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SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

(FULL REPORT.)

Twenty-third Session.

Moscow, August 6, 1928 (morning).

Conclusion of the Discussion on the Reports on the Methods of the Struggle against the Danger of Imperialist War.

Chairman, Comrade Murphy (Great Britain).

Comrade DIMITROV (Bulgaria):

Comrades, the Bulgarian Delegation is in agreement with the main ideas contained in the theses on the war danger and on the tasks of the Communist Parties. It is of the opinion, however, that the following points should be referred to in it:

1. The special significance of the war danger in the Balkans and the special tasks confronting the Communist Parties in the Balkan countries resulting therefrom.
2. The special significance and role of the national revolutionary movement in the struggle against the imperialist war danger.
3. The need for steering a course for bringing about national revolutionary wars in the event of an outbreak of an imperialist or anti-Soviet war.
4. The necessity at the present time in the course of the campaign against the war danger and imperialism, to establish a revolutionary bloc between the proletariat, the peasantry, and the oppressed nationalities and to strengthen this bloc.

In the Commission we will endeavour to prove more conclusively the need for these additions, and we hope that they will be approved.

Comrades, the first thing that must be clearly and definitely said from this international proletarian tribune in the question of the problem of war is that as long as capitalism prevails, imperialist and anti-Soviet wars are inevitable. The results of

the last imperialist war, documented and recorded in predatory and oppressing treaties, bear within themselves the germs of another imperialist war.

The antagonisms and conflicts which must eventually lead to another war either in the Pacific, in the Baltic, in Central Europe, on the Mediterranean or in the Balkans are everyday assuming more menacing proportions. On the other hand, it is clear that peaceful cohabitation between the Soviet and the capitalist systems in world economy and world industry is impossible. The antagonisms between these two diametrically opposed systems — the one the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the other the dictatorship of capital — are increasing from day to day and inevitably lead to an armed conflict.

In fact, in the struggle against the war danger it is by no means out of the question that at certain points in the general world front and in the event of a revolutionary situation arising that war can be averted by the revolutionary partial victory of the proletariat. Towards this we must exert every effort. Similarly it is possible that one of the bourgeois States, owing to its special position, as a result of profound conflicts between the imperialist States or, as a result of the determined resistance of the masses, may prefer not to join the imperialist anti-Soviet war. This creates the possibility and duty of the Soviet Union to establish a military alliance against imperialism with such State or States. Notwithstanding all this, however, the fact remains that taken as a whole, until the final victory of the proletarian world revolution, imperialist anti-Soviet wars are inevitable.

To state that imperialist and anti-Soviet wars are inevitable does not in the least imply that we are adopting a fatalistic attitude. We arrive at this conclusion as a result of a strictly scientific analysis of the existing profound and irreconcilable contradictions in the capitalist system, as a result of the analysis of the tendencies of development of imperialism and of the correlation of forces of the Powers. In a word, our conclusion is the result of the analysis of numerous, real, and incontrovertible facts of the present day.

This conclusion points out the revolutionary perspective of the proletarian vanguard, and when the masses learn this lesson thoroughly they will be able to avoid dangerous pacifist errors and illusions. It is an essential pre-requisite for the mobilisation of the vigilance of the proletariat and of the other toiling masses in regard to the war danger, for preparing the masses for coming events and to enabling them to meet these events as an active and decisive force.

Secondly, it must be definitely stated that while the proletariat must be definitely opposed to every imperialist and anti-Soviet war, it is not necessarily opposed to every kind of war. The domination of capitalism cannot be overthrown without the civil war of the proletariat in conjunction with the peasantry. The colonial and other nations oppressed by imperialism cannot achieve their liberation without a national revolutionary war. We are opposed to imperialist war which aims at strengthening the domination of capitalism and enslaving the masses of the toilers. We are, however, in favour of civil war against capitalism; we are in favour of national liberation wars against imperialist domination; we are in favour of revolutionary war for the victory of the proletarian dictatorship and for the liberation of toiling mankind from the shackles of capitalism. We are in favour of revolutionary war because it is a part of the proletarian revolution. On the achievement of victory of the world proletarian revolution wars will disappear.

The third point to which reference must be made is that while there is no doubt that certain wars between capitalist States are possible and even highly probable owing to the growing antagonisms and rivalries between them for the redistribution of the world, nevertheless, the danger of war against the Soviet Union, against the Fatherland of the international proletariat, the organised and concentrated centre of the world revolutionary forces, the capital of the proletarian revolution is the greatest danger of all. That is why the defence of the Soviet Union must be placed in the centre of the struggle against the war danger and in the centre of all anti-war campaigns. The spread of information concerning the character, the form of organisation and the achievements of the first workers' and peasants' State, concerning the significance it has for the struggle for liberation of the proletariat, the peasants and the oppressed peoples, its enormous role in the struggle against imperialist war and its place as the Capital of the world proletarian revolution must be undertaken to the fullest extent.

Comrades, the whole anti-war campaign, which has for its principal slogan the defence of the Soviet Union, of the Chinese and other colonial revolutions, the overthrow of the dictatorship of capital and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship must be linked up with the vital everyday interests of the workers, peasants, soldiers, young workers, children, disabled soldiers, intellectual workers, etc. — in a world, all strata and groups of the toilers. It must also be linked up with the agrarian and national questions (particularly in the Balkan countries), with the struggle for the removal of remnants of feudalism and national oppression and with the coming agrarian and national revolutions. Simultaneously, efforts must be made to expose pacifism, bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism and to explain widely among the masses the truth about the Bolshevik war policy.

Combating the imperialist and anti-Soviet war danger must be the constant task of all Communist Parties and of the whole of the proletariat, and not merely of their leading bodies, and must be linked up with all aspects of the life of the working class, the peasantry and the soldiers. In a thousand ways, by a variety of methods and forms corresponding to the concrete situation we must endeavour to achieve our main goal, namely, the mobilisation of the broadest masses of the proletariat for the practical struggle against the imperialist

anti-Soviet war danger, their preparation for great revolutionary wars in the event of the imperialists declaring another imperialist war or a war against the Soviet Union.

Comrades, on the premise that imperialist and anti-Soviet wars are unavoidable, the campaign against the war danger and the task of converting imperialist war into civil war must be placed in the centre of discussion, i. e. that imperialist or anti-Soviet war must be converted into a class war, into a war for the defence of the Fatherland of the international proletariat and for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. This is all the more necessary for the reason that preparing the proletariat and the other toiling masses for transforming the imperialist war into civil war is really the most effective and the surest form of fighting against the war danger that there is.

A necessary pre-requisite for the fulfilment of this task is the winning over of the majority of the toilers, the destruction of the Social-Democratic influence among the proletariat, the liberation of the trade unions from the counter-revolutionary leadership of the Social Democrats and the establishment of the hegemony of the Communist Party over the proletariat and all the other toiling masses.

In this connection special attention must be devoted to the railwaymen, post and telegraph employees, seamen and dockworkers, for these are the sections of the working class that will play a particularly important role in the transport of troops and munitions and communications in the event of war.

Special attention must also be paid to the workers employed in the chemical and munition industries in order that the production of war material may actually come into the hands of the revolutionary proletariat.

Bearing in mind that the modern armies in the main consist of peasants, the Communist Party must extend its influence among the agricultural proletariat, among the poor and middle peasantry and strengthen their organisation among them.

The work in the army, particularly among the recruits, naturally acquires special significance. This work must be conducted with the aim of disintegrating the capitalist armies in order that in the event of war breaking out the soldiers shall turn their weapons against the dominant class and to the service of the proletarian revolution.

The national revolutionary movement must also be directed in such a way that in the event of the outbreak of an imperialist or an anti-Soviet war it shall, in alliance with the revolutionary proletariat and peasantry, develop the national revolution and convert the imperialist war into civil war.

In conclusion, I would like to express my opinion on the following important points:

1. The Comintern and the individual Communist Parties must as soon as possible solve the group of problems which are connected with the task of ensuring a leading role of the Parties as well as with the execution of a common policy for all the Sections of the Communist International in the event of war breaking out.

2. It is particularly necessary to study carefully the revolutionary experiences of the last imperialist war, of the national revolution in China, of the Morocco war, of civil wars, etc., and particularly the experiences of the Russian Bolsheviks in the Revolution of 1905, in the imperialist war, in the February and October Revolutions and in the civil war. These exceedingly useful experiences must be linked up with the political, tactical and organisational lessons that the Sections of the Communist International must learn in order that this material may be utilised in the present campaign against the war danger and also for the purpose of converting the imperialist war into civil war.

We must frankly admit that we are not sufficiently prepared, and that we are extremely belated in our work. Extraordinary efforts must be made in order to avoid a repetition of what took place in the last imperialist war, when millions of workers shed their blood for the benefit of capitalism and, under the treacherous influence of Social Democracy, fought for the cause of the counter-revolution.

The VI. Congress of the Communist International must send out the danger-signal to the whole world: "The imperialist and anti-Soviet war is approaching! Be prepared!"

The conversion of this war into civil war for the victory of the proletarian revolution and for eradicating war alto-

gether — this is the task of the revolutionary proletariat and its Communist vanguard. We are convinced that the Congress, basing itself on the collective knowledge and experience of the Communist International, will lay down the necessary lines of conduct on the war danger, the carrying out of which will undoubtedly enable us to fulfil our task successfully. (Cheers.)

Comrade ENGBAHL (U. S. A.):

Comrades! The Communist Party of the United States was born as a revolutionary protest against the last imperialist war of the House of Morgan, and now drives ahead in the spirit of its past traditions, clarified by Leninism, against the present imperialist war danger, in preparation for the victorious proletarian struggle against the next imperialist world war.

The American working class is full of pacifist illusions. Pacifist errors for some time reflected in our Party, have been gradually eliminated, however, in the struggle against the imperialist war and the war danger.

In this connection the Party proudly presents the demands contained in this year's national election programme, especially the defeatist character of its anti-war slogans advanced against the bloody interventions now being carried on by the Dollar Imperialism against Nicaragua and China. These slogans are as follows: "Down with the imperialist war in Nicaragua! Defeat Wall Street's War in Nicaragua! Marines sent to Nicaragua and China, go over to the side of the Nicaraguan and Chinese revolution!"

Complete and immediate independence is demanded for all American colonies and semi-colonies, while the keynote of the whole election platform calls for the turning of the next imperialist war into a civil war. This is the spirit of the campaigns and the deeds of the Party.

Has the opposition within our Party ever presented any counter-analysis? Has it ever offered any counter-proposals? It has not!

Our opposition charges that the Party could only see American imperialism in China as an aid to the imperialism of either England or Japan. Our election platform on this point specifically declares:

"Wall Street's dollars and marines are extending their domination over greater sections of the world. Wherever there is a revolutionary upheaval United States imperialism is on hand and ready to crush it. United States imperialism is in a conspiracy with Great Britain against the Russian Revolution. It co-operates with Japan and England in the intervention against China.

"All talk about the United States as the 'friend of China' is merely babble in view of the fact that America supports Japan's domination over Manchuria in order to protect her own vast financial investments there. Japanese intervention in China today promotes the striving of the United States for financial hegemony in the Far East. American-British-Japanese co-operation in the disarmament of China includes at the same time growing possibilities of a clash between the rival interests of these three leading imperialist Powers in the Pacific. United States warships and thousands of marines are 'pacifying' China, and Washington admits that Admiral Bristol is empowered to call out the whole Pacific fleet against China if United States imperialist policy requires it. The conquest of the tremendous Chinese market is in a growing degree one of the foremost aims of the United States imperialists.

"United States Imperialism goes hand in hand with Japanese imperialism in Shantung against the armies of Chiang Kai-Shek, but at the same time its representative, Admiral Bristol, co-operates with Chiang Kai-shek in crushing Soviet Canton, suppressing all revolutionary movements of the Chinese workers and peasants."

Thus American imperialism not only has its own independent role to fulfil in China, but it also shares responsibility for the aggressive attacks carried on by Japan in Manchuria and Shantung. The Party, therefore, indicts and convicts American imperialism not only for its own crimes in the Orient, but also for the crimes of other imperialist nations which it aids and abets. Every part of the world sees an open or covert struggle between American and British imperialism. Our opposition views this problem in a too simple manner. That is one of its greatest shortcomings.

We utilise these differences between the imperialists to advance our own purposes. We base our policies on the class conflicts prevailing within capitalist society and the specific role played by each imperialism at a given moment. Thus we view the imperialist war danger against the Soviet Union as the greatest and most imminent aspect of the war danger. In China we must reckon not only with the antagonisms between the imperialist powers, but also with the attack of the imperialist nations, combined by a common dread, against a rising Soviet China.

Leninism has taught us to look for allies where the dangers to American imperialism are the greatest. We find allies among such enemies of our enemy as the colonial masses fighting for freedom from imperialist oppression. As American imperialism has become most powerful in Latin America, our Party eagerly joins hands with every revolutionary resistance to American imperialism developing from Mexico south to Chile and the Argentine. It is a good sign that this 6th World Congress of the Comintern witnesses the presence of an increasing number of delegates from Latin America. At our own National Nominating Convention, held in New York in May, we had fraternal delegates present from four Latin American countries.

Our Party must give increasing attention, however, and must strengthen its connections with Latin America. The present developments (assassination of Obregon) in Mexico reveal the complexities of the situation in that country, which is menaced by the continuous threat of a new military intervention by the United States. The increasing export of United States capital to Latin America means an increasingly aggressive imperialist policy against these countries, that inevitably rouses the resistance of the worker and farmer masses. The Havana Conference, which was called in the name of Pan-Americanism, was only the instrument of United States imperialism.

Among the pressing tasks of our Party, are the following:

1. To sharpen the fight against the so-called Kellogg Treaties to "outlaw war", more vigorously exposing the fact that this is not a plan for the prevention of imperialist war, but another big step towards war. This programme not only excludes but is directed against the Soviet Union, an imperialist manoeuvre to counteract the genuine struggles for peace of the Soviet Union.

2. The strengthening of the Party apparatus for its anti-war activities, especially an intensive campaign for the organisation of new Party nuclei and the activating of present Party nuclei in the munitions, the chemical, the marine and land transport, steel, coal, copper and iron mining, and other basic industries, in which the Party is daily finding new roots.

3. More intensive and systematic work among all the various branches of the armed forces of the imperialist reaction.

4. Broader campaigns to convince larger masses of American workers and farmers to fight for the independence of the Philippines and all other colonies. No step in war preparations should be allowed to go by without mass demonstrations and other forms of protest, especially on the occasion of the exchange of diplomatic notes, the granting of huge war appropriations, new developments in warfare (poison gas and disease germs) and negotiation and signing of new treaties.

5. Energetic organisation activities among the Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos in the United States. This problem becomes of first rate importance as the war in the Pacific, now being waged against the Chinese worker and peasant masses, continues to grow. Education and development of Chinese Communists in the United States so that they can help replace the cadres of Chinese Communist Party members exterminated by the butchery of the bloody Kuomintang reign of terror. Closest co-operation with the Parties of Latin America, of China and Japan.

6. More attention to the development of Communist activities among the Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos and natives in the Hawaiian Islands, at the cross-roads in the Pacific; also the organisation of revolutionary trade unions in the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands. It was in the Hawaiian Islands that the first Communist nucleus was organised in the American army of occupation, two of the leaders, when brought to trial, being sentenced to 20 and 40 years' imprisonment respec-

tively. These vicious prison terms were greatly reduced as the result of an unprecedented wave of protest. Greater attention to the building and strengthening of a Communist Party in the Philippines.

7. Merciless fight against all pacifist illusions; against the **Monroe Doctrine** of labour policy of the labour aristocracy, against the **Pan-American Federation of Labour**, and against the pro-League of Nations policy of the **Socialist Party**.

8. Direct contact with all liberation movements in the colonies and semi-colonies, as at present maintained with these movements against American imperialism in **Nicaragua, Cuba and the Philippines**.

9. Crystallisation of anti-war sentiment among the **Negro masses**, based on the disillusionment growing out of the last war, when Negro workers and farmers were segregated in **Jim Crow** regiments and rushed off to the slaughter pits of Europe, while those at home were subjected to the bitterest exploitation. Negro resentment manifested itself in a wave of militant struggles in the early after-war years. The tradition of the **Houston Martyrs** as well as the courageous resistance to many murderous attacks directed against the **Race (Chicago, Tulsa, East St. Louis, etc., etc.)** are an inspiration for more heroic struggles in the future.

10. Development of "War against the imperialist war" as a major activity of the "New Unionism" — in the **organisation of the unorganised workers** in the great basic industries.

11. Utilisation of the anti-war and anti-conscription tradition of certain sections of the **agrarian masses**, directing it into a revolutionary struggle against war. A decisive portion of the army in the next war will be made up of the youth from the farms. In the early days of the last war something resembling an armed insurrection against conscription took place in the state of **Oklahoma**. This militancy must be converted into a genuine anti-war effort, to turn the imperialist war into a civil war.

12. Special activities must be devoted to the **women and children** now in industry, and the great masses that will be drawn into the war industries immediately war is declared, as part of the imperialist programme to draw the whole nation into the war.

13. Increasing co-operation with and assistance to the **Young Workers (Communist) League** that is making encouraging headway in its anti-war activities, working hand in hand with the Party. It has been in the forefront of every anti-imperialist demonstration and is helping to develop successfully the Party's work among the soldiers, sailors and marines. Youth is drawn into the war — both into the armies and into the industries. Special efforts must be made to win the youth for the war against the imperialist war. In this respect the VI. World Congress of the Communist International should give greater attention than ever before to the approaching World Congress of the Young Communist International. Every section of the Comintern and the Comintern itself, must give every possible aid and direction to the Young Communist Leagues in all countries.

The **American Communist Party**, in common with all sections of the Comintern, moves forward to new battles against the imperialist war danger, new victories in defence of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Revolution, to the war against imperialist war, the triumph of the world proletarian dictatorship, the destruction of imperialism and the ending of all war through the creation of a new world economic order in a Communist Society.

Comrade FIALA (Austria):

Comrades, I would like to draw the attention of the Congress to four partial questions: first, the phraseology employed by the Social Democrats, by which they are helping the bourgeoisie to prepare for the imperialist war. Second, the question of defeatism and sabotage. Thirdly, the work of the Communists in mercenary armies and fourthly, a purely Austrian question that is connected with the coming war.

The **Social Democrats** say: Yes, there are imperialist antagonisms; there is a struggle for markets, but if the Soviet Union wishes to avoid war it can do so; ergo: if war does break out the Soviet Union will alone be responsible. This denial of the war danger is intended to hold back the workers from the struggle against the war. It is intended to picture the

Soviet Union as the provoker of war and to turn the workers against her. The argument employed by the Social Democrats that there is no war danger, that it is merely a figment of the Communists' imagination leads to counter-revolutionary defeatism. Moods like that are to be observed to a slight degree even in the ranks of the Communists. One of the prerequisites for a successful campaign against war is the successful smashing of the Social Democratic lies about war being avertible. If the masses do not believe that war is imminent and if we fail to make them understand this, then our other slogans will appear pessimistic and we shall fail to set great masses into action.

In the theses defeatism is defined as the desire and the furtherance of the defeat of one's own government. I agree with this definition, but I believe that we must distinguish between revolutionary defeatism and active defeatism. We must not merely wish for the defeat of the bourgeoisie but further it and do everything that will bring that defeat about. In our press, as long as it remains legal, and when it ceases to be so through the medium of leaflets, etc., we must expose every case of corruption and every case of militarist outrage in order to rouse the hatred of the workers against the bourgeoisie and their officers, and out of this defeatism to create a revolutionary fighting spirit.

In connection with this stands the question of **sabotage**. In the Thesis there is a formula which is extremely restricted. It reads:

"The Communists reject every 'weapon' against the war that does not serve the purpose of revolutionary mass action or even contradict it."

This is too restricted. I want to quote a few examples to show that sabotage is also necessary and expedient even when it does not lead to the spread of revolutionary struggles. During the Russian-Polish War the Austrian workers strongly sympathised with the Soviet Union and would have undertaken strong action for the Soviet Union but were prevented by the Social Democrats.

Nevertheless, it was found possible to organise a small committee which carried out a number of acts of sabotage, which while small in themselves nevertheless taken as a whole had a fairly considerable effect. For example, they put sand in the grease boxes on the axles of railway wagons. This was a small act of sabotage but the result was that these wagons had to be unloaded three or four times and had to remain idle in the stations, and more than once it happened that the arms and munitions fell into the hands of the workers. It is true that these acts of sabotage did not lead to great revolutionary mass action, but they helped to raise the spirits of the workers very considerably. I think that if similar acts of sabotage were organised over the whole country they would be expedient.

On the question of **mercenary armies** a clause in the theses says the following:

"In every case the tactics to be applied to mercenary armies, police troops, etc., are that of moral isolation, boycott and public scorn."

I agree with this passage insofar as it applies to police troops, fascist detachments, etc. But we must not generalise. I am thinking above all of the Austrian mercenary army. The officers consist almost exclusively of petty bourgeois and bourgeois elements. The rank and file soldiers, however, are mainly unemployed workers, particularly labourers and also small peasant elements who can no longer find a livelihood on their parents' farms. If the tactics described above were applied to these the result would be disastrous. The Austrian army, which originated from the revolutionary volkswehr, has after all a revolutionary tradition although not a very strong one. In the Austrian army the system still prevails of electing army representatives. The bourgeoisie deliberately tried to make the army non-political, i. e., to convert it entirely into its own tool, but in this it failed.

The events of July 15th proved that if proper work were done in such a volunteer army it would become unreliable for the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie was able to call out only a very small number of troops upon whom they could rely, while the other part of the army had to be confined to barracks. In a number of barracks in fact attempts were made to disarm the revolutionary soldiers. If we apply the tactics

mentioned to this army we will repel this section of the proletarian element and make them susceptible to the influence of the bourgeoisie. We are of the opinion that we must still carry on good Communist agitation and recruiting work among these troops. We must take up all the political and economic demands of these men. We must also establish our nuclei among them and accentuate the antagonisms between the men and the officers. I quite agree, however, that the tactics referred to in the theses should be applied to fascist organisations and to officers.

I think it is necessary also to discuss the question of the possibility of neutralising the army, because in Austria this question has been discussed. In our Party we discussed the possibility of a fascist invasion of Austria in connection with the conflict between Italy and Yugoslavia. In the event of a conflict, Carinthia, a district in Austria, will be utilised as a jumping-off ground. Many comrades believe that the conflict could be localised there. I do not agree, however, I do not think that the conflict can be localised but that the whole of Austria will be dragged into it. In that case the Social Democrats will issue the slogan: "Defend the Democratic Republic Against the Greater Evil of Fascism". In such a situation the Communists must strive for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, because only under the dictatorship of the proletariat can a successful struggle against fascism be conducted.

We are in agreement with the other formula in the war theses, particularly with that section which deals with the measures that must be adopted in the event of a war against the Soviet Union.

We are clear in our mind as to what the attitude of the Communist Party in such a situation must be. We are quite certain that in the event of a war against Soviet Russia not only will the Communist Party do its duty but the whole of the Austrian working class will fulfill its international duty.

Comrade TSCHENG KUANG (China):

1. There are three different forms of the imperialist counter-revolutionary war of oppression of the colonial revolutionary movements.

The first kind is the direct imperialist wars of oppression, such as the French military expeditions in Syria and Morocco, the allied imperialist bombardment of Nanking in 1927, and the Japanese military intervention in Shantung and Manchuria.

The second kind is the indirect imperialist wars of oppression, the imperialists utilising the native reactionary forces for the suppression of revolutionary movements in the colonies. The outstanding examples are the imperialist secret manoeuvres of 1925—27, utilising the native militarists, Chen Chuen-ming and Wu Pei-fu, for suppressing the Chinese National Revolutionary Movement. And recently the Kuomintang militarists have taken up the task of suppressing the revolution.

The third kind is the oppression of the colonies by the allied forces of the imperialists and the native bourgeoisie. For instance, the suppression of the Shanghai uprising by the combined forces of Chang Kai-shek and the imperialists in 1927 and the assistance rendered by the imperialists' navy to Li Fu-lin and Chang Fa-Kuai in firing on the revolutionary forces and in cutting off communication in the river route for the annihilation of the Canton Uprising.

2. The imperialist wars in competition for exploiting the colonies can also be divided into three categories, the direct, the indirect and the combined forms. The Great War in 1914—18 and the coming imperialist war in the Pacific belong to the first category. The indirect method is the utilisation of the skirmishes between the different surrendered national troops; the characteristic example of this kind of imperialist wars is found in China. When the coming world war breaks out, the imperialists will certainly utilise the troops of the Chinese militarists as their best agents in defending important strategical positions and occupying new territories. In the last imperialist war, the allied powers had already had experiences in this respect.

3. In the imperialist war for the oppression of the colonies, the main tasks of the international proletariat are, a) to propagate in the imperialist armies a defeatist attitude; b) to organise national minority armies and lead them in a revolutionary manner; c) to propagate fraternisation between the soldiers in the imperialist armies and the soldiers in the

revolutionary armies in the colonies; d) to turn the war for the suppression of the colonies into civil war; e) to fight against such slogans as the defence of the fatherland, the protection of citizens abroad, and the solution of the problem of over-population; f) to oppose the sending of gun-boats and the transportation of imperialist troops to the colonies, the increasing of the war budget and the extension of the term of military service, etc.; g) to send capable Party members to the imperialist armies and navies in the colonies to do organisation and propaganda work, and to send comrades to brother parties in the colonies to help them to do anti-imperialist work in the armies. This work must be connected with the national revolutionary movements in the colonies; h) if there are troops recruited from colonial peoples in the imperialist army such as Indians, Annamites, and African Negroes, Party members from such colonial countries should be appointed to work among such troops; i) work among the sailors in the navy should be intensified by the different parties. This work will not only help the proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries, but it will be of great importance to the fight against war directed against the Soviet Union and the suppression of colonial revolution; j) to oppose the supply of ammunition, technicians, and advisers to the counter-revolutionary armies in the colonies; k) to oppose the imperialist intervention in the civil wars in the colonies and the granting of loans by the imperialists to the counter-revolutionary governments and militarists in the colonies; l) to fight against the imperialist military preparations in the concessions, railroads, and on the rivers in the colonies; m) to oppose the imperialist butchery in the colonies and all the measures which the imperialists adopt for helping the native counter-revolutionary governments to suppress the masses.

4. In the war among the imperialists for the exploitation of the colonies, the following methods in addition to the above-mentioned must be used: a) to turn the war among the imperialists for the exploitation of the colonies into a civil war, and to work for the defeat of all the imperialist powers engaged in the war; b) to oppose the assistance of the native militarist groups engaged in a war among themselves by the imperialists; c) to oppose all imperialist militarist preparations in the colonies before the breaking out of the war. Apart from this, application can be made of the general tasks both before and after the breaking out of imperialist wars.

5. In regard to the preparations for civil war, a new point should be added to the four points suggested in the theses. Military organisation and training occupies an exceptionally important place in the proletarian masses in the colonial countries and countries with a mercenary army. Although the proletariat has learned a lot of military technique in the imperialist countries, yet the military technique of combating uprisings is quickly improving. In regard to our tactics during the insurrection, a new point should also be added. On the one hand, we have resolutely pointed out that as soon as the insurrection is started, we must firmly go forward with all our forces until our enemy is destroyed. On the other hand, we must point out that as soon as various symptoms of defeat have become visible, we should quickly and determinedly adopt a policy of retreat, in order to preserve the masses who participated in the insurrection and our weapons, to enable us to prepare for another attempt. During the July Insurrection in 1917, this manoeuvre was very skilfully executed. But after the defeat of the Canton Insurrection, although a part of our military forces had safely retreated to the villages to lead the peasant struggles, yet a part of our forces was sacrificed an account of the lack of a plan for a systematic retreat. The Shanghai Uprising also suffered from similar mistakes.

6. The Chinese Revolution is a very good example of national wars. During the Chinese Revolution in 1925—27, the Chinese Communist Party led the Chinese proletariat to take part in the war for the unification of Kwantung and the Northern Expedition, both of which were carried out under the leadership of the Chinese bourgeoisie. During both wars, the Chinese Communist Party made many opportunist errors, in the struggles against the Rightward movement of the bourgeoisie and the struggle for leadership of the revolution. These opportunist mistakes also affect our attitude towards the national wars. This is because although formally the war for unification of Kwantung and the Northern Expedition are Anti-militarist

struggles, in fact, objectively, they are primarily struggles which are bound to shake the foundation of imperialist rule in China. Thus with the support and assistance of the workers in the **Hongkong Strike**, the war for the unification of **Kwantung** succeeded in dealing a severe blow to the **British** imperialists and forced them to carry out the 25% surtax proposal. With the support of the **Wuhan** workers and the active participation of the peasants of **Hunan** and **Hupeh**, the Northern Expedition succeeded in taking back the **British Concessions** in **Hankow** and **Kiukiang**.

Because this civil war was revolutionary, was led by the proletariat, and participated in by the peasants, the objective task of the Chinese Communist Party should have been to establish our own class army, to extend the workers and peasant military organisations and training so as to assist the proletariat in its struggle for the hegemony in the revolution. But the Chinese Communist Party had practically overlooked all these points. Although the objective conditions during the Northern Expedition were fairly good, yet the Party failed to utilise the political and military apparatus to carry out our own work in the Army. And further, the Party never tried to create our own military force. Our Party had never realised that the mercenary character of the National Revolutionary Army was a source of danger and that the whole army could be easily turned into the tool of the militarists.

Our Party were chiefly engaged in political manoeuvres among the upper layer of the officers, and considered the making of alliances between generals the centre of our work. The Party failed to take as the centre of our work the organisation and propaganda among the lower strata of the soldier masses and the changing of the character of the army by introducing worker and peasant masses into the army. The Party did not sufficiently realise the revolutionary meaning of the arming of the workers and the peasants and their military training. The Party also had failed to pay attention to the training of comrades for leading military work. The Party had also failed to prepare for and lead the partisan warfare of the peasants, to take in hand the organisation of the scattered and therefore unsuccessful isolated peasant uprisings.

These mistakes can be considered as the chief sources of the military defeat of the proletariat in the Northern Expedition. Thus, when **Wuhan** followed **Nanking** and walked into the counter-revolutionary camp, our Party could only use the armies of **Yeh Ting** and **Ho Lung** to make a heroic protest (the **Nanchang Uprising**) at the moment of defeat, and was not able to go a step forward and convert this protest into civil war for the overthrow of the political power of the bourgeoisie, the militarists and the gentry.

7. At the beginning we had about 15,000 soldiers in the armies of **Ho Lung** and **Yeh Ting**. We had also soldiers' nuclei of the Party functioning fairly well and officers who are Party members. There were also armed workers and peasants who participated in the uprising. But although the aim of the **Nanchang Uprising** was the outcome of the agrarian revolution, yet it has done practically nothing to promote the agrarian-revolution. During the 50 days southward march of the revolutionary army from **Nanchang** to **Swatow**, the regions through which we marched were never touched by the agrarian revolution. Thus this army not only failed to do positive work as a Workers and Peasants Army, but it even failed to achieve the results of a peasant partisan troop.

The army received correct leadership only after its defeat, when about over a thousand men of the remnants of **Yeh Ting's** troops joined the peasants at **Hailufeng**. From that time on, it began to play the proper role of the partisan troops and the Red Army. Another detachment of the same army of **Yeh Ting** had also about one thousand men. It was led by **Chu Te** and is now moving about the border of **Kwantung**, **Hunan** and **Kiangsi**. It was joined by the peasant detachments in those localities and forms a large partisan army, assisting the peasants in the agrarian revolution in southern **Hunan**, and in establishing many local Soviet powers in a large number of districts.

Another detachment of the National Revolutionary Army which came over to our side was the Officers Training Corp in the **Canton Uprising**. This regiment has about a thousand

men. After the defeat of the **Canton Uprising** it went to **Hai Feng** and joined the above-mentioned detachment.

All these forces combined made up the central cadre of the Red Army in **Hailufeng**. After the loss of the cities of **Hailufeng**, this Red Army was divided into partisan troop organisations, spreading its power in different directions and pushing on the tide of the agrarian revolution. Up to now these troops still form the most useful military organisations for carrying on the peasant uprisings in the eastern part of **Kwantung**.

8. Apart from the above mentioned comparatively large armed revolutionary bodies, there are many partisan troops in the **Yangtse Kiang** and **Chu Kiang** valleys which came to our side from the **Kuomintang** armies. These troops are spread over in **Kwantung**, **Hunan**, **Kiangsi**, **Hupeh**, and **Honan** provinces and are assisting the peasant masses of these provinces in the agrarian revolution. There is another kind of the peasant armed forces which is formed by the peasants arming themselves with guns and other military weapons seized from the reactionary armies by the peasants. The most successful case of this kind is in the **Hainan Island**. There are about a thousand men, with a very good Party leadership and more centralised Red Army organisation. In many Chinese villages, the cases of the peasants attempting to seize the arms of the regular troops with only one or two rifles or with simply primitive weapons are not infrequent.

9. The greatest shortcoming of the village partisan troops and the Red Army in the Soviet Districts is that although these troops themselves were formed under the leadership of the proletariat, yet the present leading capacity of the cities is still weak, the organisation of the workers and their fighting capacity are not yet strong enough to lead the coordinated action of the cities and the villages. Hence these troops are still carrying on their struggle in the form of partisan warfare. Although they have established a number of local Soviets, they have not yet stirred up a high wave of civil war, shaken the regime of the reactionary bourgeoisie and imperialism in China.

10. Formerly we thought only the Parties in the Eastern countries have not paid sufficient attention to the work in the armies. But after hearing the reports and discussions at the Congress, we realise that even our brother Parties in the Western countries fail to devote enough time and energy to this important question. The experiences of the uprisings in China teach us that if we do not succeed in shaking the foundations of the imperialist army, our anti-war work will be mostly wasted and no successful results will be obtained.

11. There are two peculiarities in regard to the Chinese army that tend to make our work in the Chinese army much easier than in the armies of Western countries. First, the compact organisation of the European and American armies and the comparatively better treatment afforded to the soldiers usually create great difficulties for those who carry on revolutionary activities in the army. But the situation is entirely different in China. Although the Chinese armies are mostly composed of slum-proletarians rather than proper workers, the standard of living of the soldiers are even lower than the poorest workers and peasants. According to the report of the Chief of Staff **Ho Ying-chin** of the Military Committee of the **Nanking** Government, there are 84 armies in China divided into 800 divisions, with a total of 2,200,000 men. The annual military expense is 720,000,000 dollars (mex.). The armies of **Chang Hsieh-Liang** and **Yang Tsung-Hsin** are not included in this report. But the possible annual income is only 400,000,000 dollars (mex.). On account of this enormous discrepancy between the income and the expenses, most of the militarists have no means of meeting their army expenses. Thus the militarists are talking of cutting down the army. But, while thus talking, they are still carefully watching each other, preparing for possible conflicts.

Many militarists are, on the one hand, adopting the policy of not paying the soldiers and even of taking the money intended for the payment of the soldiers for their own use, and on the other hand, still recruiting more soldiers for the purpose of extending territory under their control. The result of this is naturally intensified warfare between the militarists, and the consequent increasing of the burden and suffering of the workers and the peasants, and also the life of the soldiers

becomes more inhuman and unbearable. In the face of such contradictions, the life of the Chinese soldiers has no chance of being bettered. Their hunger and suffering are becoming more acute every day. The economic decline of the whole country, the bankruptcy in the villages, and the growing unemployment prevent the soldiers from finding a living outside of their miserable and dangerous occupation. Moreover, the deepening of the agrarian revolution and the spread of the slogans "Armed Uprising" and "Power to the Soviets" among the worker and peasant masses are having a great influence on the soldiers. Thus the process of the **class differentiation** is developing rapidly in the army and it can be safely considered as an inevitable fact that the soldiers will come to the side of the revolution.

Secondly, such **incorrect slogans** as "Pacifism", "abolition of the standing army and the democratisation of the police", "the people's army", "curse to the red army", "return to the land", "refuse to shoot", "refuse to serve", and "to answer wars with strikes" are not yet prevalent among the Chinese workers, peasants and soldiers. On the contrary, the Chinese workers and peasant mass are consciously realising that without the overthrow of the Chinese native gentry, bourgeoisie and new militarists, there is no hope for peace. Only when the workers and peasants, after receiving military training and having a compact organisation, annihilate the armed forces of our enemies, — from the so-called national revolutionary army to the village police, etc. — and, by means of strikes and armed uprisings, create a Red Army: only then can we hope for final victory and final peace.

After the defeat of the Canton Uprising, many workers of Kwangtung voluntarily entered the army to carry on revolutionary work among the soldiers. The unemployed workers of many places voluntarily went to the village to lead the peasant uprisings. The defeated peasant masses whose uprising was crushed by the reactionary troops were going voluntarily to organise partisan troops which push forward the development of the agrarian revolution. At the same time, these movements of the peasants shook the reactionary armed forces themselves. It is not unusual that soldiers and village police come to join the village partisan troops.

12. From the point of view of mercenary armies of the imperialist countries, work among them is much more difficult than work in the conscript armies. But the mercenary armies of the colonial countries are quite different. Work among this kind of army is even easier than work among the conscript army in the imperialist countries. It is easier for the workers and peasants to enter the colonial mercenary army and to carry on revolutionary activity among them.

13. From the experience of our work in the armies, we feel that on the one hand, our brother Parties in the west should do their best to struggle against the incorrect tendencies in the proletarian masses concerning this question, and on the other hand, they should intensify their work in the armies. The main points in this work are: a) To send systematically organised Party members and proletarian groups into the army (this is easier in countries where there are voluntary and mercenary armies); we must especially enter the strategical departments of the army; b) If we cannot become soldiers, we should apply for canteen work or odd jobs in the army which are particularly fit for propaganda work; c) Party nuclei and soldiers' committees should be set up in the army; d) Much emphasis should be placed on creating and developing similar organisations in the navy; e) Propaganda and agitation in the army should be considered as continuous and everyday work; f) Struggle concerning the daily life of the soldiers should sometimes receive more attention than political struggles, because this is the best means for the soldiers to realise their own strength.

14. The slogan "For the People's Defensive Corp" can only be put forward in colonial countries where class differentiation has not yet developed and where the revolutionary movement has not yet reached the stage of the democratic revolution. In countries where the revolution has already developed to the democratic stage, the slogan "For the People's Defensive Corp" would mean a support of the bourgeoisie, and should be dropped. Instead, slogans for the organisation of Red Guards and Peasant Defence Corps should be put forward. In countries where the revolution has already passed from the democratic revolution to the proletarian stage, the

slogan "For the People's Defence Corp" is even less applicable. Because in this period, when a dictatorship of the workers and peasants is in existence, or when the revolution is in a stage of transition to a dictatorship of the proletariat, the kind of military force that such government requires must be either the Red Workers and Peasants Army or the Red Army grown from the workers Red Guard and Peasants Defence Corp (or partisan troops).

The national revolutionary army of the Chinese bourgeoisie and new militarists has completely turned into a counter-revolutionary armed force. Our tactics toward it should be the same as our tactics toward the imperialist army. We must propagate defeatism among such armies, and in the process of their defeat we should absorb the revolutionary soldiers into our workers' and peasants' army. We cannot expect to turn the National Revolutionary Army as a whole into a revolutionary army.

15. In the thesis, we think we should make our fight against the **imperialist partition of China** a separate item, just as we did in the case of the imperialist manoeuvres against the Soviet Union.

16. In the face of **Japanese military intervention in Shantung and Manchuria**, the Nanking Government, on the one hand, prohibited the anti-Japanese movement of the masses, and, on the other hand, tries to stir up the United States of America against Japan, or it is even making secret deals with Japan. Not only the worker and peasant masses are dissatisfied with this shameful attitude of the Nanking Government, but even the petty-bourgeoisie is showing signs of dissatisfaction. Thus the Left wing of the Kuomintang and the "Third Party" elements, both demand that the mass movement should be reinstated under the leadership of the Kuomintang, so that they can use the mass movement in their bargain with the Japanese imperialists. At the same time, this manoeuvre tends to pacify the revolutionary fervour of the masses. The policy of the **Chinese Communist Party** is to participate actively in all anti-Japanese movements whenever it is a mass movement. The purpose of our participation is to unmask the Nanking Government's real policy of capitulation to the imperialists and to expose the treacherous manoeuvre of the "Third Party" elements to cheat the masses by sham revolutionary demands. We must demonstrate to the masses that, under the reactionary government, the only way out for the masses is to conduct their own struggle against the Japanese imperialists. To expect the reactionary government to reinstate mass movements is absolutely Utopian and hopeless. We should link this propaganda up with the slogans for the armed uprising of the peasants, workers and poor people for the overthrow of the Kuomintang political power, for a thorough anti-imperialist movement and for the establishment of political power. In the Kuomintang armies we should intensify our propaganda and organisation work, because the Tsinan butchery and the anti-Japanese movement has also stirred up the soldier masses of the Kuomintang armies.

17. We must prepare for the inevitable situation when the war breaks out, and for Fascist form of oppression. First, we must make our Party **factory nuclei** work **half illegally** even at the present time, so as to prepare for turning them into **complete illegal** organisations when the situation demands. Secondly, we must establish secret, **illegal Party nuclei** in the army so as fundamentally to shake the foundations of the imperialist army.

Comrade SPECTOR (Canada):

Comrades, the draft thesis on the war danger says that the fundamental defect from which all sections of the Comintern still suffer is an under-estimation of the war danger and the imminence of war. I believe that this applies with special force to the **Canadian Section** of the Comintern. Outside of the few leaflets and manifestoes on revolutionary festival occasions and on the occasions when there have been important international crises like that of the Arcos Raid and the coercion of Egypt, the Canadian Party has not done the necessary work among the masses to prepare them for mobilisation against the war danger. That is not because the war problem in Canada is not sufficiently serious to merit the immediate attention of the Canadian Communist Party.

At the last triennial Imperialist Conference of 1926, Premier **McKenzie King** of the Liberal Government definitely assumed certain commitments for Canadian participation in the British war front. Canada cannot be considered a colony in any real sense of the term. So far as making of tariff policies, diplomatic representatives, a seat on the League of Nations, and commercial treaty-making power are concerned, the Canadian bourgeoisie is virtually independent. But the Canadian bourgeoisie needs military protection and it receives it at the present time from the British Imperialist Government. In return for this military protection, the Canadian government has also pledged itself to make certain contributions. In 1923, already, **MacKenzie King** pledged himself to measures of defence, including the provision of naval bases and developments. At the last imperial Conference he gave approval to the plan of **Amery** for the establishment of 20,000 miles of imperial railways and apparently agreed at that time to the building of two Canadian cruisers. He further promised co-operation in the establishment of mooring masts in Canada. Soon after that there was the raid on **Arcos** followed by the British rupture with the U. S. S. R., and the Canadian Government followed suit, although **McKenzie King** says that a decision to break had already been arrived at independently so far as Canada was concerned.

Canada is involved in the **Anglo-American** antagonism and in the antagonism of imperialist **Britain** towards the U. S. S. R.

The last budget increased the military expenditures by \$4,321,000 so that today \$15,719,000 is being spent on so-called national defence. For a country like Canada with a population of only nine million in its entirety, this is a considerable budget for militarist expenditures.

The **Social-Democrats** are busy actively spreading the most deliberate pacifist propaganda not only in the sphere of the class struggle at home but also in the sphere of international politics. It is important to record this fact because in Canada we have masses that are definitely susceptible to this kind of propaganda.

There is a population of 2,5 million **French** Canadians in **Quebec**. At the outset of the last war, there was voluntary recruiting in the Dominion. Later on, the Government introduced the conscription and compulsory draft of these recruitments. Not only was the volunteer recruitment very small in **French** Canada, but when the conscription act was put in force, it was met with riots in **Quebec** and in **Montreal** and thousands of young **French** Canadian peasants and workers took to the bushes and disappeared until the conclusion of the war and the demobilisation period.

And we are likely to experience a similar situation in **Quebec** in the next war. The **French** Canadian peasantry is autonomous and localist in sentiment. They are primarily for **French** Canadian abstention from imperialist commitments and they provide us with the problem of how we can align them in the general anti-imperialist front. We have, furthermore, the western, farming population which also was pacifistic throughout large sections in the last war. At the present time they are being bombarded with a systematic pro-League of Nations propaganda by the **Left** wing of the **Farmers'** group in the House and by the **Labourite M. P.'s**.

At the various conventions of the **farmers'** organisations throughout the West, resolutions have been adopted time and again against imperialist wars, against Canadian participation in imperialist wars, but always from a pacifist angle.

The immigrant language minorities in the country also form no mean part of the population. We have some 350,000 **Canadian Ukrainians** in the country, we have thousands of **Finnish** workers; and there are other language minorities. Within the last year a systematic counter-revolutionary fascist propaganda has been unfolded among the **Ukrainian** workers throughout the west for a war against the U. S. S. R. and for tearing the **Ukrainian** workers from the leadership of the **Communist Party**.

In addition the Government has been putting great pressure to bear on the immigrant language minorities in the country in order to intimidate them from active participation in the labour movement. Hence, the debate recently in the Senate which very skillfully organised an attack of so-called public opinion against the foreign born elements in Canada and not against the **Communist Party** as such directly. There have been manifestations here and there throughout the country in the

mass organisation of the **Ukrainian** workers to retreat before the propaganda of the bourgeoisie, who say that the foreign born are the chief **Bolshevik** danger in the country in the event of a war crisis.

The **Trades and Labour Congress of Canada**, in September 1911, passed a resolution endorsing a general strike of wage workers in all countries in which war should be declared. In 1913 the **Trades Congress** reaffirmed its attitude, but when war was actually declared in 1914 the **Trades Congress Executive** fell in with the capitalists and reported that "Great Britain and France are fighting together as they must always stand together for the forces of democracy against autocracy." Today the **Trades Congress** is affiliated with the **International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam)** which has gone on record for a general strike to oppose war. But nobody will believe that the **Trades Congress** has the slightest intention of taking any organisational measures for the declaration of a general strike in the event of a war crisis. Both the official trade union bureaucracy and the official **Social Democratic** elements in Canada are constituting themselves part and parcel of the war front, whether they actually believe that or not.

The tasks of the **Communist Party of Canada** must be to focus the attention of the **Trades Congress**, the **All-Canadian Congress of Labour** and the working and poor farming population at large on the war danger and the necessity of immediate organisation of the struggle now and when war is declared under the leadership of the **Communist Party**. There are possibilities of rallying considerable bodies of workers behind us. I may mention here that when the **Siberian expedition** was organised by **Great Britain** and the **Canadian** forces were asked to participate, the longshoremen were able to carry out strike action in **Vancouver** to prevent the loading of munitions for **Siberia**. We have the **French Canadian** masses to work in and divert from a purely boycott attitude to the war to a united front with the workers against an imperialist war and for the larger aim of an **Independent Canadian Workers and Farmers Republic**.

For a considerable time we have carried on an agitation for independence in Canada. This propaganda has been chiefly linked up with our demand for social legislation and for obtaining the greatest possible democratic area of manoeuvre for our workers. To successfully embark on a campaign for **Canadian** working class independence, to successfully raise the slogan of independence in the war and against the capitalist government, it is necessary for our Party at the present time to begin the actual work of organising both against war and imperialism, instead of limiting itself to purely verbal and leaflet propaganda. There is room in Canada for an **Anti-Imperialist League**. There is room in Canada for an organisation of the **Friends of the U. S. S. R.**

In addition to that it is necessary for us to begin more systematic work among the longshoremen and sailors in the ports of **Vancouver**, **Montreal**, **Halifax** and **St. John**. Finally, I think it is necessary for the **Canadian Communist Party** and the **Communist Party of the United States** to co-operate more than they have in the past in working out a common manifesto and a common programme of action for these two countries in connection with the war danger.

Comrade PELUFO (Latin America):

Comrades: In connection with the danger of an imperialist class war against the **Soviet Union** or the danger of war among the imperialists themselves, and in connection with the movement for liberation that is going on today in the colonies, the parties in **Latin America** are confronted with the problem of organising the masses.

We must say that the parties of **Latin America** have not done very much in regard to this war danger. They have not succeeded in rousing the masses for the campaign against war by means of demonstrations and slogans. Hence, our task is primarily to explain to the masses of the workers and make them understand that the imperialists are preparing for a war against the U. S. S. R. and what this war means.

Immediately on the outbreak of war the bourgeoisie will attempt to destroy the **Communist Parties**, and the fact that this will happen in **Latin America** is indicated by the fact that the governments in various **Latin American** countries raided numerous local organisations of the **Communist Parties** and arrested our comrades immediately. **England** gave the signal of alarm.

Our influence among the masses during a period of reaction and class struggle will be of no value whatever if the Communist Parties are not so organised as to be able to resist the reaction and to exercise control over the masses whom they desire to sweep into the struggle against imperialism. It is necessary to ponder this situation very deeply in order to avoid being absorbed in general agitation without making the necessary preparations to apply the experiences of the revolutionary movement. This does not mean that we must not carry on work of agitation among the masses. We must understand, however, that without a Communist Party that is ideologically strong and capable of adapting itself to legal and illegal struggles we shall not be able to do very much for the emancipation of the workers and the defence of the Soviet Union.

The most elementary and immediate task of our Parties in connection with the danger of war against the Soviet Union is, therefore, to take the necessary organisational and ideological measures that will enable us to put up resistance to the bourgeois reaction.

It is not enough to have a mass party, we must be able also to lead the masses into the struggle. The case of Chile gives us something to ponder over.

The masses of the workers in Latin America at the present time are in a general stage of unrest and demand an improvement in their economic conditions. Our task is to rouse these masses for a fight for the improvement of their economic conditions and also to get them interested in the war problem. By this we shall create concrete possibilities for resisting the imperialist war against the U. S. S. R.

In addition to the general stage of unrest among the workers in Latin America there is also the growing possibility of a bourgeois democratic revolution. That is the case in Brazil, for example. The Anti-Imperialist League and the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc must become mass organisations in the struggle against imperialism and for national liberation. Our duty is to strengthen these organisations where they exist and to establish them where they do not.

Unless we succeed in bringing our parties to the organisational and ideological pitch that will enable them to lead the great mass movement in Latin America and control it, we will always drag at the tail of the petty bourgeoisie.

There is not the slightest doubt that one of the principal tasks of the revolutionary movement in Latin America is to set up strong Communist Parties in Central America, where the Panama Canal, which is the extremely important strategical point of Yankee imperialism, is situated.

Finally, we must combat the "Confederation Obrera Pan American" (C. O. P. A.), the Social Democrats, bourgeois and social democratic pacifism, the "nationalisation" of the trade unions, etc. Moreover, our work in the army, among the women, among the youth, and among the peasants must be carried on more intensively than before and directed along anti-war lines.

Comrade YAROSLAVSKY (C. P. S. U.):

Comrades: I want to describe to you our experiences in carrying on Bolshevik work among the armed forces of the army and navy. I think our parties will be able to make use of and develop these experiences in their work.

I want to say first of all that our work among the armed forces was carried on amidst the severe conditions of illegality, at a time when our Party was illegal. Notwithstanding the fact that many Communist Parties are today in much better circumstances than we were placed at the time, we have to admit that up till now only a few Communist Parties have established any kind of military organisation similar to the one our Party had in the period of the first revolution and particularly in the period of the second revolution. Our Party certainly did not have an organisation like the German Red Front Fighters. An organisation of such dimensions and such possibilities of development has not existed hitherto and certainly could not be established in conditions of illegality. Nevertheless, even the German Communist Party must seriously take up the question of organising its work in the regular army.

We commenced our work among the armed forces approximately in 1902—03. At the time of the first revolution of 1905 we did not possess a strong organisation upon which we could rely. It was only in the period of 1905—06, when the movement as a whole was developing, that we were able to set

up an organisation. How did we carry on our work? We devoted a great deal of attention to the young men who were about to be conscripted into the army. We trained them to carry on revolutionary socialist propaganda in the army. In many districts we organised special campaigns among the conscripts. At every call to the colours we distributed leaflets in the factories and also at the recruiting stations. In these leaflets we explained what the duty of revolutionary socialist in the army was.

Amidst severe conditions of illegality we had in the years 1905—07 twenty illegal papers devoted to revolutionary propaganda in the army. Every big garrison town like Reval, Riga, Dvinsk, Batum, Odessa, Ekaterinoslav, Warsaw, Sveaborg, Kronstadt, St. Petersburg, Moscow, and other places had its soldiers' paper, which was distributed by the members of the illegal organisations in those districts as well as by workers who had contacts with the army. As far as the number of leaflets published is concerned, I must say that there was hardly a single political event of any importance upon which we did not issue a leaflet for the soldiers. These leaflets were printed in large numbers, several thousands each. These were not only distributed in garrison cities but throughout whole military areas, and every single opportunity was taken to get them distributed.

Our form of organisation was as follows: we had in mind the fact that the army was not homogeneous in character, and we did not set out at all costs to get all the sections of the troops over to our side but selected those sections which by their class position were best able to accept our revolutionary propaganda. We selected those units in which there were large numbers of workers, as for example the artillery, sappers, technical troops, seamen in the navy, and concentrated our attention upon these. In modern armies these military units, the artillery, the technical troops and the navy are of extreme importance. We can expect to have the least success among the cavalry, which consist mainly of well-to-do peasants, especially in western Europe where the cavalry is recruited principally from among the rich peasants.

Wherever possible we established in every military unit a small secret group which represented the illegal regimental and battalion committees, which maintained contact with our secret military nuclei outside of the barracks. Needless to say all the contacts between the military organisations were kept in strict secrecy. We selected the members very carefully, never being concerned about numbers, and never were these organisations regarded as a complete force capable of undertaking independent action. We regarded them rather as an organised force which, at the necessary moment, could win over to our side the sympathetic soldiers and sailors. Although we never set out to get large numbers I must say that we had organisations in Kronstadt, Sebastopol and other places in which we had several hundred men.

Our slogans were extremely varied. Above all we considered it necessary to carry on a comprehensive agitation not only on the basis of the important political events but also took fully advantage of the specific conditions of the soldiers themselves, which provided plenty of material for propaganda and agitation. We took advantage of the fact of the soldier's lack of rights, the harsh discipline and the relations between the officers and the soldiers. This latter point is an extremely important one in western European countries where the officers, particularly the Guards' officers belong to the governing class, either to the aristocracy or to the wealthy capitalists. Thus on the basis of the class struggle we trained the masses to be ready at the required time to turn against the capitalist system.

We took very great care, however, to prevent any useless outbreaks, for it must be borne in mind that premature outbreaks in the armed forces are suppressed with extreme severity and lead to the collapse of the organisation. We took great care, therefore, to prevent any putsch action and useless outbreaks. Nevertheless, such outbreaks did occur. I could mention the mutiny in Sveaborg and a number of other places which, however, broke out against the decisions of our political centre. This happened because other organisations were operating in those districts, for example, the social revolutionaries who were always inclined to undertake all sorts of adventures and putsches. We always warned against uselessly expending the revolutionary energy of the soldiers and sailors.

Notwithstanding the extremely severe illegal conditions we managed to organise a number of military conferences. In the spring of 1906 we convened such a conference in Moscow. Although nearly all the delegates were arrested at the first session, nevertheless the conference had some effect. In November 1906 we convened a rather large conference of military organisations in Tammarfors in Finland. Lenin wrote a special article on this conference in which he deals very fully with the resolutions passed at the conference and with the significance of the conference itself. (See Complete Works, Volume 3. Article in "Proletarii", No. 16, May 2, 1907. P. 307, Russ. ed.)

I want to deal with another question connected with the work in the armed forces. This is the question of work among the officers. Many comrades strongly held the view that we can build up officers' organisations. Plechanov particularly reproached us with not doing enough work to win over the officers. The revolutionaries who preceded the Marxists and Bolsheviks, namely, the Decembrists and the "Norodnaya Volya" (Will of the People) concerned themselves principally with building up officers' organisations. These were not mass organisations. They were purely conspiratorial organisations for organising military plots. We had no illusions about this, however. We agreed that it was necessary to bring sympathetic officers over to our side, but the greatest possible caution was exercised in allowing any officer to join the military organisations. They had to be men of proved reliability, for I must say that the officers proved less reliable than the masses of the soldiers in the proletarian revolution. We had, therefore, only a few individual officers, members of our Party, in these military organisations. Already at that time we had a number of able officers in our organisation. We utilised their services as technical advisers and several of them acted as instructors in our militant circles.

Apart from that we utilised their knowledge in order to learn the strength of the enemy. Every Communist Party that is seriously studying the question of revolt must take up this question, for in preparing and organising for revolt it must not be ignored. Knowledge of the enemy's forces and his technique represent part of the preparation and organisation. This is a very serious duty which can be fulfilled only when the organisation leadership devotes sufficient attention to it. At the time of the first revolution we suffered great losses because we were badly informed about the strength of the enemy's forces and because we did not know what force he was putting against us. Lenin emphasised this fact in an article entitled "The Lessons of the Revolution in 1905". At the time of the second revolution the masses of the soldiers had become revolutionary as a result of the imperialist war, and this naturally facilitated the task very much. We had then large masses of soldiers in our military organisation.

It must not be supposed, however, that the winning over of these masses was a spontaneous act. Unless special men are appointed for the work, without organisation and without devoting great effort and attention to propaganda and agitation in the army, it will be impossible to organise the forces of the social revolution or be able to utilise the army as a sympathetic force on our side. Lenin frequently insisted that we must

learn how to win over the soldiers. To win over the army does not merely mean to carry on propaganda and agitation, but it means also that an organised force must be established in the army which will be able to win over the wavering soldiers at the necessary moment.

I must say that our Communist Parties are developing such work but are doing it somewhat timidly. They are not doing it with sufficient boldness to be able to create the revolutionary feeling which would stimulate the masses to come over to our side. The awakening of a revolutionary spirit among the troops has a very good effect upon the masses of the peasantry and particularly among the masses of the workers. There is hardly a greater revolutionary factor than a movement among the troops. Such movements revolutionise the masses of the workers. When the proletariat begins to realise that although it is unarmed as yet it has the sympathy of the troops, that it has the support of the army or at least a part of it, it more boldly sets out to achieve its revolutionary tasks and aims.

In view of the danger of war it seems to me that we must devote more attention to the coloured troops. There is not the slightest doubt that if we have another war, even if only on the scale that commenced 14 years ago, it will effect the broad masses of the peoples inhabiting the lands oppressed by imperialism. Troops will be brought from Africa and Asia for the purpose of suppressing the proletarian masses of Europe and of the Soviet Union.

We are confronted by a great task. We must develop our work in these countries to such a level that these peoples even now, before the decisive moment arrives, before they are called upon to suppress the labour movement in Europe and the proletariat in the Soviet Union, shall emancipate themselves from their slavery in their own country. We must make understand that when they will be called upon to shoot down the workers they must not only refuse to do so but that they shall use the weapons that are being given them to help the revolution against the imperialists.

These are the points to which I desire to draw your attention. It is to be regretted that our experiences and activities are not yet being sufficiently studied. Perhaps the blame for this rests upon us Russian Bolsheviks because we have not carried on sufficient propaganda to make these experiences known. I have not the opportunity to deal with this question in all its detail. I think that the E. C. C. I. should be instructed to publish the necessary literature on this subject, particularly literature that will acquaint the Communist Parties with the experience of the Bolsheviks in their revolutionary work among the armed forces and also literature dealing with the manner in which propaganda among the troops was carried on during the imperialist war. A whole series of pamphlets for the various countries must be published in order to make this work among the armed forces a very serious matter, for without it real preparations for the fight against imperialist war are impossible.

I am sure, comrades, that you will give the E. C. C. I. this instruction so that our revolutionary work among the armed forces may be facilitated and brought to the required level.

Speech of Comrade Bell in Reply to Discussion.

Comrades, I think with regard to the debate as a whole, that interest in the same has not been so sustained as in our discussion on the political resolution of Comrade Bukharin. The political resolution of Comrade Bukharin afforded scope for a wide range of discussion in which quite a number of aspects to the war question were introduced.

Anticipating this, I urged that the delegates should not go over ground already covered, but should rather tell us what the Parties had done to carry out the resolution of the VII. Plenum, what they are doing and what they could do in the possible eventuality of war. I must frankly say that the debate has not enlightened us very much. Only a few speakers took the trouble to deal with the resolution of the VII. Plenum and to bring forward any criticism whatever.

The general lines of the debate, I would say, came under two particular headings: 1. there were a series of generalities indulged in by the majority of the delegates taking part in the discussion; and 2. only a very small measure of self-criticism.

The weaknesses of the parties were not examined in the spirit of a general staff reviewing its capacity for war propaganda and for war activities. Only a handful of the comrades thought fit to polemise with our theses, and these only in very small parts. Apparently, all the delegations are in agreement with our theses in principle.

A number of points were raised of a purely secondary character. Comrade Ferrat, for example, made reference to a paragraph dealing with the League of Nations, and our reference to its inability to prevent war; also a point about the bourgeoisie employing violence to prevent war. It is quite clear that this section of our theses was polemising with the bourgeois pretence that the League of Nations is an instrument for peace and for the prevention of war. But this particular section of the theses makes quite clear that the alliances, the Pacts, that are arranged by the imperialists, including the League of Nations, are direct instruments for the preparation of war. But if this point is not clear enough, comrades can

propose formulations which will strengthen this idea that the League of Nations is a direct instrument for the preparation of war.

Comrade Ferrat also makes a point on paragraph 15 where he assumes that the theses argue that we must group the masses, if possible, before the war. I have taken the trouble to compare the French text with the English text, and in this particular connection, the fault is really the fault of the translation. In this particular section in the English translation it reads:

"In this struggle, the Communists rally the masses around themselves in order to overthrow the bourgeoisie, if possible, before the war, and if we do not succeed in this, in the course of this war."

That is obviously a very different thing from the text of the French version of the thesis, which it will be necessary to correct.

Then Comrade Ferrat polemises with us upon the inevitability of war, which he says runs with a fatalistic trail through the whole of the theses. It is quite obvious that Comrade Ferrat has not read this paragraph 15 carefully enough, for there he will see that we are not dealing with the inevitability of war in the fatalistic sense, but that we are dealing with the question of the recognition that under imperialism, wars are inevitable as long as the bourgeoisie are in power. But, as we say, this certainly is no cause for despair, for it is precisely imperialist countries which give birth to the proletarian revolution, which, in turn will put an end to all imperialist wars. The practical measures for conducting the struggle against the war are then developed in this paragraph which removes any suggestion of pure fatalism.

Comrade Ferrat is also mistaken here in saying that the theses isolate the colonial armies and do not give sufficient attention to them. I can only refer him to paragraph 57 and also to paragraph 60 where he will find that this particular question is very explicitly dealt with.

Our Greek comrade made some facetious observations on my contention that the Comintern documents were, on the whole, haphazard, implying that I had treated lightly the writings of Comrade Lenin. Comrades, I should be the last to do anything of the kind. My argument was that we had no war theses, no fundamental document on our tasks in the fight against war, such as we have in the case of the agrarian problem, in the case of the organisational problems, the colonial question, and so forth. I was arguing that we had many grandiose resolutions, and a wealth of material in the writings of our Comrade Lenin, but that I considered it was necessary to draw these materials together into a fundamental document which could be a reference and a guide to us in our future activities in the struggle against war.

Our comrade also alleges that we do not stress sufficiently the need for an illegal apparatus. But if he refers to paragraph 20 he will see there that we deal with this question very specifically. It is true that we do not make mention of any central apparatus for conducting illegal activity, but this I consider, is self-understood, and was not necessary to incorporate in any specific verbal form.

This comrade also makes reference to an alleged contradiction on page 23, paragraph 29, a) and b), where he says we speak of "the possibilities for preventing war before its outbreak by developing the class struggle into revolutionary mass actions against the government" and that these "are greater in such a war than in 1914". This, he says, is in contradiction to Section B which refers to "already at the outbreak of war the bourgeoisie will not be able to avoid giving an incentive to civil war . . . against the labour movement."

I contend there is no specific contradiction here whatever. The whole of our theses during this Congress has been that there is a radicalisation of the masses in all countries: moreover, that we have in all countries growing Communist Parties. The bourgeoisie, by reason of these facts, in the event of war will resort much quicker to repressive measures than they did in the period preceding 1914.

Comrade Yaroslavsky stated that our theses do not deal with the problem of the use of coloured troops in Central Europe. The prospect of large masses of coloured troops being drafted into Central Europe is of course not excluded. The prospects of their use in the suppression of revolutionary movements raises the question of propaganda not only amongst the

coloured troops but also among the white troops where there is already a certain amount of racial prejudice. The use of coloured troops will undoubtedly occur, and in our revolutionary propaganda we can utilise this situation.

Comrade Bielevsky emphasised the importance of national minorities in the army. He spoke, for instance, of the fact that in the Polish Army, there are some 30% which come in this category of national minorities. When we remember that in the Czechoslovakian and Yugoslavian armies there are national minorities, it is understood that this is a very important question for us. A certain neglect on the part of our Czech comrades particularly, and comrades of the other countries to utilise the discontent of these national minorities in the armies, must be corrected at the earliest opportunity. I would suggest that we should reinforce this point in our theses and express it very firmly and strongly.

Other points stressed were inactivity in the fleets, intensifying our work among the sailors such as bringing forward a sailors' programme in countries with powerful navies, importance of work amongst women and the importance of activity amongst the youth.

Paragraph 51 of our theses in which this question is dealt with, I insist is correct in principle.

With regard to paragraph 54 where we speak of Soldiers' Councils not being applicable in mercenary armies, some of the criticism is just and correct. It is necessary to make some clarification on this point. In the case of civil war troops we cannot speak of establishing Soldiers' Councils, but our intention is to emphasise that the biggest danger amongst many of our Parties at present is the tendency to ignore work in the mercenary armies.

We agree, that it is not possible to work in all civil war troops, but, nevertheless, there are special situations in which our comrades may judge for themselves in accordance with their understanding and in which all local conditions are considered, for example in the Schutz Polizei. In such an organisation it may be possible to bring forward partial demands to enable us to carry forward our anti-war propaganda.

Then, the question of the boycott was raised by one or two comrades. It would appear that there is some confusion still remaining amongst many of our comrades on this question.

Comrade Mehring and others say quite emphatically and dogmatically that the boycott cannot be used in any circumstances whatever. My opinion is that this is approaching the question dogmatically and in an abstract way. The question is a different one for instance in the case of a voluntary army (England) and an army which is based on the principle of compulsory military service.

But I am of the opinion, comrades, that on this question we should not be afraid of analysing all the possible situations. For example, in paragraph 51 we speak about the necessity of bringing the civil war troops into contempt and of "boycotting" them. One comrade takes exception to this reference of the boycott. But obviously we are using the term "boycott" as a slogan (Mehring: "That also is incorrect").

Now about the tactical questions in Britain. The bourgeoisie of Britain are determined on war. There are numbers of workers in Britain who do not want war. I have referred in my opening remarks to the questionnaire issued by the German comrades which revealed that there are numbers of workers who, likewise, do not want war and have declared their intention of not going into the next war, not for pacifist reasons, not for cowardice, but for the purely political reason of being opposed being led into the fighting of the battles of their imperialists against rival imperialists. Numbers of workers do not want war and there may be a serious movement against war. In such circumstances the bourgeoisie always prepares very carefully propaganda to ensure that when it is determined to declare war that it shall bring as far as it can the largest possible support amongst the masses with it. The Communists must expose the real motives of the bourgeoisie. In the process of this propaganda we have underlined the fact that the leaders of the trade unions, of the Amsterdam International, the leaders of the Second International, will be with the imperialists in the event of war. In some cases they will probably conduct the war under the ensign of the League of Nations. At the same time we shall have trade union leaders, Socialist leaders of the Second International playing the part of recruiting agents.

What will the Communists do under such circumstances? Supposing there is a big recruiting meeting which is being addressed, for instance, in England by **Thomas, Henderson & Co.** The Communists will attack the Government and will attack the **Labour agents**. We shall try everything we possibly can to turn the workers, who attend such a meeting, against the Government and against the **Labour agents** of the Government. Then, if some workers will say the attitude of the Communist Party is correct and put to us the question: shall we join the army? What will you say? What will the Communists say under such circumstances? We will say to them amongst other things you will not stop the war by keeping away from it. You must fight actively inside and outside the army in order to make an end to imperialist war and its instigators by revolutionary means.

We must consider these workers as our probable allies in the fight against the imperialist war. We should not treat them in the same way as we are treating the **MacDonalds** on the one hand or the **pseudo-pacifists** on the other hand.

The chief task at this moment is to make it difficult for the Government to carry on the war, to conduct the war; to make it difficult for them to get recruits; and to develop mass movements amongst these recruits after joining up; to make it impossible for them to transport troops; to make it impossible for them to carry on their chemical industries, etc. Our duty is to stop production, to make it impossible for them to get supplies and to transport troops and also to make it difficult, under such circumstances, to get recruits for the army. That is the correct Communist attitude in such particular circumstances.

Some comrades are afraid that under such circumstances they will be accused of using the pacifist slogan, boycott the army, of being lumped with the pacifists who are identified with the slogan of boycott, but we do not put the slogan of the boycott, and do not say, do not join the army in the pacifist sense of preventing war. Our aim is, and must always be, that of revolutionising the masses in the factories and workshops of the munition makers, railways, etc., to stimulate the workers against the employers, against the government, against the militarists, against the officers and do everything we possibly can to bring about strikes with a view to revolutionising the masses and arousing them against the government and war, for the purpose of weakening the bourgeoisie and of making it difficult for the bourgeois government to carry on the war, with a view to the transformation of the war into civil war. In the munition factories, for example, under conditions of voluntary recruiting, and so far there is no conscription, when the military authorities issue the call for recruits and come to the munitions factories, what is to be attitude of the Communists? Are the Communists to be afraid of the boycott slogan and allow the workers to go into the army? To be afraid of rousing the workers against the military authorities? Shall we have the fear of being accused, or being identified with the boycott slogan? I say, this would be treason to the revolutionary movement and absolutely anti-Communist. Under such circumstances, when notices and papers come into the munitions shops and factories, our business is to organise all forms of resistance to the war, to make partial strikes out of the workers' refusal to serve, of their refusal to go into the army. We must get those workers who do not want to go into the army to hand their papers over to the shop stewards committee and there, on the basis of partial strikes, to resist the military authorities. Simultaneously we must explain to the masses the importance of using the gun. Of course, we may not be successful and probably will not be successful. Let us admit that despite all our efforts the government will get its recruits, its soldiers, nevertheless, they will only get them after the extreme resistance on the part of the Communists whose duty it is to make it as difficult as possible for the government to carry on the war. This is of course part of the main purpose and the organisation of the revolution.

Comrade **Mehring** says "Our main line is to fight against war, but in no case to accept boycott." I think it would be possible here to refer to our attitude or to make some analogy to our attitude towards the boycott of Parliament. We are for the Soviets in principle, but against the boycott of Parliament. But we do not say "in any case, under any circumstances". We all recall that the **Bolsheviks** advocated the boycott of the **Duma** in 1905. In certain future revolutionary situations, we too, may find it necessary to advocate the boycott of Parliament. We

cannot put the question of: "Under no circumstances should we do this or that." That is to put the question schematically, dogmatically and in an abstract way. I think that the theses put it correctly in paragraph 24, for instance. We shall surely find the question put in such a way that "we reject the boycott is the general and leading slogan", and that is the correct line of approach. Of course, we cannot accept the boycott idea in the reformist way. To us, the boycott movement is a movement which we must strive to transform into an active revolutionary movement.

In **Lenin's** article on "Militarism and Anti-Militarist Tactics of the Social Democrats", July 23rd, 1908, polemising with **Herve** we read:

"When the proletariat finds it useful and applicable, it can oppose the outbreak of war by the military strike. To reach the social revolution, it can utilise as with other means, the military strike, but to be bound by this tactical recipe is not to the interests of the revolutionary proletariat."

As a matter of course, Comrade **Lenin's** directions have as their objective the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war.

Between this quotation and the **Hague letter of Comrade Lenin**, there is no contradiction, it is the development of the same idea.

Comrade **Mehring** also says that "we cannot change our principles because a mass movement exists, we must swim against the stream." The main thing is to understand the direction of the movement. But suppose there is a mass movement, for example, in **Great Britain**, or in the **Balkans**, or in certain districts in **France**, where there are large sections of the peasantry against war. We cannot disregard these mass movements, even though we understand and know that these movements are going in a wrong direction. Our duty is to go amongst those particular masses and help to win them over to our Communist policy. We must permeate these movements with our Communist principles for the purpose of weakening and disintegrating the capitalist government and bringing about its collapse. Even Comrade **Mehring** says that we can accept this idea in the case of national movements. Then it is also not excluded in the case of the peasantry or large industrial masses.

Of course, we must always explain under these conditions the possibility of the workers being forced into the army. In these circumstances we must explain to the workers, that they must fight to end the imperialist war by bringing about a transformation into a civil war. This is a general idea laid down by the theses and completely disposes of the suggestion that there is any confusion with regard to the utilisation of the boycott as a starting point for further revolutionary actions.

He says, that fraternisation has no meaning unless it is the culmination of partial demands. But comrades, fraternisation is not a programme in itself, it is only a means of realising a much wider and bigger objective than simply bringing the soldiers together in the spirit of fraternity. In the case, for example, of war against the **Soviet Union**, fraternisation is not only a case of fraternisation with the **Red Army**, but the passing over to the **Red Army**. Our propaganda for fraternisation may be successful on one particular front, while on another front, it may be very backward. The object of fraternisation is not simply fraternity, for example, with our comrades in the **Red Army**. Fraternisation should have as its object revolt in the imperialist army, opposition to the officers, disintegration of the imperialist army etc. That is not to be done by a mere slogan of passing over to the **Red Army**. That they should pass over to the **Red Army** is absolutely necessary, but we must not approach this in an automatic, mechanical and schematic way.

Comrade **Ferrat** objects to the word desertion. We all know that in the imperialist armies, desertion is considered a very serious crime, and the term desertion itself is a term of stigma. Why should we be afraid of desertion? Those of us who have had experience in the labour movement know that the traditions of desertion are very strong among the workers in nearly every country in the world. The first step in going over to the revolutionary army is desertion, i. e. from the point of view of the imperialists. It is desertion of the imperialist army. If we are afraid of the word desertion, shall we call it resignation? That would be an evasion of the question. There

is no other term for desertion from the imperialist army in this particular stage.

Comrade **Mehring** accuses us of having removed the toilers' militia of the VIII. Plenum. Comrade Mehring speaks as though the toilers' militia is an alternative to the proletarian militia. It is only necessary to refer to what Comrade **Lenin** says in his letter with regard to the toilers' militia and to a proletarian militia. In "Letters from Afar" he writes:

"What kind of militia do we need? what kind of militia do the proletariat and all the toilers need? A truly popular militia, that is to say in the first place formed from the entire people, embracing all adult citizens of both sexes, and, secondly, combining the functions of a popular army with that of the police, in brief, that of an essential and principal organ of the maintenance of order and administration of the state."

Further, he says:

"This militia will be a proletarian militia, because the industrial workers, the town workers, would obtain quite naturally and inevitably the leading influence over the mass of the poor which they have had naturally and inevitably in the whole revolutionary struggle of the people from 1905 to 1907, and in that of 1917."

Lenin understood that the militia should be composed of the entire working population of both sexes, but Comrade **Lenin** made it quite clear that the leading influence of such militias must be the industrial workers of the towns. The proletarian militia as compared with a toilers' militia, I contend, is a question of tactical principle. It depends upon the relation of class forces in a given situation. In this question there is no contradiction whatever. There is no attempt on our part to revise the theses of the VIII. Plenum, but rather to put the question on a more general formulation.

Comrade **Mehring** spoke of the toilers' militia and the Red Guards as being in his mind two different things. We can make propaganda in capitalist countries, he says, for toilers' militia, but not for Red Guards. This is absolutely wrong. The VII. Plenum says that the most important task before the Communist International is the arming of the proletariat. In some cases we use the slogan of a toilers' militia, in another, of a proletarian militia, another form is the Red Guards. In countries where there is a developed industrial revolutionary class, we can begin the organisation of the Red Guards. The proletarian militia is not an alternative to the Red Guards. Both of these are parts of the general whole, and the main aim is not the institution of the "proletarian militia" or of the "Red Guards", but the arming of the proletariat.

There is a danger of some comrades putting forward the proletarian militia as a partial demand for the bourgeois governments. It is ridiculous for us to think or suggest that a bourgeois government can establish a toilers' militia or a proletarian militia. Therefore in our thesis, we make quite clear the relations between the toilers' militia, the proletarian militia and the Red Guards, as concrete forms of organising and the arming of the proletariat. Our appeal is not to the bourgeois governments: our appeal is to the masses alone, for the task of the arming of the proletariat.

Comrades, these are the principal and main questions that have been raised during this discussion.

The imperialists, if you will observe from the press, are at their old game of using as a pretext for their anti-Soviet campaign the alleged identity between the Comintern and the Government of the Soviet Union. We can rely upon our Russian comrades to rebut such absurdities, but we ourselves have a certain responsibility. Our task is to stand firm under these conditions, in defence of the Soviet Government and the proletarian state, the only country where it is possible for the Communist International to hold such a Congress as this.

Comrades, we must stand firm before an approaching crisis which, in my opinion, will be the severest test ever imposed upon the Communist International. I am hopeful that we shall take away from this debate a firm resolve to carry through, with a determined and revolutionary will, the tasks we have all agreed upon and to extend the frontiers of the social revolution beyond that of the Soviet Union.

Comrade DUNNE (America):

Comrades! In view of the falsity of Comrade **Wolfe's** remarks relative to my activities during the war made in the

course of the debate, I wish to make the following declaration:

In 1917, I was chairman of the **Joint Strike Committee of Metal Workers and Metal Miners in Butte, Anaconda and Great Falls, Montana**, which conducted one of the two mass strikes which occurred during the war, both of which were of an anti-war and semi-revolutionary character. I was the editor of the **Butte Bulletin**, the organ of the **Montana Federation of Labour** and the **Butte Central Labour Council**, the only trade union paper and the only daily paper in the entire U. S. which supported the November Revolution, the Bolsheviki and the proletarian dictatorship from the beginning and without reservations, following this strike.

I was tried and convicted of sedition under the war laws and was sentenced to 7 years in prison or to pay a fine of \$ 5,000. Pending appeal to a higher court the fine was paid by voluntary contributions by the coal and metal miners, metal workers, etc.

I organised the **Left wing branch of the Socialist Party of Montana**, split the S. P. in **Butte**, and brought the Left wing into the charter branch of the C. L. P., which later became part of the **Communist Party**. The **Butte Bulletin**, under my editorship, was the centre of the defence of the I. W. W. arrested under the Espionage Act in 1917—18, it fought for the defence of our comrades arrested in the raids of 1919—20, and it was the only paper in the United States which defended without reservations the armed struggle of the I. W. W. in **Centralia**. I wrote the first pamphlet on the **Centralia Case**.

I was the leader of the Left wing in the **Mooney Convention** and the organiser of the **General Strike for Mooney** in the Northwest in 1919.

I have never been a member of any capitalist party. I was registered in the Montana Legislature as a **Socialist and Labour representative**. Our own Party was illegal. That our local movement in **Butte** used the election machinery of the so-called **Labour Wing of the Democratic Party** was due solely to insurmountable technical legal reasons. My campaign was conducted under the slogan of "All power to the workers and farmers". I introduced the first resolution for the recognition of the **Soviet Union** and the first bill for a **workers' and farmers' militia** ever introduced in the United States. Under the leadership of our committees, 2700 workers in the Great Northern Railway shops in **Great Falls, Montana**, formed the first revolutionary Shop Council in the U. S., and took control of these shops and held them for three months.

Since June 1917 (12 years) there has only been a brief period of six months when I have not either been in jail, on trial, or out on bail awaiting trial, for labour and revolutionary activities. During the period from 1917 to 1920 I was arrested 38 times.

I am willing to place my revolutionary record against that of Comrade **Wolfe** in the Comintern or any section of it.

Chairman: Comrade REMMELE:

Most of the Parties have already appointed their delegates to the **American Commission**, but some have still failed to do so.

The following comrades have been added to the **Lander Secretariat**: **Heckert** and **Ewert** for Germany; **Bell** and **Arnot** for England; **Ercoli** and **Rossi** for Italy; **Bukharin** and **Manuilsky** for the C. P. S. U.; **Frachon** for France. South America and Czechoslovakia have not yet appointed their delegates. Furthermore, Comrades **Losovsky**, **Kuusinen** and **Mikolos** have been added. The youth have not yet appointed their delegates. Comrade **Strakhov** or Comrade **Vorovsky** will represent China. Comrades **Katayama**, **Engdahl**, **Dunne** and **Mingolin** have also been appointed to the Commission.

We have now to decide whether the proposed theses shall serve as a basis for the discussion on the Commission. The Presidium proposes that the proposed theses be accepted by the Congress as a basis for discussion on the Commission.

We must also set up a **Committee** for the purpose of drawing up the final draft of the theses to be submitted to the vote of the Congress. The Presidium proposes the following comrades be appointed to this committee: Comrade **Bell**, the reporter, and Comrades: **Barbé**, **Schneller**, **Lovestone**, **Wittkowski** and **Garlandi**, and two representatives each of the following delegations: England: **Neale** and **Sealkirk**; America: **Wolfe** and **Bittelman**; France: **Racmond** and **Frachery**; Italy: **Gallo** and **Rienzi**; Ger-

many: Florin and Pietsuch; Soviet Union: Manuilsky and Yaroslavsky; Czechoslovakia: Stern and Haken; China: Tscheng-Kuang and Wang-Chen; Young Communist International: Meh-ring, Galopin and Comrade Rust, the latter to have a consultative voice; Three representatives for Poland and West Ukraine, viz., Comrades Limanowski, Zulavski and Pruchanski, the latter for West Ukraine. Then one representative per delegation as follows: India, Raza; Switzerland, Wildhagen; Japan, Hosoi; Holland, Seegers; Lithuania, Kunas; Latvia, Lapin; Esthonia, Anwelt; Indonesia, Alfonso; Canada, Neal; Norway, Aasvostad; Finland, Blum; Jugoslavia, Agitsch.

The following delegations have still to appoint their representatives: Austria, South Africa, Belgium, Bulgaria, Brazil, Venezuela, Hungary, Greece, Denmark, Persia, Ireland, Colombia, Mexico, Mongolia, Palestine, White Russia, Roumania, Turkey, Uruguay, Sweden, Argentine, Ecuador, the Profintern, Sportintern, the Krestintern, the International Workers' Aid, and M. O. P. R.

The proposal of the Presidium was adopted unanimously. The following comrades have been appointed to the Negro Commission: Haywood, Jones, Farmer, Carlstone, Ford—Negro delegates from the United States; Bunting, South Africa; Bittelman, United States, Lovestone, United States, Tubi, United States, Rothstein, England. One representative from Germany; Fokin and Nassanov, representing the Youth International; Barbé and Loserey, France; Cardenas, South America; Rossi, Italy; one representative from the C. P. of Spain; Jacquemotte, Belgium; Heidar, Palestine; Hassun, Syria; Fachri, Turkey; Manawar, Indonesia; Sikander, India; and Comrades Kuusinen, Bennett, Wassiliew, Williams, Heller (representing the Communist fraction of the Profintern), Humbert Droz, Schubin, Kitaigorodski. The chairman of the Commission to be Kuusinen. Vice-chairman, Bennett. Secretary, Williams.

The proposal of the Presidium that Comrade Bell's theses be taken as a basis for the discussion on the Commission was unanimously accepted.

Twenty-fourth Session.

Moscow, August 9, 1928 (morning):

Declarations and Greetings.

Chairman: Comrade THÄLMANN (Germany):

The report on the programme of the Communist International is on the agenda of the today's session. I call upon Comrade Bukharin to address the Congress.

(Comrade Bukharin's report was already published by us on the 27th August in the special number 56. Editor.)

After the report of Comrade Bukharin Comrade Bunting South Africa made the following declaration:

Comrade S. B. BUNTING (South Africa):

Comrades, during the debate on the E. C. C. I. Report a couple of weeks ago Comrade Dunne of the American Party attacked a speech I had made on South Africa as a "Social Democratic" speech which should be sternly repudiated by the Comintern. He was followed in similar strain by Comrade Bennett of the English Party, who is Secretary of the Anglo-American Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. in Moscow.

I was puzzled at the time to know what I had said which could be called Social Democratic, but I let it pass, presuming that that term, grave and sinister as is its political import today, had nevertheless in this instance been used as we have no doubt all known it to be used occasionally among polemising comrades, as a mere term of abuse of one's opponent, there being a particular matter now awaiting debate between the C. P. S. A. and the Anglo-American Committee for the E. C. C. I.

It is only a day or two ago that I happened to notice in the "Inprecorr" a report of Comrade Dunne's speech from which I discovered for the first time that his attack had been due to a complete misunderstanding of my speech and one which I think would have been impossible if he had given the speech a fair hearing throughout, although I may be myself to blame in that, for I am not a very clear speaker.

I was remarking on the absence of delegates from West Africa or any other part of Africa except South Africa, and was regretting this because, to quote my stenogram:

"Conditions in South Africa are quite different from any other part of that Continent. South Africa, is, owing to its climate, what is called a "white man's country" where whites can and do live, not merely as planters and officials, but as a whole nation of all classes, established there for centuries, of Dutch and English composition."

This statement of fact — for it is a fact that the climate of South Africa, unlike that of most other parts of the African Continent, is one admirably suited to Europeans, let comrades Dunne and Bennett come out and test it for themselves — was apparently distorted by these comrades into an advocacy of "White South Africa" in the chauvinist sense of a claim that the whites have a right to possess the country as against the Negroes, and to dominate over and oppress them. It is in-

conceivable that a South African Communist could express such a view, the very view we have combated for the last 13 years; and it is only due to our Party, to the black and white masses of South Africa, to the C. I. and its Sections, to all who may read the report of this Congress, and to me personally that the attack by these two comrades should in its turn be sternly repudiated and disavowed.

Our Party has had the further misfortune to be referred to by Comrade Bukharin in a somewhat similar way. In his concluding speech in the same debate, he referred to signs of anti-Negro chauvinism in the American Party, and he seemed to imply that at a meeting of some commission he had heard a similar charge brought against the South African Party. If such a charge was made it must have been many years ago, while the question was still a matter of debate with us; for if any Party in the world has, as the very centre of its activities, fairly and squarely fought, conquered and killed the dragon of chauvinism, until to-day nine-tenths of its membership are Negroes, its message of emancipation is the message most eagerly heard of all by Negroes, it has formed numerous Negro trade unions and further has just lately succeeded in amalgamating white and black unions of one industry into one union — "for the first time in history" as was cabled to the London "Times" — then that Party is the South African Party. Can any other Party show a record like that? Once more I think it is due to all concerned that the wrong impression should also be definitely removed.

Chairman Comrade THÄLMANN:

Comrades, several telegrams of greetings have been received which I want to communicate to the Congress:

1. One from the cruiser "Comintern" of the Black Sea Fleet.

"The delegation of the cruiser 'Comintern' sends hearty greetings to the VI Congress of the Communist International and its delegates, the representatives of the workers of the world.

The crew of the ship which bears the honourable name 'Comintern' declares to the spiritual guide and leader of the working class of the world, the VI. Congress of the Communist International, that as an answer to the growing war danger against the Soviet Union, it will pay increased attention to its training and discipline, the study of its class enemies and the accumulation of fighting experiences for the coming decisive contest with the bourgeoisie.

Long live the VI. Congress of the Communist International!"

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The following telegram has been received from the Lenin-grad Soviet of Workers' Deputies:

"The Soviet of Workers' Deputies in Lenin's City sends hearty fraternal greetings to the leader of the world proletariat, the VI. Congress of the Communist International.

We follow with great interest the work of the Congress and wish it success. We are convinced that all the decisions of the Congress will have a bearing on the consolidation of the Communist Parties and the intensification of their work among the masses in order to lead them to the overthrow of capitalism.

Long live the Communist International!
Long live the Socialist world revolution!"

* * *

The message of the **Berlin-Brandenburg Red Jungfront** to the Congress is:

"On behalf of the whole membership of the Berlin Jungfront, today's leader session sends you hearty revolutionary greetings as a token of solidarity.

We greet the comrades assembled at the VI. World Congress of the Comintern as the general staff of the International proletarian liberation struggle. True to the teaching of our leaders **Marx and Lenin**, we pledge ourselves to pursue in all the struggles of the workers, the path of relentless class struggle on which the Communist International was, is and will be our leader. We will never forget the treachery of the international social democracy so forcibly expressed on August 4, 1914.

Once more the imperialists of all countries are preparing for a world slaughter although millions of war cripples and millions of widows and orphans still remind us of the horrors of the last world war. Political persecution and the military training of the youth in bourgeois defence leagues are part and parcel of the war preparations of the international bourgeoisie.

The Social Democrats are persisting in their treacherous policy.

When we, as the Red Jungfront, as the anti-militarist defence organisation of the young proletariat of Germany, assure you that we will continue energetically our struggle against the war policy of international capitalism, we know that we must direct it not only against imperialism and international fascism, but also against international reformism.

Therefore, the leaders of the Berlin Red Jungfront greet you with a thunderous Red Front!"

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Comrades, a telegram has also been received from the **II. Congress of the Friends of Astronomy and Geo-Physics, in Nizhni-Novgorod:**

"The II. Congress of the Friends of Astronomy and Geo-Physics in Nizhni-Novgorod, sends greetings to the VI. World Congress of the Communist International. The members of this society take an active part in the cultural revolution which is developing in the Soviet Union, by drawing the masses into scientific research work and combating religious prejudices — the legacy of the capitalist system. The VI. Congress of the Communist International will deal with the question of the new imperialist war which is being prepared and with the action of the united capitalist forces against the Soviet Union. The II. Congress declares to the Congress of the Communist International that the members of this society together with all the workers of the Soviet Union will defend Soviet Russia with the active support of the world proletariat.

Long live the VI. Congress of the Communist International!

Long live world revolution!"

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The crew of the warship "**Marat**" has sent a telegram, the text of which is as follows:

On the day of its ship's festival, July 39, the crew of the warship '**Marat**' sends Red sailor greetings to the leader of the world proletariat, the Communist International and the VI. Congress. We are convinced that the decisions of the World Congress will contribute to the strength of the Communist Parties and will rally the proletariat around them in order to overthrow the capitalist regime.

On our part, we, the armed proletariat, promise to increase the fighting strength of the Red Navy.

Long live the VI. World Congress of the Communist International!"

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The following wireless message has been received from the sailing vessel "**Tovarishtch**":

"The crew of the sailing vessel '**Tovarishtch**' sends from the North Sea greetings to the Congress of the Comintern." The following telegram has been received from Greece:

The C. P. of Greece greets the VI Congress of the Comintern."

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The following letter has also been received:

"The **27th Omsk Red-Banner-Sharpshooters' Division 'Italian Proletariat'** sends through the delegates to the Congress fraternal greetings to the Communist Parties abroad which are at the head of the class struggle of the proletariat against the capitalists and their fascist mercenaries.

Long live the VI. Congress of the Communist International!"

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The Presidium of the Congress has received from the old **Bolshevik workers of Lenin's City** the following letter:

"Leningrad workers, old Bolsheviks who have met on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Bolshevik organisation in the Leningrad '**Istpart**'*) of the C. P. S. U. to exchange reminiscences, send fraternal greetings to the VI. Congress of the Communist International, the general staff of the world revolution.

The jubilee of our Bolshevik Party coincides with new important events. We are convinced that our Communist brother Parties will succeed, just as we did, in mobilising millions of oppressed workers and peasants under their banner and in leading them in a final attack on the bourgeoisie.

With Bolshevik persistency you will deal the enemy blow for blow. Close up your ranks, get ready, for the day is not far distant when the international proletarian revolution will weld together the whole of mankind, all the races of the earth into a powerful army for the struggle for the world October.

Long live the Communist International, the leader of the workers of the world!

Long live the proletarian world revolution! Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!"

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The text of a telegram from **Voronezh** is as follows:

"The 1st Party Conference of the central black-soil region sends hearty fraternal greetings to the fighters of the world revolution, the vanguard of the proletarian masses and the oppressed peoples of the East, assembled in Red Moscow. Our Party and the working masses of our Union and the whole world follow with the greatest interest and with high expectations the work of the VI. Congress. Enormous difficulties are in the way of the victory of the proletariat over the capitalist world whose foundation has already been shaken by the mighty upheaval created by the proletarian revolution in Russia. We know that capitalism is preparing for a decisive blow against the proletariat, for an attack on the U. S. S. R., the country of the workers of the world. But its efforts to suppress the world labour movement will be in vain. The success of the work of Socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. together with the ever growing labour movement in other countries, leads to the collapse of the capitalist world and the victory of the international proletariat. We also declare that the struggle for the proletarian world revolution gives us strength for successful constructive work in our country.

We assure the VI. Congress of the Comintern that our Party which has been always a militant organisation, will fight shoulder to shoulder with the Communist brother Parties as the vanguard of the international revolution in the foremost ranks of the gigantic decisive battles against international capitalism.

Long live the Communist International, the leader and general staff of the world revolution!

Long live the international proletariat and the working masses of the oppressed countries!

Long live world revolution!"

*) "**Istpart**" is the department of the C. C. or local Party Committee for the study of the history of the Party.

Comrade THÄLMANN (Chairman):

I call upon **Comrade Krasnov** to address the Congress on behalf of the children's city in Odessa. (Applause.)

Comrade KRASNOV:

I bring hearty proletarian pioneer greetings from 2,100 children, the Party, the Y. C. L. nucleus and 400 teachers, to the general staff of the proletarian world revolution, the general staff of the Communist army. (Applause.)

In a locality formerly inhabited by the bourgeoisie, the best district of Odessa, the Soviet Union established already in the first days of its existence a children's city. We have in Odessa enormous numbers of children whose fathers and mothers fought on the barricades for the proletarian revolution. One of the first measures of the proletarian authorities in Odessa was: to pick up these children in the streets and to bring them into warm houses in order to educate them into Communists and fighters who will raise Lenin's banner in all the parts of the world. These 2,100 children have instructed me to present a modest gift to the VI. Congress of the Communist International, — an album illustrating the activity of our children's city. You can see by this album how the new generation of Communists is being educated in the Communist spirit.

The children have asked me to tell their patron, the Communist International, that it should pay a visit to Odessa in order to see for itself how the Soviet power is educating the children who a little while ago were picked up in the streets into new fighters for the proletarian revolution.

While presenting you with this album, we assure you that we will carry out our task with renewed energy and will pursue the path which Lenin has pointed out to us.

Long live the young guard of the Communist Party!

Long live the International Children's Guard who will take the place of the old comrades who have enabled us to build up our proletarian state in the course of peaceful work! (Applause.)

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Chairman Comrade Thälmann: We have here representatives of various Leningrad enterprises. I call upon the representative of the "Red Putilov" to address the Congress. (Applause.)

Comrade IVANOV:

Dear Comrades, the Leningrad workers of the "Red Putilov" have asked us to greet on their behalf the general staff of the revolutionary movement of the world. (Applause.)

Comrades, in Leningrad we do not construct cannons but tractors. We participate in the cultural revolution which will give civilisation to the peasantry. (Applause.)

Our socialist construction is based on cultural revolution which will raise the standard of the proletariat and all workers. Scheidemann and Noske are wrong when they say that we are indulging in an armament policy, that Leningrad workers are backing such a policy. Comrades, I can assure you that our weapon is the spirit of Communism and Leninism.

We declare on behalf of the manual and brain workers of Leningrad that we will carry out conscientiously the directions and decisions of our revolutionary general staff, the Congress of the Comintern.

Long live our revolutionary general staff — the VI. Congress of the Communist International!

Long live world revolution!

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Comrade Thälmann: I call on the representative of the women workers of the "Shalpurin" factory in Leningrad, **Comrade Goldina**, to address the Congress.

Comrade GOLDINA:

Comrades, allow me to greet the Sixth Congress, the vanguard of the world revolution, on behalf of the Leningrad women workers. We would like to exchange views and experiences with you women workers from foreign countries, and to transmit to you personally the hearty greetings of our Leningrad working women. (Applause.)

Comrades, we would like you to transmit our greetings to the women workers in your countries and to tell them that they should do what we did in 1917. (Applause.)

Comrades, we working women of Leningrad, have not been afraid of Chamberlain or of any other enemies. (Applause.)

We have suffered hunger and cold. Comrades, you know, of course, that in Soviet Russia women have the same rights as men; that is why we are not afraid of any enemies. I, who am an old woman, tell you: fight in your countries as we have fought here. We have spared no one, neither Koltchak nor Yudenitch... and we have been victorious. But at that time our Soviet Union was not what it is now. We sent at that time the Red Army men barefooted and without proper clothing to the front. I am not the only Leningrad working woman who pledges herself here that we will continue the struggle against our enemies; no, thousands of working women saw me off and asked me to tell you this. (Applause.)

Comrades, the Leningrad working women have asked me to tell you that women in other countries must learn to administer the state as we do here, that they must be at their posts at the cultural front, in the revolutionary struggle and in the work among the peasantry, so that women could do everywhere their share in the overthrow of capitalism.

We need not be afraid of anyone if we establish a united front throughout the world and join hands in the common fight.

Long live the Sixth Congress of the Communist International!

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Comrade Thälmann: Comrade Florin will reply on behalf of the world congress to the welcome speeches of the Odessa and Leningrad delegations.

Comrade FLORIN (Germany):

The Odessa comrades have described to us here the great work which they are carrying on for homeless children. I think that we have seen here that the Russian proletariat knows how to solve the child problem. We, who know something about family life in the capitalist countries, know what this means. In Russia a new generation is being brought up, a generation which is doing useful service to the whole proletariat.

Comrades, we are delighted that the Leningrad proletariat has sent delegations to welcome the world congress. The Leningrad proletariat, as the vanguard of the revolutionary Russian proletariat, has gathered valuable experiences in the struggles before, during and after the seizure of power, which we must put to good use in the revolutionary struggle. I mean particularly the experiences of strategy and tactic in the preparation of and during the revolution.

Comrades, in this connection I would like to mention the plucky Red sailors who did self-sacrificing work in the common struggle with the proletarians of the Leningrad factories. The revolutionary Leningrad proletariat has played a leading role in the defence of the principles of Marxism and Leninism and in the struggle for unity within the Party. The Leningrad and also the Odessa proletariat have shown that they know how to struggle in the period of civil war, but they have also shown that they know how to work energetically for the economic reconstruction of the country; they know what they owe their class.

The imperialists of all countries are preparing for war. In spite of all contradictions and antagonisms we cannot help seeing that the interests which bind together capitalists and capitalist states against the Soviet Union are stronger than their antagonisms. Therefore the imperialist war danger, the danger of an attack on the Soviet Union, is very great indeed, and the situation very serious. If we are to proceed unitedly and act in the spirit of the Leningrad proletariat, we will have to create, side by side with an adequate united front policy and good trade union work, a civil war ideology in the capitalist countries. To us, imperialist war means civil war. This is what the Leningrad, Moscow and Odessa workers want. Let us show them by deed that we have understood them!

I hope that I have succeeded in conveying to the proletariat of Leningrad the feelings of this congress. (Loud applause.)

Close of session.