

Chairman Comrade Remmele:

Declaration of Comrade PEPPER.

Comrades, I would like to make the following short remarks:

Comrade Lominadze has here made an unusual accusation against me. He said that I never dared to polemise against any leading comrade in the Comintern. I would like to reply as follows to this quite remarkable accusation:

Firstly, the fact is I polemised quite energetically against leading comrades, and indeed such leading comrades of the Comintern as Lenin and Trotsky (Trotsky was then on the side of Lenin) at the Third World Congress, on the question of the offensive theory, on the defence of the mistakes of the March uprising in Germany, as well as on the question of judging the world situation. In my opinion I made quite great mistakes at that time by these polemics, and I can tell you that I am not at all proud of the fact that I polemised against Lenin, against "a leading comrade of the Comintern". That is the difference between Lominadze and me in judging "bravery" within the Comintern.

Secondly, since when is it a criterion of a good revolutionary communist, that he should fight against leading comrades of the Comintern. According to my knowledge we until now considered those comrades to be good Communist revolutionaries who have fought against the Social Democracy, against opportunism and against the bourgeoisie. At any rate it would be quite a new and completely strange criterion of a revolutionary that he "dared" to come forward against "leading comrades" of the Comintern. That is the second difference between Lominadze and myself in judging leaders of the Comintern. At any rate, this can lead to quite extraordinary deviations, if one puts the relation between individual Parties or delegates of the Comintern to the leaders of the Comintern in such a way as has been done in these peculiar remarks of Comrade Lominadze.

Then the second short remark. I would here like to establish emphatically, that not I but Comrade Lominadze began the polemic about the judging of the uprising in Canton here before the World Congress, and he did it in his first speech upon the theses of Comrade Bukharin. Not I but he brought forward here the question of Canton with big gestures, and warmed up his old stale views. Not I but he dragged into the discussion here before the World Congress the question of the "putch". I had to refer to the question of the uprising in Canton and to Lominadze's conception of the permanent revolution a la Trotzky, because he and those who share his opinions tried to twist and obscure the decisions of the 9th Plenum of the E. C. C. I.

The Chinese Resolution of the 9th Plenum of the E. C. C. I., with complete correctness, designated Canton as one of the most important military deeds of the Chinese proletariat. But at the same time the 9th Plenum also criticised those mistakes, which were made by the leadership of the uprising in connection with the Canton uprising. The resolution of the 9th Plenum stressed the following critical points:

1. Insufficient preparation among the workers before the uprising.
2. Insufficient preparatory work among the peasants.
3. Insufficient preparatory work among the enemies' army.
4. False methods of approach to the membership of the yellow unions.
5. Insufficient preparation of the uprising in the Party and in the Youth.
6. The C. C. of the Party was not in the least informed about the uprising.
7. The weakness of the political mobilisation of the masses.
8. Lack of broad political strikes.
9. Lack of elected Soviets.
10. The general political responsibility of the leadership of the uprising for the mistakes before the Communist International.

No less than ten quite weighty critical remarks are therefore contained in the theses of the 9th Plenum of the E. C. C. I. on the Canton uprising. It would of course be ridiculous to say that these critical remarks mean so much as to say that the uprising in Canton was a putsch. The theses about the world situation which have already been adopted by the VI. Congress confirmed the correct conception of the Resolution of the 9th Plenum in the question of the Canton uprising. The theses state that Canton was an heroic struggle of the proletariat, a rear-guard fight and the leadership of the uprising made great mistakes, and condemn the leadership of the Chinese Party because in the past — the old leadership — made opportunistic mistakes. The theses confirmed the fact that the new leadership then fell into the other extreme (Interruption: That is discussion, not a declaration). Comrades, I shall now quote only the theses accepted by the VI. World Congress. It is to be hoped that nobody will here come forward against the assertion of these theses. The theses maintain that the new leadership has not made sufficient resistance to adventurous, to putschistic views. (Interruption: That is no declaration.) Yes, that is a declaration, because some speakers attempted to obscure the facts here, to change the position of the 9th Plenum and the VI. World Congress into an opposite one.

In conclusion, I would like to add that it is incorrect, and Comrade Strakhov also used this incorrect method, if one first

of all identifies the great historical fight of the Chinese workers with the mistakes of the leadership, and secondly, if one attempts to obscure the great historical significance of the uprising in Canton by keeping silent about the mistakes which were made on the part of the leadership in connection with the uprising. If in the future we wish to organise and carry through new uprisings and, indeed, successful ones in China, we must learn not only from the historical facts of the fight of the workers, but also from the mistakes which the leadership made.

Comrade REMMELE (Chairman):

We now come to a greeting by the communication workers, that is the post and telegraph workers in Moscow. On this matter Comrade Salnikov has the floor.

Comrade SALNIKOV:

The proletariat of the Moscow post and telegraph service sends its fraternal greetings to the leaders of the World Revolution — to the VI. World Congress of the Comintern. The proletariat of the Moscow post and telegraph service follows with eager attention the work of the Congress of the Comintern, and emphasises with the deepest satisfaction the fact that the defence of the first Socialist country in the world — this shield of the World Revolution — stands in the centre of the work of the Congress.

Comrades, in fulfilling the trust bequeathed us by Lenin, and with the deepest faith in the triumph of the Revolution, the proletariat of the Moscow post and telegraph service, together with the international proletariat, will fight for the creation of a proletarian dictatorship in the entire world, for the erection of a Soviet Power throughout the world. (Applause.) The proletariat of the post and telegraph workers will march forward at the first appeal of the leaders of the Revolution to the last and decisive fight against the bourgeoisie and world capitalism.

Long live the world revolution!

Long live the international proletariat!

Our greetings to the VI. World Congress of the Comintern!

(Applause.)

Comrade REMMELE:

I believe we must give our special thanks to the workers and employees of the post and telegraph service in the First Workers' State. If it was possible in Red October to lead the revolutionary troops, the advance guard of the world proletariat into the fight for the Soviet State, to hold them together in the fight and to lead them through to a successful victory, then it was the special service of these same communication workers, to link together the various regiments of troops of the Red Army, the various general staffs, and so made it possible to carry through the victory of the Red Guards. But not only in the famous days of the first proletarian revolution, but also at our Congress the transportation workers of the Soviet Union, and especially the workers of the Commissariat for Communication prepared for us a special gift: the excellent connections which we have in our translations here are the work of the communication workers from the telegraph service. Here also the communication workers showed that their technique, their experience, their scientific studies are of the first order even in comparison with the capitalist world. For this reason we give our communication workers again the heartiest thanks of the VI. World Congress.

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Comrades, the Chairman of the Red Front Fighters' League of Germany, Comrade Ernst Thälmann, has received a telegram of fraternal greetings from the Central-German meeting of the Red Front Fighters at Leipzig:

"Assure the soldiers, workers and peasants of the proletarian fatherland, of our invincible solidarity and of the faith of the German workers in the Russian proletariat. The Red Front Fighters League..."

Red Front — Leo Hoffman."

(Lively Applause.)

Close of the Session.