their leading cadres in particular. A characteristic example of this has been given me by Comrade Thälmann, who is here present. Comrade Thälmann observed to me, very rightly, that even in Germany only four volumes of Lenin's work have been translated up to the present. Surely this is an abnormal state of affairs for so advanced a Section as the German Communist Party. And this is only one example of the utterly inadequate interest taken in ideological and theoretical work by the majority of our Sections. But unless we have fully mastered the theoretical wealth of Marxism and Leninism, we cannot produce any really communist leaders.

On the other hand, in some Communist Parties there is a serious lack of participation in the leading organs by proletarians who have passed through the severe school of revolutionary struggle and who are firmly connected with the working masses. Even the Communist Party of such a country as the U. S. A. suffers greatly from this drawback. The Congress drew special attention to the necessity of a decided change in the American Communist Party on this point, advising that every effort be made "to promote workers to the leading positions in the Party". In a number of the largest Communist Parties of Europe, for instance such Sections as those of Great Britain, Germany, and France, we find efficient leaders who are real proletarians. There can be no doubt that we can greatly further our efforts to win over the masses from social democracy if we draw more of our leaders from the ranks of the workers steeled in revolutionary struggle and bound by indissoluble ties to their own class. These leaders, again, must endeavour to perfect their theoretical knowledge.

Here there should be mentioned an important example serving to characterise the situation in some Communist Parties. The Party in question is the Communist Party of Poland. In so far as the references to bellicose Polish Fascism, constituting a danger to peace, especially the peace of the Soviet Union, are not mere idle chatter, the situation of the Polish C. P. is such as to require the special attention of the Comintern. A situation has come about which is absolutely impermissible in the interests of communism. Although no great differences of opinion in matters of principle exist in the Polish C. P., the Party is practically split into two equal parts, fighting obstinately against each other. The Executive Committee of the Comintern only recently adopted decisions confirming the correctness of the line pursued by the leading organs of the Polish C. P., but the disruptive struggle has not only not ceased, but has gone beyond all bounds. Under these circumstances, and in view of the fact that the political line of the Party has been approved by the Comintern, it is the imperative duty of the Polish C. P. to re-establish, first of all, truly proletarian and truly Bolshevik discipline on the basis of the entire abolition of all fractional activity and of the subordination of every part of the Party to the leading organs. The VI. Congress has commissioned the Executive Committee to ensure a decided change in this direction in the Polish C. P. in the immediate future.

The Communist International, in summing up its work from the point of view of self-criticism, has found still another defect in the general work of the Communist Parties. The fault in question becomes conspicuous at moments when the necessity arises for international demonstrations of the working class. The Congress pointed out that in a number of cases in which the Comintern has been confronted by the task of organising simultaneous international action among the Communist Parties in connection with great events of international importance (for instance, for the struggle against the fresh imperialist war danger, for the defence of the Chinese revolution, for the support of the general strike and the miners' struggle in England, etc.), the resultant international political campaigns have shown the weakness of the Communist Parties in this direction. And yet the whole international situation demands of us just this effective internationalism.

Apart from the fact that the Communist International, especially by its acceptance of the Programme, has set itself the full task of fighting for the world dictatorship of the prole-

tariat, the peculiarities of the present period in the development of international relations, rendering as they do the question of imperialist war danger increasingly urgent, demand that special emphasis be laid on the task of organising international actions of the working class. Taking this fact into account, especially with reference to our task of combating the threat of fresh imperialist wars, the VI. Congress has approved the organisation of what will be known as an **International Red Day**. The Congress, without fixing any definite date for this, emphasised that this International Red Day must be utilised to further the struggle against imperialist war and against the capitalist offensive, the struggle for the defence of the Soviet Union, and the struggle for the emancipation of the colonies. This Red Day must be a demonstration of the workers of all countries, held under the banner of revolutionary proletarian struggle. It is very possible that the International Red Day will be preceded by a number of imposing proletarian demonstrations in the

various groups of countries. Similar international demonstrations of the workers must be of great importance for the preparation for the decisive international revolutionary struggles of the proletariat. There will be no lack of occasions calling for such demonstrations in this epoch of embittered capitalist offensive against the working class, of increased pressure on the colonies, of feverish preparation for an imperialist attack on the Soviet Union. These demonstrations of the workers of various countries must reveal to the broad masses with all clearness the main problems of international working class policy. And from these separate international demonstrations the international proletariat must go forward to the international struggle for the realisation of the Programme of the Communist International, for the realisation of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for the victory of world Communism. (Applause.)
