

The Sixth World Congress of the Communist International

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(NOTE: We print herewith a practically complete verbatim report of the speech delivered by Comrade Lovestone at the membership meeting held in New York City on October 2, 1928.—*Editor*).

For American Communists in particular and our working class in general, the deliberations and decisions of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International assume tremendous importance. The role of American imperialism, the role of the American trade-union bureaucracy, the role of our Party—these are factors of rising importance internationally. That's why the workers of the world, the peasants of the most undeveloped sections, the bourgeoisie of the highest industrialized European countries are all vitally interested in the development of class relations and in the outcome of class conflicts in America. Consequently, the development of a first-line mass Bolshevik party in the United States would be an event of primary import in the present international situation. Herein lies the importance of the last Congress of the Communist International for us today.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SIXTH CONGRESS

At the outset we will sketch very briefly the historical significance of the Sixth World Congress. This Congress came at an historically decisive moment—a moment of the gathering of new revolutionary forces for decisive struggle. The Congress marks a dividing line between two periods of post-war capitalism. A characterization of the period we have left behind us indicates that we have passed out of the days during which the imperialist powers were not in open armed clash with each other. Secondly, we have not had open military intervention by the imperialist powers against the Soviet Union in this time. Thirdly, in this period we had only partial struggles between workers and capitalists in imperialist countries. Fourthly, this period which we have left behind was also marked by the first wave of colonial revolutions.

On the other hand, what are the outstanding characteristics of the period which we have just entered—a most important period in the world's history. Let us merely enumerate the eight main features of this period:

(1) A sharpening of the bitter antagonisms amongst the imperialist powers.

(2) Impending war between the two mightiest imperialist giants—the United States and Great Britain.

(3) The ever-growing acuteness of tension in the struggle between capitalist powers and the Soviet Union.

(4) The completion of war preparations against the Soviet Union.

(5) We are now in the throes of maturing decisive class battles. Cable dispatches in this morning's press declare that there are already beginnings of a wave of important strikes in such industrial countries of continental Europe as France and Germany.

(6) There is a noticeable and rapid fusion of socialist reformism with the capitalist state and increasingly open collaboration between socialist reformism and fascism in all its forms.

(7) We are now in the period of decisive clashes between socialist reformism and communism for the leadership of the majority of the working class. This is so in all countries of high capitalist development with the exception of the United States where we have peculiar specific conditions in which the labor movement as a whole is very weak and, especially, politically backward. The overwhelming majority of our working class still follows the parties which are openly the political expression of the big bourgeoisie. Though Socialist Party ideology in America is still a sufficiently poisonous force, making it necessary for the communists to combat it persistently and energetically, yet the American social democracy is of much less importance politically than the European socialist parties. Insofar as influence over broad masses of the basic proletariat is concerned, our Party far exceeds the strength of the Socialist Party. In America we are fighting the Republican and Democratic Parties for the majority of the working class.

(8) Finally, we have a deepening of antagonisms and conflicts between the colonial masses and imperialism. Herein we have the maturing of a new and still mightier wave of colonial revolutions.

Under such conditions what is the task of the party of the international revolutionary proletariat? To ask the question is to answer it. Our task was to prepare the Comintern for decisive historical events, to mobilize millions of workers and colonial peoples for sharp struggles.

The Congress took many steps to realize this task of mobilizing the masses for revolutionary struggle, not only in the imperialist countries but in the colonial countries as well. But tonight I will enumerate only four major points taken up by us.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CONGRESS

(1) The Congress has worked out a program for the Comintern. This is a program of fighting for the proletarian dictatorship on an international scale.

(2) The Congress emphasized the imminence of imperialist wars and revolutionary battles. On the basis of this emphasis our tactical tasks were outlined. The teachings of Comrade Lenin on war were concretized for each section as an integral part of the tactics of the whole international party.

(3) There was prepared a broad program of action for the national revolutionary movements in the colonies, primarily in the light of the lessons of the Chinese Revolution. We mapped out the fundamental tactical course to be taken during the imminent revolutionary wave in India. Remember, comrades, that the question of revolution in India is not a problem of pamphleteering. It is a tangible question of imminency. It is a major problem confronting not only the British imperialists fighting for their lives but facing the entire world proletariat who will find in a victorious revolution in India a most powerful ally.

(4) The Congress set down the line governing the problems of the different sections. Never before did a world Congress delve so thoroughly into such section questions as the Polish, the Czech, the French and the American. Adequate deliberation and thorough examination marked the consideration of these section problems by the Congress.

SOME FEATURES OF THE CONGRESS

Allow me to say a few words regarding the character of the Congress, especially because while we were meeting in Moscow, the American Socialist Party had its delegates participating in the Congress of the Second International at Brussels. The Sixth Congress had more of a world scope, an international character, than any previous congress of the Comintern. This is true organizationally as well as politically. No previous congress had such full representation from Asia, Africa and Latin America. A number of countries never before represented in our gatherings actively participated at the Sixth Congress. In all, fifty-eight sections were represented by five hundred and fifty delegates.

Then, the adoption of a general program at the Congress showed the workers of the world that the aims of communism in the Soviet Union and the aims of communism in the most advanced industrial countries, let us say, like the United States and Germany, as well as our aims in such economically underdeveloped and so-called backward countries as Syria, Indonesia, etc., are identical internationally.

The international character of our Congress brought the real basis of our whole movement into bold relief in striking contrast to the nature of the Second International Congress in Brussels. The Brussels Congress lasted about five days. It consisted of a lot of business men or their business agents working in a so-called "business-like" fashion solely in the interests of the bourgeoisie. Our deliberations, the sessions of the Congress of the Comintern, took longer, were much smoother in a principle sense, were more thorough and were given over solely to a consideration of the defense and advancement of the interests of the working class. At Brussels there was a collection of national reformist parties grouped on the same principles as the imperialist fatherlands from which they hailed. The only signs of life at the Brussels Congress, the fights in its sessions, were mere reflexes and replicas of the struggles among the imperialist masters of the different countries. The only semblance of unity manifested there was in readiness to pledge one hundred per cent loyalty to the League of Nations, especially for mobilizing all its energies for an attack against the Soviet Union. Thus the internationalism of the Brussels Congress was the internationalism of its masters, the world imperialists. The Brussels Congress took a very sharp stand against the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies. The Hillquits, the Bauers, the McDonalds, the Blums, defended with all their might and main the monopoly of American and European imperialism to plunder millions of colonial peoples. Thus *the* unity characterizing the Brussels Congress was its readiness to declare holy war against the Soviet Union and the Communist International.

I take up so much of your time in characterizing the Congress of the Second International because the relations of the communist parties to the various socialist parties, the national sections of the Second International, have assumed a new character. We will examine this soon.

THE PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

We emphasize that we are entering a period of decisive class battles. The character of the present moment only lends further strength to the Comintern Program being a landmark in the history of the international labor movement. This is the first international Program of Communism adopted since the issuance of the Communist Manifesto. The Program of the Comintern continues the glorious traditions of the Communist Manifesto. We also point out the inevitable doom of capitalism and emphasize to the proletariat that the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship are prerequisites to socialism.

But in certain respects the Program of the Comintern is a big forward step even over the Communist Manifesto. The latter was in reality, at the outset, a program of a handful of revolutionary workers in the period of the bourgeois revolution. Yes, it was a grand scientific prophecy of the doom of capitalism. But our Program of today is a program for an international communist party fighting in the period of social revolution. It is a program of a revolutionary army, one of whose detachments is already engaged in the building of socialism. Our Program is a weapon of class war.

FIVE FEATURES OF THE PROGRAM

(1) Our Program is scientific. Its method of analysis is the dialectical method of Marxism-Leninism. Its method is the very antithesis of the method of the reformists. If you want to see a classical example of the vulgarization of Marxism, then examine the October issue of "Current History," in which Mr. Hillquit, who has been chosen by the New York Times as an authority on Marxism, still has the gall to pretend to defend the teachings of Marx against the onslaught of such Wall Street philosophers as Carver, and Lombard Street apologists as Lasky.

Thus our Program correctly characterizes the social democracy of today:

"In the domain of theory the social democracy has fully and entirely gone back on the teachings of Marxism, passing through the stage of religionism to avowed liberal-bourgeois reformism and avowed imperialism. . . . The theory of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, it has swapped for the base coin of 'healthy' capitalism which becomes peacefully transformed into socialism; instead of revolution it has taken up evolution; instead of destroying the bourgeois state, it takes active part in building this state; instead of the doctrine of the proletarian dictatorship, it maintains the theory of coalition with the bourgeoisie; instead of dialectical materialism, it stands for the idealistic philosophy and flirting with the religious trash of the bourgeoisie."

(2) The Program is based upon an analysis of world economy as an integral whole. Imperialism, the last stage of capitalism, is revealed through an analysis of world capitalism. But while analyzing the world economy as a whole and putting forward the general goal of the Comintern our Program recognizes varieties in its very uniformity,—differences of stages and forms of the world social revolution. The program is based upon the Leninist doctrine of the uneven degree of political and economic development under imperialism. Therefore, it establishes the three types of countries in revolutionary development.

Let us take the first type of highly developed capitalistic coun-

tries—United States and Great Britain. Here the direct transition to the proletarian dictatorship is possible and necessary. Secondly, we have the countries of medium level of capitalist development. Here we face an intermingling of bourgeois democratic and socialist tasks in the course of the social revolution. Thirdly, come the chief colonial countries, China, India, etc. Though there exists here a certain development of industrialization, in the main, it is still insufficient for the purpose of independent socialist construction. The transition to the proletarian dictatorship is possible here after passing through a series of preparatory stages and only as a result of the growth of the bourgeois democratic revolution into a social revolution. These countries getting “direct support from the countries of the proletarian dictatorship” will skip “the phase of the further development of capitalism as the predominant system.”

(3) The Program clearly establishes that the international social revolution is made up of various processes differing in time, nature, etc. For example, we have purely proletarian revolutions. Then, we may have bourgeois democratic types growing into proletarian revolutions. There are national liberation wars. There are colonial revolutions, etc. Therefore the Program does not tackle the problems of each section as a section but considers the fundamental problems of the world revolution as a whole.

For sharp contrast, let us again look at the social democrats. The Second International does not dare to have its own program. It is torn by the same national antagonisms as is its master, national imperialism. Yes, the Second International dares not come out openly with the one international “idea” it has—to save the capitalist order from the proletarian revolution. That is precisely why, when the Second International considers concrete tasks it degenerates into quarrels. Each socialist party considers its fatherland the savior of civilization, progress and democracy. No doubt in the next world war the American Socialist Party will call upon the workers to defend the country on the ground that America has given to the world the lofty conception and ideal of mass production, efficiency, the “hope for the removal of poverty,” stock ownership, “peace in industry,” the abolition of strikes, and similar aspirations of the biggest bankers and manufacturers.

(4) Our Program bases the task of the proletarian dictatorship upon eleven years of experience in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Against the regime of capitalist exploitation and oppression, with its mad scramble for armaments and colonial plunder, with its corrupt bourgeois democracy which is only the dictatorship of the owning class with its regime of national, sex and other inequalities, we pit our international fatherland, the Soviet Union,

where the working class already has in its own hands the basic means of production, a genuine democracy, a real national and sex equality, a planned building of socialism, a living demonstration to the oppressed masses that it is possible and necessary to build socialism even in one country. We pit against the reformist doctrine of peaceful evolution and class collaboration the Marxian-Leninist doctrine of proletarian dictatorship as the transition stage between capitalism and socialism.

However, we base our conclusions not only on the experiences of the October Revolution and the civil war in Russia, but on struggles and experiences of the working class elsewhere. Thus we come to the conclusion that not only is the proletarian nationalization of the means of production impossible under capitalism but that even after the capture of power by the working class the exploiters will not desist in their attempts to regain by armed force the factories, or fail to attempt to sabotage socialist construction. That is why the Program correctly declares: "Without crushing the resistance of the exploiters it will be impossible to create the postulates for socialist construction."

The experiences of socialist construction in the Soviet Union have already made it possible for the Program to work out clearly ways and means of building socialism during the proletarian dictatorship. The Program admits the probability of the need of "war communism" policies because of probable intervention and protracted revolutionary wars. But the Program states categorically that the policy of war communism cannot be considered as the "normal" economic policy of the proletarian dictatorship; rather is the NEP to be considered such policy because it guarantees the firm alliance of the proletariat with the basic, overwhelming majority of the peasantry during the process of fundamental social readjustment.

(5) Finally, the Program also goes into a thorough discussion of the tactics of war communism. The lack of decisiveness in its agrarian tactics, the failure to strengthen the Red Army and undermine the foreign White armies, the errors regarding the confiscation of the land owners' estates and their distribution among the peasantry are examined in the analysis of the Hungarian revolution and its outcome. We are presented with a minute examination of the strategy and tactics of the proletarian state. The need for exposing the role of the social democracy as an agent of imperialism is emphasized. The communist parties are thus equipped for struggle against reformism.

The basis of the roots of reformism is thus made clear. During the period of imperialism it thrives upon crumbs thrown by the bourgeoisie from their colonial super-profits. A striking example

of this is England during the last decades of the 19th and the first decade of the 20th century. Then reformism can flourish because some capitalists may momentarily occupy an advantageous, dominating position in the world market and thus be able to corrupt the upper layer of the working class. Example, the United States. It is through this basic analysis that the Program outlining the tactical tasks of the various communist parties in the imperialist countries and colonies emphasizes the danger of right and left deviations.

FIGHT AGAINST WAR DANGER

The main tactical tasks of the Comintern today are deeply tied up with war danger. But before examining these problems we will examine the analysis of the objective conditions as made by the World Congress.

The "Theses on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Comintern" establish the fact that between the climax of the world war and the present moment we have had three periods. Let me briefly characterize them.

(1) The first period is that of the acute crisis of capitalism caused by the world war. Here we had great revolutionary struggles. Here we had the Soviet victory. We had also the defeats in Hungary, Italy, Germany. The victory in Russia in 1917 and the defeat in Germany in 1923 are the boundary posts of this period. 1921 marks the high point and the receding point in this period. Its essential features are the instability of capitalism and an immediate revolutionary situation on the whole front.

(2) The second period is 1924-27. This begins with the defeat of the German revolution in 1923 and with the general decline of the revolutionary wave. World capitalism makes energetic efforts to restore its trade connections, credits and currency. It succeeds in stabilizing some more of its endangered sectors—Poland and Germany. The capitalist offensive is in full force. The workers retreat still further. Sporadic fights between the workers and exploiters characterize these days. These fights are caused primarily by the capitalist offensive. Witness the British and German strikes. But this period is also the period of the consolidation of the communist parties, the overcoming of the ultra-left crisis, the full restoration of contact of our parties with the masses, the restoration of economy in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the growth of relations between the working class of the Soviet Union and the world proletariat, and the beginning of the wave of mass revolutions in the colonies.

(3) The third period begins in 1928. Let us state at the outset that capitalism has in many ways managed to surpass its pre-war level of production. It has succeeded in restoring relations and

considerably reconstructing economy in a number of countries. But precisely herein lies its chief contradiction—the contradiction between the possibilities of production and the capacity for marketing the commodities produced. The theses on the International Situation thus sum this up very well:

“From the very fact of stabilization, from the fact that production increases and trade grows apace, from the fact that technical progress and the production capacities are increasing while the world market and spheres of influence of the different imperialist groups are still remaining more or less stabilized—from this very fact arises a new profound and most acute crisis of world capitalism which is fraught with wars and which menaces the very existence of all stabilization whatsoever.”

The crux of these contradictions is to be found in the antagonism between the still-rising American capitalism and the already declining, the decaying capitalism of Great Britain. Canada, Latin-America, Europe, rubber, oil—what more evidence do we want? The wider the gap between the forces of production (mass production) and its marketing possibilities (mass underconsumption) in the United States, the more aggressive will American imperialism become. This is the why and wherefore of the fiasco at Geneva. This is the reason for the feverish attempt of British imperialism to reestablish its entente with France, not only in the Balkans, on the Rhine, but throughout the world. This is the reason of the short-lived Naval Accord between France and England. When Kellogg went to sign the fake “peace pact” he visited Dublin but not London. The American note against the Anglo-French Naval Accord is the sharpest note the United States Government has sent any other imperialist power since the Lusitania note. Clearly we are in a new cycle of imperialist wars.

Another feature of the present, the third period, besides the imperialist war menace, is the imperialist war against the colonies. Look at the work of Japan in China, America in Nicaragua and China. Remember that the sharper the basic antagonisms of imperialism become, the larger will be the growth of the revolutionary consciousness of the colonial masses and the more arrogant international imperialism will become. But these imperialist wars inevitably accelerate the awakening of the colonial masses. Thus the colonial movements and revolutions are a vital feature of the third period.

But an even more dominant characteristic of this period lies in the danger of an imperialist war against the Soviet Union. Comrades, do not forget that the existence of the Soviet Union most effectively hinders the capitalist offensive, lends strength to the colonies, makes very risky for the imperialists themselves the out-

break of war and ensures the growth of socialist economy as a source of world-wide inspiration for the workers. Today the imperialist preparation for war against the Soviet Union is the axis of the entire international situation. It is this that accounts for British imperialism supporting Roumania through loans. This is the basis of the development of a Germany hostile in its relations with the Soviet Union.

Consequently, the war danger constitutes the very crux of the new period. Comrade Bucharin was absolutely correct when he said we cannot fight the social democrats on any front today without fighting them as organic agents of the imperialist war preparations. The fight against the war danger is the very center of the entire activity of the Comintern. Notice the emphasis on this task in the thesis on the International Situation adopted by the Congress:

"The struggle against the menace of imperialist wars among the capitalist powers and of an imperialist war against the USSR should be waged systematically and day by day. This struggle is unthinkable without the decisive exposure of pacifism which represents under the present conditions the most essential weapon in the hands of the imperialists for the preparation of wars and for the concealment of such preparations, and finally this struggle is unthinkable without exposing the social democracy which helps imperialism, conceals the preparations for new wars under the banner of pacifism. . . . Constant elucidation of the 'results' of the first world war, of its secret preparation—military and diplomatic: the struggle against pacifism in every shape and the advocacy of communist slogans—above all the slogan of the defeat of 'one's own' imperialist fatherland and the transformation of imperialist war into civil war; the activity amongst the soldiers and sailors, the creation of illegal nuclei, the activity among the peasants—such should be the basic tasks of the communist parties in this respect."

THE PROBLEMS OF CAPITALIST CONTRADICTIONS

The key to the present situation is to be found in the external contradictions. These, of course, are intertwined with the inner contradictions which grow out of the outer contradictions. The furious competition abroad causes a tightening of the screws at home. The capitalist government apparatus everywhere gives more and more open support to the trusts and cartels. Furthermore, such support is also given the big bourgeoisie by means of fascist methods and the utilization of the social democracy and trade union bureaucrats. For the workers, rationalization of industry spells devastating speed-up, longer hours, "shorter" wages, denial of the right to strike, compulsory arbitration. Let us not forget the proposed anti-strike law which already has the approval of the American Bar Association and Messrs. Woll and Green. We all know of the

denial of the right of our party to participate in the election campaign. Look at what happened in Nebraska where our party was kept off the ballot. Look at Oklahoma.

The bourgeoisie are rapidly dropping their mask of democracy. They are functioning ever more openly as a dictatorship. American journals of high finance are frankly putting the question: Does America need a Mussolini? Would Hoover make a good dictator?

What has been the effect of this development on the communist parties? In the second period the communist parties went downward for a while. In the third period the effect is the very opposite. Recall the splendid results achieved by our parties in the election campaigns in Germany, France and Poland. Keep in mind the importance of the Red Front Fighters in Germany and the great movement our party has conducted there against the armored cruiser. A crisis is developing in the German Social Democracy. Even in America, though the process of radicalization is slower, our party is, at a quickened pace, winning influence and leadership.

We emphasize that the increased preparations for the coming struggles mean an intensified fight by us against the socialists. The more the imperialist aspirations rise, the quicker the social democrats will come to the bourgeoisie. The more acute the imperialist rivalries become, the more acute will the class antagonisms become at home and therefore the more friendly and intimate will the relations between the capitalists and Socialist Party be. How else do you explain the acres of publicity given to the decrepit Socialist Party in the New York Times by the Associated Press, by the entire bourgeois press, through various schemes?

The social democrats under the mask of pacifism are simply the advance agents of the imperialists in the colonies. Who has forgotten the role of McDonald in the Simon Commission? Who can forget the shameful attitude of the American Socialist Party on Nicaragua? No one can overlook the dastardly role of the American Socialist Party, as just emphasized in Hillquit's article in the October issue of "Current History," in which he defends the League of Nations and attacks the Soviet Union. The Socialist Party is everywhere working overtime to attune the masses, to develop the masses for war against the Soviet Union. The socialist parties everywhere participate actively in the organization and agitation of the war preparations against the Soviet Union. The social democracy has become fused with the capitalist state. It has been discarding all barriers between itself and fascism. The Hungarian, Bulgarian, Italian and American social democracies are working hand in glove with fascist organizations. The greetings of Albert Thomas to the Italian fascists are still vivid in our memories. Herein lies the reason for the energetic efforts of the

socialist parties to split the labor movement, to expel the communists from the trade unions.

PROBLEMS OF THE UNITED FRONT AND THE RIGHT DANGER

It is obvious that under such conditions our tactics of the united front must be changed in certain respects. Only the united front from below remains and it would be ridiculous today to propose a united front to the Socialist Party leadership which is becoming more fascist and serves as a dynamic force for splitting the labor movement. Our tactics today are to wage a relentless fight against the social democratic leadership and an energetic effort to win the social democratic workers.

It is clear that the more imperialist antagonisms become acute, the more the radicalization of the masses, the greater the likelihood of certain sections of the Socialist Party trying to cover their nefarious purposes with left phrases. These phrase mongers, the "Theses on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Communist International" correctly brand as "the most dangerous vehicle of bourgeois policy within the working class, as the most dangerous adversaries of communism and the proletarian dictatorship." That is why the Congress condemned so sharply the waverings of all right-wing groups within the communist parties regarding these reformists. That is why there was laid down a policy for a clear show-down fight against such wavering. This determined effort of the Congress expressed itself organizationally, as well as ideologically, in the decisions regarding the various sections.

For instance, in the French party the opposition to the slogan of "class against class" laid down by the Ninth Plenum for the election campaign was roundly condemned. Even the Polbureau was reorganized. The line of the Ninth Plenum was emphatically confirmed.

Likewise in the British party the decisions of the Ninth Plenum were confirmed, particularly in the change of the tactical course toward the Labor Party which has now become practically a social-democratic party.

In Germany, the right danger expressed itself in the slogans advocating "control of production," in the refusal of certain trade-union workers to speak against the reformists' strike strategy, in the demand (the policy of the conciliationists) to draw a line between the right and left social democrats.

The right errors committed in our own Party were sharply criticized. But these we will discuss at length, in accordance with the provisions laid down by the Central Committee, on another occasion. In the Czech party the menace of the right danger is shown very clearly. The crisis in this party very clearly illustrates

the completeness with which the right errors have come to a head. Because of its history the Czech Party was more susceptible to right errors than any other party during the second period. The party conducted huge mass activities. It polled nearly a million votes in the election campaign. But when it was necessary to sharpen the fight, to direct it away from "peaceful roads," as for instance in the struggle against the Social Insurance Act, the government agrarian demonstrations, the fight against the political terror, the Party and the Red Unions were too passive.

Of course, we never will give up our united-front policy from below with the social-democratic workers. But it is against the social-democratic leadership, particularly in the trade unions, that we must intensify our fight everywhere. The Congress thus emphasized the need of energetic activity in the existing trade unions and of building a powerful revolutionary opposition to fight the reformists for the leadership of the working class. At this time it is especially important to build new militant unions to fight for the interests of the workers.

The stabilization period, the period of "petty every-day work in the trade unions," etc., the period in which we struggled against the ultra-left, inevitably engendered in our midst certain right-wing moods, especially among elements connected with the co-operatives, with the parliamentary work, with the trade unions. Some comrades confused the correct and necessary every-day work with slogans of peaceful co-operation with the reformists and the trade-union bureaucracy. Likewise the correct policy of utilizing the legal possibilities has in some instances been misinterpreted as a policy of seeking legality at all costs. Such opportunist deviations are highly dangerous, particularly in a period of imminent wars and revolutionary struggles. That is why every right manifestation was hit over the head by the Sixth Congress. *The right danger is the chief danger today and every party must fight it as such.*

COLONIAL QUESTION

This question assumed considerable importance at the Congress. Contrast this with the role of the colonial question played at the Congress of the imperialist brokers, the Brussels Congress.

At the Second Congress Lenin gave the fundamental strategic line for our colonial policies. Since then there were considerable changes. We have amassed a tremendous fund of experiences. Let us merely enumerate the four outstanding colonial developments since the Fourth Congress.

First, the proletariat has entered upon the scene of the class struggle in the colonies. In a number of colonial countries it is the fundamental revolutionary force leading great strata of the peas-

antry in revolutionary struggle. Secondly, we have had a number of colonial insurrections. The agrarian struggles in India, the insurrection in Indonesia, the national wars in Nicaragua, Morocco, Syria. Thirdly, the great Chinese revolution. Fourthly, the Latin-American problem has matured. The national revolutionary movement has begun in the semi-colonial countries of Latin America.

The work of the Congress on the colonial question was very fruitful. The report of Comrade Kuusinen showed a real study of the tactical problems and gave a concrete analysis in all cases. Our experience to date led us to consider such questions as that of non-capitalist mode of development in the colonies, the democratic dictatorship by the proletariat and peasantry, the attitude toward the bourgeoisie, etc. The whole examination of the colonial developments bore out the correctness of Lenin's prediction of the unfolding of colonial revolutions.

In China we have today a temporary triumph of a bloc of imperialist, feudal elements, and native bourgeoisie. The present Chinese situation was properly characterized as "*The period of the preparation of the mass forces for a new rise of the revolution.*" In India we find a revival of national revolutionary movements with great possibilities.

Two tendencies are visible in China and India. The bourgeoisie consider it their historical task to create a bourgeois state by means of reform and compromise with the British imperialists and feudal elements. At the same time they are glad to exploit the workers and peasants as cannon fodder for their purposes. The second tendency is that of the revolutionary fight against the native bourgeoisie, imperialism, and against the feudal survivals. In the most important colonials like China and India we cannot defeat the imperialists without defeating the native bourgeoisie. Here the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry to wipe out the monopolies and the privileges and to accomplish the agrarian revolution comes to the forefront. Thus we will be establishing an alliance with the proletariat of the advanced countries—the basis for non-capitalist development of colonial countries. This is our basic strategical slogan.

THE QUESTION OF DECOLONIZATION

The Congress clearly analyzed the growth of imperialism in the colonies. Some comrades here criticize the assertion that India and other colonial countries constitute a sort of "agrarian adjunct," a "world village." These comrades declare that industrialization is going on apace in India. The logic of their assertions led them to the conclusion that these colonies are becoming decolonized,—on the road towards being no longer colonies.

Any one who accepts this theory of decolonization literally gives up the fundamental thesis of Lenin concerning the probability of non-capitalist development in the colonies. No one denies that there is some industrial development going on in the colonies. But let no one confuse industrial development with industrialization as a basis for independence. The industrialization of a country is the producing of the means of production (machinery, etc.). However, imperialism allows the colonies only the development of small manufacturing industries. For instance, such industries as are engaged in the conversion of agricultural products. Imperialism deliberately hinders the production of means of production in the colonies. More than that, imperialism hinders industrial development in the colonies by its support of feudal survivals and the imposing of heavy tax burdens.

The only road to the independence, to the decolonization of the colonies lies in a revolution of the workers and peasants for the establishment of the democratic dictatorship.

THE ROLE OF THE BOURGEOISIE IN THE COLONIES

Here we have the second big problem in our colonial tactics. This is chiefly important for the coming Indian revolution. In India there is going on a sharp struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for hegemony in the national revolutionary movement. We must keep in mind certain differences between the Indian and Chinese situations. In India the bourgeoisie as a class is more consolidated, more mature, economically and politically. It is true that the proletariat is more numerous in India. But it is still under the influence of bourgeois nationalism. Already the most influential sections of the Indian bourgeoisie are in full swing in this compromise. Another section of this bourgeoisie, the Swarajists, is looking for the first opportune moment for making a complete compromise with British imperialism, at the expense of the toiling masses. The Indian bourgeoisie has already betrayed the agrarian revolution. They are bound to play a counter-revolutionary role. Our first task here is to build a powerful communist party and trade unions. Then only can we succeed in our struggle against imperialism and feudal remnants. Comrade Stalin once well said that in order to succeed in smashing the imperialist-feudal-bourgeois bloc it is necessary "to concentrate our fire against the compromising national bourgeoisie, expose its treachery and emancipate the toiling masses from its influence."

THE NEGRO QUESTION

For the American Party the Negro question assumes ever-growing importance. The especially intense exploitation and heavy oppression to which the millions of Negroes in America are subject

make it imperative for the party to devote its best energies and its maximum resources towards becoming the recognized leader and champion of the interests of Negroes as an oppressed people. Our objective, of course, here is to have the Negro proletariat assume the hegemony in the entire Negro national movement. We will on a subsequent occasion discuss the details of this question, particularly the decision of the Congress supplementing our Negro Program for complete social and political equality with the slogan of self-determination for the Negroes in the United States.

THE SITUATION IN THE CPSU AND THE USSR

The Congress also examined the activities of the proletariat and its party in the Soviet Union. Fundamental lines of further socialist construction were outlined. The results of long struggle between Leninism and Trotskyism were placed sharply and clearly before the Congress. *The Congress registered unanimous satisfaction in the victory over the social-democratic deviations of Trotskyism which is today a counter-revolutionary force.* The Congress welcomed the overcoming of certain economic difficulties by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It recognized the achievements and successes in building socialism. The progress of socialist reconstruction of agriculture and the strengthening of the socialist edifice in the villages through the establishment of Soviet estates and collective production were noted. The systematic realization by the CPSU of Lenin's line of relying upon the poor peasants, forming an alliance with the middle peasantry and fighting the kulaks was recognized.

The CPSU also corrected a tendency noted here and there in the state administration of the Soviet Union, in the trade unions and even in the party toward bureaucracy and petrification. The development of self-criticism was obvious. Likewise the development of new activities, new energies of the working class were noted. The Congress unanimously, enthusiastically pledged itself to support the Soviet Union to the limit in the event of war or attack against it.

THE SITUATION IN THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

After the above analysis of the objective conditions and clarification of our tasks it was necessary for the Congress to lay down a clear line of relations within the Comintern—between the various sections and the Executive Committee of the Communist International, between the various organs in the different sections, within the sections themselves. I am now discussing only the general, fundamental lines, prerequisite for the membership in every section of the Comintern. The American question as a whole, both

in regard to its tactics, tasks, and in regard to its inner relations we will discuss some other time in accordance with the decision of the Central Executive Committee. In order to make clear and to cast out all doubts as to what the emphatic line of the Comintern regarding the inner relations in the International is, we herewith quote in full this section of the "Thesis on the International Situation and Tasks of the Communist Parties:"

"The Congress instructs the ECCI to employ all measures necessary to preserve the unity of the Communist International and its Sections. Only on the basis of good team work and on the condition that differences are removed primarily by methods of internal party democracy, will it be possible to overcome the enormous difficulties of the present time and fulfil the great tasks of the immediate future. This not only does not exclude, but on the contrary presupposes the general tightening up of iron, internal discipline, the absolute subordination of the minority to the majority, the absolute subordination of the minor organizations as well as all other party organizations (parliamentary fractions, fractions in the trade union, the press, etc.) to the leading Party centres and of all sections of the Comintern to the Executive Committee of the Comintern. The tightening up of proletarian discipline in the parties, the consolidation of the parties, the elimination of factional strife, etc., are an absolute condition for the victorious proletarian struggle against all the forces imperialism is mobilizing."

The Sixth Congress of the Communist International has taught us much, has given us much. It should prove, as it surely will prove, a source of inspiration to every party member. It should make us better communists, more courageous, more conscientious fighters for the cause of the international proletarian revolution in America. Under the leadership of the Communist International we will win, on the American front, the fight against world imperialism. To this our party is pledged. To this every member must give his all.

