peasantry from the yoke of imperialism, begun by the workers of the U.S.S.R. under the leadership of the C.P.S.U., will be carried to a victorious conclusion.

We can assure the VI World Congress of the Communist International that all of us are doing our utmost for the reconstruction and development of our national economy, and that thereby we will show to world imperialism that we workers are building up socialism and will establish it throughout the world.

Long live the solidarity of the proletariat, the peasantry and all workers throughout the world! (Applause.)

Comrade THALMANN (Germany):

(Greeted with enthusiastic applause.)

Comrades, the German Delegation fully agrees with the fundamental lines of the theses endorsed by the Russian Delegation of the E.C.C.I. and placed before the Plenum of the VI Congress. Our amendments, as for instance a more precise estimate of the world situation, as well as a special point concerning the Left S.P.G. and other alterations will be brought forward in the report of the Political Commission.

I wish to remind you here, at this session, of the V. World Congress which began on the threshold of the relative stabilization. Since then four years have passed: years of great experiences and energetic struggle throughout the world by the Parties and the proletariat.

Let us take just the most important events of these last four years: the British General Strike and the prolonged coal strike, the Indonesian insurrection, the revolutionary events in China, the strike wave in Central Europe, the strike in Scandinavia against the strike-law. The big Sacco-Vanzetti movement throughout the world, the Vienna insurrection, the peasant revolts in the Balkans and the recent events in Greece — all of them bear witness of the growing contradictions of capitalism in the period of relative stagnation. The estimate given by the V. World Congress is correct: that the stabilization is a temporary, partial and relative stabilization. The VI. Congress will draw its own practical conclusions. The growing capitalist contradictions, which were already mentioned in Comrade Bukharin's report, are accentuating internal contradictions and external antagonisms; they react continually on each other. Internal contradictions result in the growing difficulties of the bourgeoisie, due to imperialist antagonisms, are making either for revolution or for war between the imperialist countries or for imperialist war against the Soviet Union, which necessarily leads to proletarian revolution. It is impossible to predict precisely in what manner the decisive battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will be resolved. Our task is to do everything to mobilize the masses so that before the imperialists kindle the torch of war, they be ready for revolution as soon as the objective and subjective premises for it have matured in the various countries. It is precisely through this activity of ours, which is developing more rapidly owing to the contradictions of capitalism, that we must utilize these difficulties for the intensification of the political struggle; thereby, we can also postpone war. The imperialists would have probably got at loggerheads long ago if it had not been for the Communist International, the Communist Parties which carry on an energetic struggle against the imperialist war preparations, if it had not been, for the Soviet Union whose peace policy and efforts of the Soviet government have made it possible that the war danger is increasing with alarming rapidity all over the world. I will give you just four important examples: 1. the big conflict-taking place on a world scale between America and Great Britain; 2. Recent events in China, the Japanese invasion, for I must say: what Japanese imperialism is doing there we are watching; 3. the current situation in the Polish-Lithuanian conflict (the recent sudden break in the negotiations is intensifying the war danger); 4. the continuous attacks on the Soviet Union, from white guard terrorist actions down to preparation of the economic blockade.

At the time of the VIII. Plenum we considered the growing war danger throughout the world. At that time Great Britain broke off the economic negotiations with Russia and a few days later the assassination of the Russian Ambassador in Warsaw, Voitkov, took place. Since then we have had the following new incidents: the foul assassination of Soviet representatives in China, the provocative French foreign policy against the Soviet Union, the conflict around the Soviet gold in America and the attempt on the life of a Soviet representative in Warsaw, this spring. Finally, the impudent challenge of the German Stresemann and the recent break off the Russo-German negotiations because of the arrest of German counter-revolutionary engineers; moreover, it would be a mistake on our part to ignore the war preparations which are carried on quietly but indetactedly by means of secret diplomacy. In these imperialist war preparations social democracy plays a big role on an international scale. Anyone can see that imperialism could not drive war if the social democrats did not support all the imperialist war preparations. In 1914 the Social Democrats capitulated before the bourgeoisie and the war; the decisions of the International were sacrificed. At present they are paving the way throughout the world for the imperialist war measures. This is particularly true where internal politics the development of neo-imperialism is given an impetus by the rapid development of technical, the accentuation of capitalist rationalization, increased production, and efforts to compete on the world market to the same extent as before. In the sphere of external politics the German bourgeoisie is beginning to look for a more secure position. The formation of the Social Democratic Government show clearly the existence of a pact between trust capital and Social Democracy. In this government the Social Democrats are the driving factor in the war preparations against the Soviet Union.

When the question of the break in the Russo-German negotiations was discussed, HILDERING, the present Social Democratic Finance Minister, demanded that no credits be given to Soviet Russia and that apart from breaking off negotiations, a more determined policy be adopted towards the U.S.S.R.; this surprised even the representatives of the Nationalists and the leaders of other bourgeois parties who had adopted an utterly different tone. It is interesting and rather strange that the two policies which I would like to call the internal and external contradictions of the relative capitalist stabilisation, are also reflected in the character and development of the Social Democracy. The development of Reformism into Social Fascism is a phenomenon of which one can give various examples in the various countries. For instance, in Germany where Reformism is the bourgeoisie's best support and will continue to be so in the coming years if the Communist movement does not grow even stronger than it is now. Throughout the election campaign "Rollkommandos", so-called shock troops of the "Reichsbanner" were pitted against the Red Front Fighters and the Communist Party. There is a whole series of affairs in Poland. During the big heroic demonstration of the workers in Warsaw, the Fascist police was supported by the shock troops of the P.P.S. with the result that in this attack on the revolutionary workers several hundred demonstrators were killed and wounded. According to an article in the "Imprécé", the Trotskyist organs even the revolutionary cadres of the various classes in the factories and gave a beating to the Communists there. This development of Reformism into Social Fascism is closely connected with the growing war preparations of the bourgeoisie and the growing war danger. The Social Democratic Party is not only a supporting organisation working against the revolutionary proletariat, but it is also a counter-revolutionary organisation. It is从事 the most fruitful occupation: organizing their organisations for joint action with the bourgeoisie in the ideological and military sphere.

In Germany it is already beginning to impregnate the "Reichsbanner", a Social Democratic republican "defensive organisation" with this national-social ideology, and to make its social democratic followers adopt this line. These organisations are not only to be used against the working class in revolutionary uprisings, they are also to work for the military training of the youth. A secret instruction of the Central Committee of the "Reichsbanner" to the provincial executive in June 1927 contains the following statement:

"All comrades must join the Sport League so as to increase their fitness by physical exercise."

Another example: In answer to the proposal of the "Izvestia" that the "Voice of the Youth" should take up a definite attitude to the breaking off of the Russo-German economic negotiations", this organ wrote as follows:
"We cannot sacrifice to the certainly very desirable friendship with Russia friendly relations between Germany and the Western Powers which are essential to Europe."

This is a frank avowal of support for the bourgeoisie in the struggle against the Soviet Union in conjunction with the Western Powers. This is also the fact that in Germany the Reformists are bringing dissection into the sport movement so as to imbue it also with an imperialist ideology. A few weeks ago, the Sport Congress in Leipzig expelled a number of our best revolutionary fighters, without rhyme or reason. Such disruptive tactics were also frankly adopted in Berlin and Halle.

Fascism’s ability in the Fascist Trade Union Congress in Italy last year shows to what extent the Social Democratic leaders are coming closer to Fascism. Thomas who is one of the most prominent personalities in the Second International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International, being as such also the President of the International Labour Office, was in the course of his address that Fascist Italy is "the champion of justice for all workers". He also asserted that "the Fascist Government guarantees to the workers the great boon of just reforms", and that the Italian Fascist experiences "can be also very useful to the other countries". He also said that Mussolini’s "only passion is to secure employment for the workers and to bring about the social peace through industrial peace".

He finally asserted that the only difference between Fascism and Socialism were their methods, but that both are representing the interests of the working class. These few examples clearly show how low these leaders have already sunk.

The bourgeoisie is using two methods for the support and subjection of the working class: Reformism and War. As the Communist movement grows and Reformist influence wanes, bourgeois democracy will prove inadequate as a means for the subjugation of the working class. Then, stronger Fascist methods will be resorted to.

The most reactionary tendencies embodied in Social Democracy appear in an intensified form in its coalition policy. In sphere of Social Democracy, both the policy of the bourgeoisie in the Social Democratic government, they run the danger of alienating the proletariat and all workers who are going over to Communism. But where they do not pursue a resolute imperialist policy, finance capital sends them to the devil. Opposition to the coalition policy of the Social Democrats is one of our main tasks in the struggle against Reformism. In all countries the internal policy of Social Democratic governments is oppression and repression of the proletariat. In regard to external policy, they support the bellicose actions of the Imperialist members of the Governments under the cloak of hypocritical pacifism.

The activity of the Party as well as the work and actions of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary movement, cause also the followers of the Social Democrats to waver and veer gradually towards Communism. In this situation the "Left" Social Democracy intervenes to prevent the influx of Social Democratic workers in the Communist Parties. It was the attitude of the Left Social Democrats which made the coalition policy of the Social Democratic Party possible in individual countries. It is a well-known fact that at the Party Congress in Kiel, when Hilferding brought forward, as a general theory, the slogan “nearst to the State” in connection with the coalition policy, the “Left” leaders did not offer any opposition. After the Vienna insurrection Bauer & Co., together with the Right Social Democrats in the Austrian government, and also in Austria. The German Delegation has brought forward an amendment to the effect that this “Left” Social Democratic danger should be taken notice of already now because it is bound to play in the present period a very important role in connection with the growing war danger. The war danger has already come to be a factor that Social Democracy, that the most dangerous enemies of Communism in the labour movement are the “Left” Social Democratic leaders. It is just because they bring into play revolutionary phraseology and hypocritical means of agitation, in a situation of accentuated internal policies and strong development of the Communist movement, that they serve their “Left” phraseology the coalition and war policy of the Right. Supporting thereby the latter in its internal policy its struggle against the Soviet Union, Communism and the working class. Our attitude to the “Left” Social Democrats in the present period is therefore of the utmost importance. Any vacillation and hesitation in regard to exposing the Left Social Democracy must be vigorously combated and combated. For us the “Left” Social Democracy has not lost its importance to a number of sections. I will only mention Great Britain, Austria, Poland and Germany.

Thus we see that the complicated imperialist apparatus with its widespread ramifications, is adopting every possible method in its struggle against the proletarian revolution: the power of the capitalist State, Fascism, bourgeois parties and, last but not least, Social Democracy including "Left" Social Democrats. This explains why the Left Social Democracy is introducing new branches of industry: the motor-car, air-craft, chemical and engineering. The number of workers employed in the big industry has increased by 33% in the last three years. If one considers that these successes were achieved almost without influx of foreign capital, merely on the basis of Socialist accumulation, one can safely say that the Soviet Union is moving in this direction, beaten the world record. The interests of the world proletariat are bound up with this development of socialist economy. Every new success in the industrial domain is one more proof to the working class of the superiority of the Socialist system over the capitalist. The world historical question will be ultimately settled through the struggle against us and the bourgeoisie, between Communism and Social Democracy. There are of course difficulties in the way of the general development of proletarian dictatorship. But these difficulties are not of stagnation but of growth, as shown by the various stages of proletarian dictatorship. International Social Democracy indulges in hypocritical lies concerning the results of Socialist construction, so as to strengthen the ties which bind the working masses with the capitalist system. It has to foster this kind of ideology because it seems that the sympathy and interest of the proletarian masses in the development of the Soviet Union are growing, and have never been as strong as now. The whole development of the proletarian dictatorship in the eleven years of its existence through the energy, the initiative and the enormous influence of the Bolshevik Party every new difficulty was got out of the way by a new victory. Those who witnessed the enormous enthusiasm with which millions strong masses all over the world reacted to the glorious work of the Red sailors of the "Krassin" expedition have felt the political meaning of this enthusiasm. That hall a dozen Fascist adventures were saved had not much to do with this enthusiasm, which was rather the millions strong echo reflecting the strong solidarity of the workers of the world with the only Workers’ State.

The Left development together with the growing war danger is one of the most important phenomena of the present period. The elections in Germany are a sure sign of this. If the election results in Berlin are the sign of a powerful Left development, the recent industrial struggles and strike waves are even a clearer indication of this. There are signs of a new élan in Germany.

In the elections our Partly has increased its vote by over 550,000, 80% of them, namely 490,000. In the thirteen most industrial big cities of Berlin, and in 36 industrial towns, the vote of the German proletariat is behind our Party and the Communists.

Of course we cannot deny the fact that the Social Democrats polled 9,000,000 votes. However, they secured these
votes in an election campaign based on bourgeois ideology, on a policy of Social Democratic support to the grand coalition of the future government. We secured our votes under the banner of proletarian dictatorship which we gave first place in our election campaign.

Another fact which must be taken into consideration in connection with the coalition policy of the Social Democrats: 35% in the polls put the Social Democrats together with the S.P.D. as petty bourgeois votes. This means a reshuffling of the social basis of Social Democracy. Nearly all the votes secured by us were proletarian votes.

The German Delegation agrees with the stress laid in the theses, on the one hand, on the powerful growth of the Communist party, and on the other, on the contradiction between the political influence of the Party and its organizational strength. The membership of the Communist Party certainly does not correspond with the enormous influence it has in the working class. Apart from the present political line, the chief reason of this discrepancy is the fact that our comrades are overburdened with work, that their strength is taxed to the utmost. Many sympathizing and non-Party elements shrink from this enormous burden, and others again join the Party only to leave it after a little while. Hence the enormous fluctuation. In regard to application of the united front tactic, our Party is not persevering and elastic enough. This weak point must be remedied by the efforts of the whole Party. A new improved system of work must be introduced.

The formation of the Social Democratic Coalition Government was determined by the election result. I think that already at this juncture we can speak of two phases in the development of this governmental activity. The first phase is that of promises when the Social Democrats can still foster certain illusions amongst the masses, particularly the masses who are still in the position of keeping the rank and file of Party under their influence. The activity of the Social Democrats in the few days when the new Reichstag was sitting showed us that none of the promises made by them in the election campaign are being kept. Even the former Social Democratic proposals introduced by the Communist party were rejected, is not to speak of the help and support of the Social Democrats. In this first phase of the development the bourgeoisie will make use of the Social Democrats for certain measures with which it does not want to discredit itself. Just as the Social Democratic Government signed in 1919 the Versailles Peace Treaty, it will carry out at present the rapprochement with France, a job not very palatable to the other parties, particularly the Right Wing.

Moreover the Stresemann-Müller Government will ruthlessly apply measures directed against the Soviet Union.

The second phase of the development which will be very short, will bring with it the bankruptcy of the Social-Democratic coalition policy.

Because the pressure of the masses is increasing, Social Democracy — it does not want to lose the masses — is, on the one hand, compelled to offer some sort of opposition to the government measures, and, on the other hand, it has to carry out the policy of the Imperialist bourgeoisie in regard to internal and external politics if it does not want to be kicked out by it.

If through the energetic work of our Party and the Red Aid in regard to amnesty and release of political prisoners, the Social Democratic Government has now set free the prisoners who lingered in jails, penitentiaries and fortresses, this is mainly due to the pressure exerted by us, and also to the desire of the Social Democrats to keep alive certain illusions among the various sections of the working population.

The return of our comrades, of the revolutionist Max Holz (loud applause) to Party work is welcomed enthusiastically by us all. The Communist Party of Germany promises to work for the release of Margies and other revolutionists who are still languishing in jail. And through the release of the proletariat on the leaders of the S.P.G., they must be restored to their ranks of the proletariat, to their fellow workers (loud applause).

The wave of big industrial struggles which we just witnessed in Germany will not subside as a result of social democratic activity in the government; it will, on the contrary flare up again in the next months. Prices are soaring and wages are being reduced owing to the methods of capitalist rationalisation. Unemployment is sure to grow in the coming winter owing to the slump which is bound to follow the boom. All these facts show that in Germany too we have to reckon with big industrial struggles in the next months.

The present industrial struggles, which are bound to put an end to the illusions of opportunists, will assume a more political character than ever before owing to the fact that part of the trade union bureaucracy and of the trade union apparatus is associating itself more and more with the State apparatus. Therefore, apart from the principal questions of general struggle against the capitalist state and for the establishment of proletarian dictatorship, it is essential for the Party to become to a greater extent than was hitherto the case, a strong, active and independent factor in all daily questions and tasks.

The questions connected with the struggle against the Social Democratic coalition policy are manifold and the tactical problems extremely complicated. The main points in this struggle are: Firstly, the forthcoming industrial struggles for higher wages and a shorter working out of boldly energetic struggle against the taxation policy of the present government, and thirdly, struggle against the deterioration of social labour legislation and for its improvement in regard to all German workers. We must link up the struggle against the imperialist war danger with all these questions.

We are not going to mobilize the masses with the slogan "compel the trade union bureaucrats to take up the fight", the bureaucrats who are endeavouring to sabotage every industrial struggle through the arbitration courts, but by bringing forward our own demands in the factories compelling thereby the trade union bureaucrats to take up a definite attitude to them. We are going to mobilize the Party and international trade union forces to raise a chorus of protest against political and inner-Party difficulties. A general retreat before reformism, a lot of opportunistic dangers, including desertion, in some cases approval of the reformist trade union policy. It has even happened that at a Trade Union Congress a Social Democratic resolution condemning the tone adopted by the Communist press against Social Democrats were endorsed by our comrades. I will give one example of many statements in the report of the Committee of the general workers' union:

"On the whole, friction between the union authorities and the Communists has fortunately abated. But this is not due to the efforts of the Executive of the Communist Party, which persisted with its policy of influencing our members in regard to tactics in the union and in the pay-office. This, however, did not come off, which is a sign of a more healthy state of affairs in the union...">

Be it said to the honour of our Communist colleagues that wherever they occupied, together with us, responsible positions in the struggle for wage and labour conditions, they generally made their decisions in agreement with us. The few exceptions confirm, in this case, the rule. This is certainly not quite true to facts, but it shows the inadequate activity and lack of economic consciousness to work in this important union.

A few remarks about the results of recent metal workers elections in Germany which is entirely consistent with the result of the Reichstag elections in May 1928. The result is due, on the one hand, to the activity of the reformists in factories and trade unions and, on the other hand, to the fact that the revolutionary opposition in the trade unions, which is under Communist leadership, was not energetic enough in its support of the industrial struggle as a whole. It is a fact that where the opposition worked energetically and we stood by our revolutionary policy, results were considerably better than in those parts of Germany where this was not the case.

Some comrades think that the unsatisfactory results in the metal workers elections were due to the absence of transition slogans. Although unlike the Right group — these comrades did not demand the slogan of control over production, they tried to find other transition slogans which, as everyone knows, do not exist in such a situation. It is only in an acutely revolutionary situation that we can have transition slogans as action slogans, such as control over production, establishment of Soviets, armament of the proletariat, they are the transition slogans which we bring forward in such a period as ultimate demands. But in the present situation the demand for transition slogans as action slogans is an opportunistic deviation. The Party must bring forward partial demands commensurate with the concrete situation and must decide on its tactics for work among the masses.
There were also various defects and errors in the general policy. It is for instance a fact that we did not take notice in time of the new methods and change of policy of the reformists — the starting point of which was the Party Congress in Kiel — so as to adapt our own tactics to them. Moreover, there must be stronger control in the Party so as to strengthen its general activity also in this sphere. Nevertheless the influence of the C.P.G. on the working class has increased. The best proof of our positive successes is the change of attitude of the reformists, the split policy which they adopt against Communists and revolutionists in trade unions and all mass organisations. Several local trade union groups, most of which are under the bourgeois influence, have declared their sympathy for the Congress of the Workers Gymnastic and Sport League in Leipzig; the reformists decided to initiate a big split action in the sport movement because they are afraid that we might get the majority there next year. Therefore, the best Communists were expelled, and a few days later they split the sport movement in Berlin and Halle. Similar incidents and even stricter measures made their appearance at the National Conference of Freethinkers in Frankfurt which was held a few weeks ago. I think that in the face of this split-offensive of the reformists it is incumbent on us to mobilise the proletarian masses for unity in the labour movement by adopting energetic offensive measures.

Of course, as the contradictions of the relative capitalist stabilisation increase, as the imperialist orientation develops and as the contradictions of the bureaucratic elements of the trade unions will turn away more and more from the revolutionary movement, Germany is the classic example of this policy. Such a change in the political situation is bound to have certain inner-party consequences.

We can declare at the VI. Congress: For the first time in three years the Communist Party of Germany is in the pleasant position of being able to say that the renegades of ultra-Left Trotskyism have been finally beaten (loud applause). The Party will dissolve partly into petty bourgeois nothingness, and partly they have landed into the ranks of Social Democracy; we need not waste a single word here about them.

As a result of the pressure of stabilisation in Germany, the Social Democratic government policy, employers’ attacks and disciplinary measures against oppositional and revolutionary workers in enterprises and the split-offensive in trade unions some of our Communist functionaries are retreating in an alarming manner before the Social Democratic Party. This is partly due to inadequate training and lack of control within the Party. But these phenomena in the Party become dangerous when such deviations are bolstered up by a theory which is adapting itself to reformism. This is the meaning of the slogan “control over production”, which we find in Comrade Brandler’s programme. The Party will take up the task of reorganising already dissolved parties and deviations in the practical execution of our policy. They are expressed lately in increased opposition to the decisions of the IV. Congress of the R.I.L.U. in an inclination to compromise with the Left Social Democracy, in the capitulation before the reactionary trade union bureaucracy and the Executive of the Social Democratic Party in an inclination to compromise with the capitalist class arbitration policy and in gross opportunist errors in municipal councils. I will place before the Congress just two formula-tions from the functionaries’ organs of the Party. In an article of the functionaries’ organ of the Leipzig district “Die Parteiarbeit” which argues against an article by Comrade Thallmann, a comrade writes as follows:

“The Party must make it clear to the workers that it is ready and willing to support a Social Democratic Government. The Party must state clearly and concretely what demands it makes on the Government.”

This is an entirely opportunistic theory which is reminiscent of the theory of the Executive in 1923. The Thuringian functionaries’ organ “Der Bolschewist” contains the following statement concerning the Left S.P.G.: “The arguments of the ‘Left’ S.P.G. in East Thuringia will be better understood in these districts by S.P.G. workers than the ‘abstract Communist standpoint’. Of course we will have to adhere to the latter, but the arguments of the ‘Left’ are more likely to set the S.P.G. workers thinking and to mobilise them against the coalition politicians.”

Thus, firstly differentiations in the S.P.G. in order to make use of their arguments: where the right predominates we are to use against it the arguments of the “Left” and we are to abstain at the same time from bringing “the abstract Communist standpoint” into forefront of every day struggle. A regular mix-up! The more Social Democracy develops to the Right, the more the leaders of the Communist Party and their adherents see in the Right danger in the Party. We have designated the ultra-Left as a petty bourgeois conception which deviates from Communism. But insofar as “Left” tendencies and moods exist in the Party, they can only show themselves by inadequate concretisation of the appraisal the revolution. This is not only not constitute as great a danger as that which we had in 1924 and also in later years.

We have in Germany an old, experienced social-democracy with old functionaries and on the other hand a Young Communist Party which was born in the storm and stress of revolution. The Party has had considerable experience: The October crisis of 1923 which was overcome without much difficulty and the Ruth Fischer period. But although the Party has grown, these Right danger sources are more serious in Germany than even leading comrades in the German Party are aware of. Therefore, it is incumbent on the Executive to create Bolshevik guarantees against the penetration of Social-Democratic influence and try to give effective and, if possible, urgent impetus to its struggle against Right deviations. In our Party the Right are certainly only a small group which has not much influence on the membership. But lately, the Right group has been acting in a factional manner against the policy of the Party. Therefore, it is necessary to bear in mind also at the VI. Congress this warning of Lenin placed before the Second Congress and which were adopted unanimously. Point 12 of these conditions is as follows:

“The Parties adhering to the Communist International must be constructed on the principle of democratic centralism. In the present epoch of accentuated civil war the Communist Party will not be able to do its duty unless it be organised in the most centralised manner possible, unless strict discipline reigns in its ranks and unless the Central Committee of the Party has the confidence of the membership and is endowed with authority and full powers.”

This point applies also to the present situation, not only for the German Party, but for various other Sections of the Communist International. To a certain extent, the situation in the Polish Party is another example in this direction. Everyone is aware of the role of Poland in connection with the growing war danger. Here, at the VI. Congress, we must endeavour to see that the Party does not under-estimate the object of the war and that the Central Committee of the Party has the confidence of the membership and is endowed with authority and full powers.”

In the 21 conditions implicit subordination of the minority to the majority, subordination of the parliamentary and trade union fraction and of the press to the Central Committee, is mentioned. Of course, the 21 conditions do not mean that we are to abstain in the Party from efforts to get away comrades from an erroneous standpoint with all the ideological means at our disposal. This is the foremost task of the Central Committee and the whole Party. But one cannot apply these ideological measures when there are no sufficient guarantees for execution of the correct policy of the Party. What we want is more comprehensive Party democracy. We must strengthen collective work throughout the Party from top to bottom and from bottom to top. But this does not mean that strict discipline is to be relinquished; on the contrary, it must be strengthened.

At the ninth Plenum, the Russian and German delegations made a joint decision in regard to tolerance for the bearers of the Right danger. There is a certain tendency in the German Party to disassociate oneself politically from Right deviations at the same time as we denounce the Right danger. Above all, these comrades under-estimate the ideological influence of comrades who have already indulged, in a whole series of deviations. They do not see that under present conditions the growing influence of reformism in our Party, that this Right ideology affects especially some of our functionaries in trade unions, parliaments, mass organisations and even in Party executive. Owing to this erroneous political appraisal, these
Comrades oppose sometimes very necessary measures. Some leading comrades in different committees minimise the importance of the theoretical deviation of the Right group and endeavour to put a good complexion on it; they do the same in regard to opportunist actions which border frequently on treachery against the C.P.G. and the revolutionary movement. There was divergence of opinion on this question also in our delegation to the VI. World Congress. However, the overwhelming majority of the delegates stood against the ideologists of the Right danger. In the meantime, the Russian delegation has handed in an addendum to this question which, with the permission of the Russian delegation, I will read here:

"The Communist Party of Germany which is one of the best detachments of the international proletarian army is face to face also with the best Social Democracy which is still deeply rooted in the country. This creates a favourable ground for Right deviations in the movement itself. Therefore, the order of the day is consistent struggle against Right deviations (slogan of control over production at the present juncture, opposition against the decisions of the IV. Congress of the R.I.U., compromise-attitude to the Left Social Democracy, etc.); unresolved opposition to a conciliatory policy in regard to these deviations and at the same time inculcation of the best Party forces who have accepted the platform of the Comintern and of the Essen Congress of the C.P.G. into Party work (who are all the time for the consolidation of the Party) accompanied by the co-ordination of all the forces of the present Executive and by the consolidation of its collective character as well as by unconditional subordination of the minority to the majority, etc."

The majority of the German delegation agrees with this proposal. On these lines the Executive of the C.P.G. will pursue and intensify the course adopted by the Essen Congress for the consolidation of the Party. Moreover, the Party must do its utmost to develop new forces and do its best to proletarian elements into Party work. We are of course aware that there are many defects and shortcomings in the organisational work of the Party and in the execution of its policy. But these defects are merely sins of omission. Self-criticism is not yet sufficiently developed in the Executive and throughout the Party. Nevertheles, we cannot allow the Right group to utilise any weak point in Party work for fractional purposes, for attack on the policy and leadership of the Party.

Comrades, we look upon the theses which were endorsed by the Russian Delegation and the E.C.C.I. and laid before you, as a new basis for the tasks which we will have to carry out in Germany in the immediate future. I hope that the delegates to the VI. World Congress will support our standpoint and will help us thereby to make further progress in the development of the German Party.

In the present situation which is fraught with war danger, it is incumbent on all sections of the German Party, to utilise to a greater extent than before the anti-militarist tradition of the proletarian youth and the Young Communist League in the struggle against imperialist war (applause). Through its energy, enthusiasm, spirit of self-sacrifice and general initiative, the Y.C.L. is one of the most important revolutionary factors with which the Communist Party must put an end to militarism and to the imperialist war, the work of transforming it into civil war.

Another question: through the social re-shuffling which is taking place in the process of production women are drawn more and more into the struggle against the growing danger of another imperialist war. Therefore, we must turn our attention to the most important countries to the capture and organisation of women.

In conclusion, a few words concerning all our Sections including the German Party. I am sure that no one at this Congress doubts that very serious events are imminent. No one can talk today of a time of peace and all the same time to give up the fight of the present. VII. World Congress of the Communist International while peace is still reigning. Capitalist stabilisation is rotten to the core. A new period of revolutionary upsurge is maturing. In such a situation we want more than ever before, internationalism, revolutionary solidarity of the workers of the world and close alliance with the oppressed colonial peoples (applause). For several years we had to carry on a struggle against Trotskyism. In this big struggle Leninism is the undisputed victor throughout the Communist International (applause). The spirit of internationalism, the spirit of unconditional loyalty to the Communist International and firm confidence in its leading Party, the C.P.S.U., have emerged from this hard struggle stronger than ever of struggle for mastery between the two sides of the revolutionary spirit in all our thoughts and actions. Given revolutionary energy and firm belief in the revolutionary strength of the proletariat and all workers under the leadership of the Communist International, the only genuine International in the world, our victory is assured.

(Loud and prolonged applause.)

Comrade SPECTOR (Canada):

Comrades, the line of Comrade Bukharin's thesis is the clearest possible answer to those Social Democrats who pretend that there is no real difference between our conception of capitalist stabilisation and theirs. The difference as it is defined in the draft thesis is the difference between the Party's policy of the heroic and the Party's policy of stabilisation. The distinction that we have in mind in the draft thesis is the stabilisation in an epoch of imperialist war and proletarian revolution, in a period of the most powerful development of contradictions as a result of the very measures capitalism has taken to achieve this stabilisation. It is a stabilisation which opens up the perspective of another world war, a war of the Soviet Fatherland and the surrounding hostile capitalist world.

This is fundamentally opposite to the conception of a fresh organic development of capitalism on the basis of the so-called "new industrial or technical" revolution, world estatisation, etc. The latter is the theory of Hilferding, Bauer, MacDonald and their satellites in every country. This theory leads them to throw all their energies into its justification through class collaboration and towards the promotion of the ideology of state capitalism; hence their support of rationalisation, of Mondism, of "industrial peace"; hence their support of the ham-stringing of the trade union movement; hence their hostility towards the U.S.S.R. and their friendship towards the League of Nations.

The role that America plays in the general crisis of capitalism today is obviously different from that of Europe. But America and Europe are the two complements of one world picture which is the general crisis of world capitalism today. I emphasise this because there is undoubtedly a tendency in Canada on the present occasion to consider that this analysis of stabilisation does not apply to North American conditions generally, nor to Canadian conditions especially. This view is disseminated by the Social Democracy in Canada among the wide masses and it is a view that we must emphatically combat.

In Canada for instance, there has been in the last few years an expansion of the productive forces, a whole new series of industries have developed. There have been more mergers within the last year than for several years taken together. The workers have been speeded up. In the closing months of 1927 the employment index in Canada stood about 10% higher than in the period between 1921 to 1924. But in the meantime the industrial output increased more than 50%; hence along with this further increase in production we have a phenomenon in Canada of an increase of commercial failures and of permanent unemployment.

The Canadian bourgeoisie depends upon Canadian agriculture and upon the international market. The European market is one of its chiefest and it is obvious from this that while there can be no assertion that there is any crisis in the present moment in Canada, at the same time the prosperity of Canada is of a very precarious order. The industrialisation of the dominion accentuates this situation because our bourgeoisie is beginning to compete in the world market.

At no time is more than 75% of the productive apparatus in Canada used to capacity. Hence even in the present period of prosperity in Canada, even the slightest attempt for wage increases on the part of the workers is being resisted by every means, by a direct counter-attack on the part of the employers or by a reference of those workers' demands to Boards of