

- INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 9 No. 35

24th July 1929

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schliessfach 213, Vienna IX. Telegraphic Address: Iuprekor, Vienna.

Tenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. International Red Day on the First of August.

Statement by the Political Secretariat of the E. C. C. I.

The tenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International has just been concluded. The following questions were on the Agenda:

1. The international situation and the tasks of the Communist International; Reporters: Comrades Kuusinen and Manuilsky.

2. The economic struggles and the tasks of the Communist Parties; Reporters: Comrades Thälmann and Lozovsky.

3. The International Day Against Imperialist War (August 1st.) Reporter: Comrade Barbé.

The discussion of the reports was actively participated in by representatives of all the important Communist Parties.

The Plenum decided to relieve Comrades Bukharin, Gitlow, Serra and Humbert-Droz of their duties as members of the

Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Plenum excluded Jilek (Czechoslovakia), Lovestone (United States) and Spector (Canada) from the E. C. C. I.

The Plenum extended the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. by adding to it Comrades Garlandi (Italy), Gottwald (Czechoslovakia), Randolf (United States) and Gussev (Soviet Union). In addition, the Plenum promoted Comrade Lenski (Poland), who had hitherto been a candidate of the Presidium to membership of the Presidium, and elected Comrade Americo Ledo (South America) member of the Presidium and Comrade Reimann (Czechoslovakia) Candidate of the Presidium.

Moscow July 20, 1929.

The Political Secretariat
of the E. C. C. I.

Third Session.*)

Moscow, 4th July 1929, Morning.

Comrade BARBÉ (France):

I wish first of all to recall the causes which led us to decide upon carrying out a day of international struggle against imperialist war. The VI. World Congress of the C. I. made the centre of its activity the question of the struggle against imperialist war and the struggle for the defence of the Soviet Union. It is as a result of this estimation that the VI. Congress, after studying thoroughly and in detail the problems of principle and tactic determining our attitude and the position and duty of the Communists in face of imperialist war — set as our concrete task the carrying out of a widespread campaign of struggle against imperialist wars. I should like to recall to you for instance the decision of the VI. World Congress. This is what said in the resolution which dealt with this question:

"In view of the active preparations the imperialist powers are making for an attack upon the U. S. S. R., of the ripening military conflicts between the capitalist sharks and the intervention in China also proceeding; in view

also of the treacherous rôle being played by international social democracy of all shades, which is disarming the workers in the face of the capitalist offensive and is at the same time actively and cynically helping the imperialist groups in the various countries in their preparations for another world butchery, the Congress is of the opinion that it is the duty of all Communists, in the present tense situation, to intensify the struggle against the war danger and to set to work immediately to carry out an international campaign against the impending imperialist war.

"The Congress instructs the Central Committees of all the Communist Parties immediately to commence political, organisational, agitational and propagandist work in preparation for an International Day for the fight against imperialist war and defence of the Soviet Union."

*) Owing to technical difficulties it has been impossible up to the present to publish the reports of the 1st and 2nd sessions of the Tenth Plenum, but we hope to publish these shortly in our next Special Number. Ed.

These were the decisions and directives given us by the VI. World Congress. It is with a view to carrying out these directives and decisions of the VI. World Congress that all the attention of the Communist Parties, and all Sections of the C. I., has, during the past few months, been concentrated upon the necessity of making practical preparations for the international struggle against imperialist war.

There is a second more important aspect. The objective causes which led the VI. Congress to make such a decision have been verified in the course of the past year and must determine an ever greater effort on our part than that planned for by the VI. World Congress for carrying out an effective campaign for struggle against the war danger.

The characteristics of the international situation in the past year show us, in an unmistakable form, all the weakness of the capitalist regime — and not only its weaknesses but also the fact that it is inevitably heading towards great imperialist conflicts, towards great new imperialist wars, and towards a hostility fostered against the Soviet Union — and this in spite of and contrary to the optimistic chanting of the Second International about capitalist stability and about the consolidation of capitalism, and against the optimistic opinions of the opportunists who have been expelled from the C. I., as well as of the opportunists who have remained and are still concealing themselves in the ranks of the C. I.

I believe that we can say that the present period is not only the period of the growth of the crisis of capitalism under the increased blows of internal contradictions and class contradictions, but also the period which brings us face to face with the perspective of new counter-revolutionary wars against the Soviet Union.

There is another aspect in the international situation which must determine a more vigorous international action by the proletarian masses against imperialist war. It is the new revolutionary wave — it is the transition of the proletarian struggle to a much higher level in a number of countries, not only capitalist countries but also colonial and semi-colonial countries. Facts and events show us with increased force that we are on the one hand going through a period in which the danger of imperialist war is growing ever greater, and on the other hand, a period in which the proletarian movement is characterised by the transition of the proletarian struggle and the struggle of the oppressed peoples to a much higher stage — and these are the best objective basis for the effective and concrete struggle of the Communist International against the realisation of all the economic, political and military plans of the imperialist States.

The accelerated development of contradictions between the different imperialist States, which is characteristic of the last period; the various realignments around the fundamental struggle being carried on at the present time between Great Britain and the United States; and above all the menace of war on the U. S. S. R., find their most profound expression in the vast, deliberate, systematic and constant reinforcement of land and naval armaments, chemicals, and in general of the whole technique of war. During the last period undeniable signs of the technical preparation for imperialist war have been evident in all countries, particularly in France, and great air and naval manoeuvres and systematic training of reserves have been carried out. It is in England that we find the greatest air manoeuvres, in the United States that we find the naval manoeuvres, and in Poland that we find the intensified training of reserves and other intense activity on the part of the Polish Government during the past period.

These practical preparations for imperialist war are also the basis for feverish development in all capitalist countries of chauvinist imperialist agitation and propaganda — of what we may call moral and spiritual preparation for imperialist war, and also of increased reaction against the working class and against the revolutionary proletarian or peasant organisations and increased terror against all anti-militarist action by the working masses and against all movements of struggle by the working class. The increased repression and terror in a number of countries — this white terror is one of the most important aspects of the present period. The transition of the so-called bourgeois-democratic countries to fascist methods of repression against the working class; the introduction of fascist methods of struggle by "democratic" States like Ger-

many, and especially France; the adoption of a number of measures aimed not only at restricting the rights gained by the working class but at pitilessly crushing every idea and desire for struggle in the working class — these important features of the present period constitute one of the most significant symptoms of preparation for imperialist war. All these new measures destined to disrupt the labour movement serve to guarantee the support of the rearwards in view of imperialist war, thus making it possible to carry out, on a broader basis, the effective preparation for the new war of profits and aggression against the U. S. S. R.

It is in this period of accelerated development of the danger of imperialist war and of attacks against the Soviet Union, that we have a clearer picture of the profound transformation of the rôle of the Social Democracy and of the activity of the II. International. As an integral part of imperialism the Social Democracy has become the best, the most active and the most effective force in the preparation for imperialist war, particularly in the preparation for a war of aggression on the Soviet Union. The last year has shown us this rôle of the Social Democracy very clearly.

In France the Social Democracy has not only submitted the best military laws and the best technical solutions for the organisation of the nation for war, not only has it taken the initiative in these questions, but while it has been playing at opposition to the bourgeois government it has at the same time been the actual executive in the preparation for imperialist war. Two examples show this. The Supreme Council of National Defence in France, that is to say, the body which has to prepare for imperialist war in the military, economic and even political field, which organises the economic divisions in France in view of imperialist war and which is mobilising the industries with a view to this war — is headed by Paul Boncour. It is also Social Democracy which proposed the credits necessary for the establishment of the Air Ministry. All these recent facts show that the Social Democracy is not merely an integral part in the preparation for imperialist war, but that it is the initiator of laws for its preparation, and prosecution. Even where the Social Democracy has not got governmental power, it watches over the plans for carrying out the next imperialist war. The rôle of the Social Democracy in Germany has already been described. It is clear that the German Social Democracy, which has come into power, is directly carrying out the armament policy of German imperialism, and at its last Congress it even made a theory of it, adopting the military programme of "defence" of the imperialist bourgeois republic.

Everywhere the Social Democracy is at the head of the work of carrying out all political and technical measures necessary for imperialist war, especially for the new anti-Soviet "crusade". It is Social Democracy which is carrying on the most violent campaign against the Soviet Union, which is encouraging repression against the revolutionary movement and the Communists, and which is assassinating the workers even on the most traditional day of their struggles, May 1st, in Berlin.

Social Democracy is combining this policy of social imperialism and social fascism with an increased demagogy of pacifist hypocrisy with regard to disarmament and the arbitration of conflicts by the League of Nations. The last example is the campaign of petitions to the League of Nations to beg it to speak a little about disarmament. The important role in this division of labour of the Social Democracy is played by the Left, whose mission it is to appease the masses while the Social Democracy in its actual general plan is preparing and carrying out measures for imperialist war, and to lull to sleep their will to struggle. The Left Social Democracy is our principal enemy in the effective struggle against imperialist war.

In this sense we must emphasise the extreme importance of the coming to power of the Labour Party in England. The Social Democracy intends to utilise to the full, from the standpoint of its game among the masses, the coming to power of the Labour Party. Already in a great campaign it is greeting MacDonald's imperialist government as the "saviour of peace"; it intends to carry on the most widespread campaign in connection with this important political event in order to attempt to foster again pacifist illusions among the masses. It is under shelter of this campaign that the II. International is preparing still more actively and more hypocritically for the war

of tomorrow against the Soviet Union in the interests of the various imperialist States.

This is why the denunciation of the imperialist policy of the Social-Democracy among the masses and the drawing of the masses into the real struggle against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union make it necessary to place in the foreground of our tasks and responsibilities the bitter struggle against pacifist illusions. Social Democracy will attempt to foster these illusions with the aid of the establishment of the MacDonald Government — a government which is in fact nothing else but a government of British imperialism in a different form and which is par excellence a government of preparation for imperialist war behind a pacifist mask, a government of war on the British proletariat to put through rationalisation and a government of war on the oppressed people of India, to maintain the shaky, in fact very shaky, domination of the British Empire.

Another factor, undoubtedly the most important, which emphasises the decisions of the VI. Congress with regard to the sharpening of the struggle against the war danger, is that in face of the increased preparation of imperialism and the Social Democracy, the resistance and struggle of the working and oppressed masses is growing not only in extent, but is taking on much higher and more political forms. The great strikes in the leading capitalist countries in the course of the past period have already been described: in Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc., as well as the heroic struggle of the Hindu workers and the participation of new elements in the struggle against imperialism — the participation of the peasantry and agricultural labourers in France and Czechoslovakia and also the widespread participation of thousands of poor peasants in the May Day demonstrations in Poland. In the colonial countries we have also, for example, hundreds of thousands of **Negro workers in the Congo**, joining the fighting front of the masses. These Negroes struggled nearly six months, using all means against French imperialism. All this shows a more intense activity on the part of the working class and a clearer and higher comprehension of the necessity for the masses to struggle against the plan of enslavement and war carried out by the imperialist States.

It is on these bases that we should realise the full importance of carrying out the day of International Struggle Against Imperialist War.

I should like now to speak of the character and political significance of the day of struggle against imperialist war. In the draft resolution which we are submitting to the Plenum for ratification, we propose August 1st. as the date on which this day should be held. Thirteen of the principal Parties were represented at the Conference organised by the Western Bureau of the C. I. This Conference decided to propose August 1st. as the date, and it is at its suggestion that the Polit. Secretariat of the C. I. ratified this date.

The arguments in favour of this date are of two kinds; first of all, August 1st. is the 15th anniversary of the beginning of the imperialist war. We must emphasise what Lenin said with regard to the statutes of the C. I.: that one of the principal questions which we must unceasingly stress to the workers is that they must never forget the imperialist war. The establishment of the date of August 1st. is based on this first consideration, but above all, it was chosen with a view to carrying out a truly effective effort of the Communist Parties in the struggle against imperialist war. August 1st. will transfer the problem of the struggle against imperialist war from the field of the theses of the C. I., from the field of general agitation and propaganda, into the action of the masses, and will do this in the nerve centres of imperialism, namely, in the factories and in the streets. This is the second consideration which led us to set August 1st as the date. We want August 1st. to be fundamentally opposed to the new and symbolic August 4th. organised by the II. International. We want August 1st. to be a method by which the working class in the big factories can not only answer with all its forces the betrayal of the Social Democracy, but can mobilise its forces on the basis of our slogans. August 1st is our day of struggle against imperialist war. We must spread among the masses the understanding of the considerations which led us to set August 1st as the date for this International Day,

which must be a day of struggle against imperialist war and against the day of August 4th set by the Social-Democracy. August 4th will be carried out under the slogans of pacifism and disarmament, and it must be denounced as a day of preparation for war.

The nature and political significance of this Day have already been described in the material handed out to the comrades, in the resolution of the Polit-Secretariat of the month of March and in the draft resolution submitted to this Plenum. It is interesting to note that from the moment the C. I. and the Communist Parties began the general public agitation and propaganda of August 1st, we have witnessed a reaction and almost unheard of counter-preparation by the bourgeois governments and all their agents, social-democrats and others. It can even be said for certain Communist Parties that the imperialist governments are making greater efforts to combat the Day of August 1st. than certain Communist Parties are showing in the preparation for this day. Already the bourgeois governments and the Social Democracy are preparing their police forces and their troops to be lined up against the workers in the struggle of August 1st. A typical example of how the bourgeoisie is combating the preparation and carrying out of the day of anti-imperialist struggle is the speech made by the French Minister, Tardieu, to the Chamber of Deputies on June 13. Here is his answer to Comrade Cachin:

"Today you are combining all your efforts for the great demonstration of August 1st against war. You yourselves have put up a poster to this effect in a beautiful red, to be easily understood. What do you say in this poster?"

"You say that the Limoges affair and all other such affairs must constitute an element in the preparation for this day of August 1st. This day must be a day of combat of the international proletariat, and also a day of lining up the revolutionary forces for a real struggle...."

"You are going so far in the six weeks which are left you before that day. This is your plan, — you write it and you print it — I have a full right to read to you and to quote to you — you are going to utilise everything that happens in the way of labour conflicts and all popular emotions, and if it succeeds you are going to take the credit for it, and if it does not succeed you are going to say that it does not concern you."

"During the six weeks which are left you before August 1st the Chamber of Deputies must not be allowed to be fooled by your operations."

"On August 1st, as on May 1st., you want to have a great mass demonstration. You want to get control of the streets."

"I only want to say to you one thing: from now on we are going to see to it that you cannot play this game and on August 1st, when you will make your move, we shall attempt to make it fail as your former moves have failed."

These are the statements of a French financier. These statements show us that the bourgeoisie has a correct appreciation of the meaning of our International Day of August 1st, more correct in fact than certain Communists.

But our French Communist Party has answered this declaration of war by Tardieu against the French workers and their Parties. I want to emphasise that these preparations for repression do not constitute the only weapon and the only means employed by the present bourgeoisie against the carrying out of our Day of Struggle Against Imperialist War.

The bourgeoisie and the Social-Democracy and also a number of new defenders of the capitalist order, who are springing up throughout the whole present period: the Trotskyists, the Rights and the opportunists who have been expelled from the C. I., are attempting to discredit and compromise in advance our efforts and our activity for carrying out a real and effective struggle against imperialist war. They describe the day of August 1st as an "adventure", as a "putsch" of the Comintern.

These lies, which are utilised by those whom we have expelled, constitute one of the methods for discrediting among

the masses our Day of Struggle Against Imperialist War of August 1st.

The Communist International has already defined clearly the character of this day of the international proletariat. The Day of August 1st is not to have insurrection as its objective, as the imperialists desire the people to believe, nor is it an adventure or a putsch, as declared by the social democrats and opportunist petty-bourgeois and Trotskyists who have been expelled from our ranks. August 1st is to be a day of the **mobilisation of the broadest proletarian and working masses against imperialism and the Social-Democracy**, under the banner of the C. I. and the slogans of struggle against imperialist war. It must be a most tense and active moment in the struggle of the masses during the present period, in which the objective conditions of this mass struggle show us that the proletarian struggle has already passed on to a higher level. It must be a day on which the workers, particularly those in the big factories, must stop work and unify their struggle and their efforts, demonstrating in the factory against imperialist war and for solidarity with the U. S. S. R. It is not a day of adventure or of putsch, — it must be a day of broad united front in the factories and a day of the alliance between the workers and the poor peasantry, which is joining the struggle in the present period, and also the exploited masses in the colonies, which also are joining the struggle against imperialism.

In this sense, in the sense of the most widespread mobilisation, in the sense of the most active and coordinated and most international struggle against imperialist war, and in the sense of the attainment of a new stage of our struggle for the revolutionary conquest of the majority of the working class, the day of August 1st. will be an **important link in the struggle for the proletarian revolution**. This means that it will be an important link in the preparation of our Communist Parties and the proletarian masses for the coming revolutionary struggles of the present period. It is from this general viewpoint that one should judge the political character of our day of international struggle against imperialist war.

Comrades, I should like to say a few words on what we know of the preparation of August 1st and also on certain essential conditions for the serious carrying out of a Day of International Mass Struggle Against Imperialist War. For the Day of August 1st and our proletarian struggle against war to take on far greater proportions than during the past period, it is clear that the Sections of the C. I. must fulfil a number of indispensable conditions. The first condition is the vigorous struggle of each Party, — it has already been emphasised, but it will never be adequately emphasised, — against every underestimation of the war danger in all forms, as the worst opportunist danger. The underestimation of the war danger can only be explained by the passivity of certain elements in the Party. Our opinion is that on the underestimation of the dangers of imperialist war in our Party, we undoubtedly have the most striking and the most concrete manifestation of the penetration of social-democratic ideology in our ranks. How else can we explain the underestimation of the dangers of imperialist war in almost all the Parties at the present time. In several Parties we find interesting views on the danger of imperialist war. One of our British comrades said in a discussion that in the British Party there were comrades who said: We are struggling against imperialist war because it is in the line laid down. It goes without saying that if such a conception and such a conviction with regard to the threat of imperialist war prevails, it is impossible to mobilise the Party or the working masses against war. In our Party comrades have been found who said: you exaggerate imperialist war; the bourgeoisie will never begin imperialist war again, because it knows that imperialist war will result in revolution and the bourgeoisie will never risk revolution. In other Parties we could find estimations which show us that it is not only a general passivity existing among certain elements of the Party, but it is a political estimation of the imperialist war danger which in fact expresses the estimation of the social democracy of the pacifist character of the present period. It is necessary to emphasise particularly the necessity for struggle against new pacifist illusions in connection with the coming to power of MacDonald, and the belief in a relaxation of the struggle of imperialism against the U. S. S. R. In certain

Parties there are already comrades who reason thus: in the present period we are going through a stage of relaxation of the struggle of the imperialists against the U. S. S. R., and they base this view on a number of facts such as the coming into power of MacDonald.

A number of other examples could be quoted to show the failure to understand the war danger and the inadequacy of anti-militarist activity in the army and the navy, in the preparation for August 1st. In certain Parties the tendency to restrict the preparation for August 1st to certain internal measures of the Party without bringing up the whole question of the struggle of International Day Against War and the causes which must make the workers decide upon this struggle against imperialist war. This tactic of course leads to the isolation of the Party in the struggle against imperialist war and to the detachment of the Party from the working masses who are against imperialist war.

Another important condition for the effective work of the Party for August 1st lies in the **self-criticism of every short-coming and every weakness** in the activity of the Parties. It is quite certain that the preparation for August 1st is bringing to light a number of weaknesses and shortcomings in the Parties. For example; lack of initiative in adapting the general directives issued by the C. I. to the concrete situation in each country, and the lack of clarity regarding the forms of activity and proletarian struggle on the day of August 1st; lack of contact between the struggle against the war danger and the economic daily struggles of the workers; weakness of mass work in the big factories and in the decisive industries from a war standpoint, which lack is expressed in inadequate organisation of committees of action for August 1st; absence of systematic anti-militarist activity in the army, among the working youth and also among the women; failure to carry out work for the establishment of a united workers front of struggle against war, etc. These weaknesses must be perfectly overcome and call for a much more vigorous control by the Parties and more serious checking up of the work accomplished throughout the organisation from top to bottom, by all Party members.

Next is the lack of contact between the struggle against the war dangers and the daily economic struggles of the workers. Our comrades from the British Party have emphasised this weakness in their Party, but I believe that it is not a weakness peculiar to the British Party — it is part of the tendency to carry on a superficial struggle against imperialist war. This lack of contact between the daily struggles and elementary preoccupations of the workers in the present period, and the struggle against the danger of imperialist war, contradicts our principle of struggle against imperialist war.

Thirdly, in the weakness of mass work in industries which are decisive from the standpoint of preparation for imperialist war, such as the chemical industries, metallurgy and naval construction for imperialist war. This weakness is expressed particularly by the very restricted number of committees of action established for the preparation for International Day on August 1st, with the exception of Germany and France.

Fourthly, the absence of systematic anti-militarist work in the army, among the working youth and the women. It is clear that in the present period when we set ourselves the important task of struggling against pacifist illusions, our concrete anti-militarist activity among the young workers, the soldiers and the women should be one of the most important tasks of the struggle against imperialist war. But it is one of the tasks which has been most neglected by our Party, resulting in the almost complete failure to establish the united front of workers against imperialist war.

These weaknesses must be criticised in a severe manner not only in view of August 1st, but also for the work after August 1st. They must be overcome, and they call for a much more serious checking up of the work accomplished throughout the organisation from top to bottom and by all members of the Party. This applies to the actual carrying out of the decisions and directives issued by the Party and by the measures adopted by the various Parties.

A third important condition for effective preparatory work for August 1st is in our opinion the maximum utilisation of

past experiences, which have also revealed very serious shortcomings in the international activity of the Sections of the Comintern — for example the International Anti-Fascist Congress, for which some Parties failed to carry on a serious preparation. But the event which deserves thorough examination in view of August 1st is, I believe, last May-day. The critical examination of the events of May 1st and the lessons which we can and must draw from it, must form a basis not only for better activity in view of August 1st but also for the mass struggle against imperialist war which we must carry on systematically and permanently not only up to and on August 1st but also after August 1st.

The **May 1st demonstrations**, particularly the heroic struggle of the **Berlin workers**, showed the extremely precarious condition of capitalist stabilisation, the marked development of class contradictions and antagonisms and the formidable importance of the new revolutionary wave of the workers' movement, as well as the degree of radicalisation of the working class. But these demonstrations have also brought out in a number of Parties, very serious political weaknesses and flagrant shortcomings in the preparation for May 1st, which had their basis in the failure to understand the importance of May 1st in the period of formidable accentuation of the class struggle.

Let us quote the example of the **Scandinavian Party** which put off the May 1st demonstration on account of bad weather. Other still more serious examples may perhaps be given, in other Sections of the C. I., as for example in our Party. In the **French Party** the inadequate political and organisational preparation for May 1st, the failure to combat legalist and traditional survivals and the failure to understand new methods of struggle and repression adopted by the government against our movement made it impossible in France, particularly in **Paris**, the political centre of the country, to utilise more extensively the mass movement, and the mass strike which was being conducted in the Parisian district, for a more political orientation of the struggle and for the decisive conquest of the streets by the Parisian workers. And this was true in spite of the measures adopted by the Central Committee of the Party. The tactic of wholesale concentration of the forces of repression in Paris, which broke up practically all the attempts of the Parisian workers to carry on a struggle, were not utilised by us, with the exception of one or two cases, for enlarging the working class front in the provinces on May 1st. We did not utilise this correctly in order to bring into the struggle the workers in the provinces. The almost complete non-existence of our defence organisations in France, is also characteristic of May 1st.

In Germany the decisive importance of the successes of the proletariat in Berlin has been emphasised, as well as of the German Communist Party on May 1st. It is absolutely beyond doubt that these successes must be more forcefully emphasised to the Party and the defeat of the German Social Democracy must be more vigorously branded. But this has not prevented the German comrades from recognising a number of weaknesses on May 1st. The C. C. of the German Party itself has recognised as one of the principal weaknesses the inadequate ideological and organic preparation of the political mass struggle during and after May 1st, insufficient leadership of the masses by the Party and insufficient activity of the nuclei and organisations in the big factories.

These are the weaknesses which appear from the events of May 1st and which must be very carefully examined if we wish to strengthen our power to draw the working masses into the political struggle at the present time.

Another important fact is the participation in certain countries, particularly in Poland, of broad elements of poor peasants in the demonstrations of May 1st around certain towns.

These lessons of May 1st are very precious, since it is only by the correction of all these shortcomings that the Sections of the C. I. can proceed with carrying out August 1st with a maximum of good results, and continue an effective struggle with a maximum success.

I believe that on the basis of these experiences it was

necessary first of all to emphasise the need of extending our mass front in the principal countries by concentrating our efforts not only in the capitals but also in the big industrial centres in the provinces, decentralising our forces a little, also among the agricultural labourers and poor peasants who join the struggle. In connection with this extension of our mass front and also in resistance to the new and more acute measures of repression adopted by the bourgeoisie, the most important task to be emphasised is the consolidation and serious and systematic organisation of the self-defence, of the physical struggle of the masses against the repression, if we wish to capture the streets in the course of our manifestations. May 1st and its lessons also place on the order of the day of our Parties the resolute struggle against the social democratic, legalist and "traditional" vestiges, which are perhaps the main obstacle to our work and which hamper the political struggle of the masses.

At the present moment energetic criticism of the shortcomings and weaknesses of our activity must form the basis for the work of the Communist Parties not only for August 1st but for our entire daily activity against imperialist war. In particular we wish to draw the attention of the Plenum and of all sections to the necessity of making provisions for the continuation of our struggle against imperialist war. It is quite clear that August 1st is not a final aim. It is one of the most active moments of our struggle against imperialist war, but already now we must begin to provide for the continuation of the struggle and decide upon the form in which we shall carry it on.

The task of the Parties prior to and after August 1st must include the **consolidation of the Parties** and the recruiting of workers for the Party. The recruiting work carried on in times of actual struggle of the workers in the street is the form of recruiting on which our Parties must lay greatest stress. On this basis the greatest possible number of workers must be brought into the Party.

You have our draft resolution; we wanted to make it very clear; there is no doubt that it could be improved and made more precise. But in any case it must be discussed. This discussion can be carried out on the basis of the experience of the Parties, experience with which at the present time we are not sufficiently familiar. The text which has been submitted must be examined by the Plenum and put in final form as rapidly as possible. In general we may be reproached for not defining in our resolution with sufficient clearness the forms of struggle to be adopted on International Day Against Imperialist War. I believe that this correction of our resolution cannot be made in the resolution itself, but that we can correct it with the comrades from the Parties themselves. We must examine in conjunction with them, on the basis of the work carried out in their countries, the concrete forms of struggle in the different countries. It is very clear, for example, that we cannot issue the slogan of a 24-hour strike as a general slogan for International Day. The forms of struggle must be determined according to the concrete experience gained and the work accomplished by the Parties. This is why the forms of struggle, particularly the character of the political mass strike for August 1st, however limited, must be examined in a concrete manner. This holds true also, of the number of other practical measures such as street demonstrations and the character of these demonstrations, as well as the possibilities of illegal action, whether partial or complete, to be adopted by the bourgeoisie on August 1st. Nevertheless I believe that on this basis we shall succeed, but our success is dependent upon the fullest co-operation from our Parties. The Sections of the C. I. must apply to the full and as speedily as possible the directives for August 1st already mentioned. They must criticise and correct their mistakes and weaknesses as well as their shortcomings. They must mobilise the Party and the mass organisations, particularly the red trade unions. They must organise in all factories August 1st Committees, which must be utilised not only for August 1st itself, but for the continuation of the struggle against imperialist war after August 1st, embracing all workers. They must intensify anti-militarist activity among the masses, in the barracks and in the navy. They must carefully prepare street demonstrations and, wherever possible, strikes in the factories. They must combine mass activity and the utilisation of all legal means with illegal

action, taking serious measures against the placing of the Party on a partially or completely illegal basis. And lastly, they must show the greatest initiative in action and in propaganda for forms of organisation and struggle. By doing all this the Sections of the C. I. will make August 1st a day of great mass demonstration — a magnificent review of the forces of the proletariat in struggle against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. The day of August 1st will be an experience rich in lessons for the Communist Parties and their revolutionary struggle, and at the same time it will be a splendid warning of the proletarian masses to imperialism and its social democratic agents in view of the decisive revolutionary struggles which await us tomorrow.

Comrade HORNER (Great Britain):

Comrades, the resolution as presented is in principle accepted unanimously by the **British Delegation**. We appreciate that in taking this step we are at the same time undertaking a very grave and serious responsibility. The one country in all the world which has the greatest immediate need of war is Great Britain. This country is faced with the following outstanding needs. First, rationalisation of the home industry, markets abroad to dispose of the extra productivity, and war to secure and maintain these markets.

Notwithstanding the treachery of the reformists inside the trade union movement and the labour political movement, British capitalism has not been able to silence the resistance of the workers who have fought in an independent fashion against their leaders when the latter have openly taken their stand on the side of British capitalism against them.

The whole of British capitalism and its press has shown a marvellous unanimity in welcoming the **Labour Government**. This is to be understood, when it is fully appreciated that the greatest need of British capitalism at this time is a Labour Government which has cleansed itself of revolutionary workers and which has at its disposal a bought trade union movement.

We, as a British Party, realise that we have to face in Britain, with the coming of a Labour Government, a more intense attempt at rationalisation at home; a stiffening of the demands upon the U. S. S. R. for freedom to exploit the Soviet market in the interests of British capitalism; more intense colonial oppression in order to hold and to suppress any tendencies inside or outside of the colonies which would serve to curtail or take the colonial markets away from British capitalism; and finally, we have to recognise that owing to American imperialism standing in the world market challenging British trade, there is a grave danger of early and open struggle between **British and American capitalism**.

I was amazed to hear Comrade Barbé state that the British Party had practically done nothing and intended to do nothing to face this real danger of war. The British Party has many weaknesses. It has been small, immature, not well politically developed probably, but on two fronts it has shown a militancy and a desire to execute real constructive revolutionary work: inside the trade unions and in the fight against war. In Britain, our greatest Party crises have been due to the fights against war. In our recent General Election campaign our outstanding exposure of the Labour Party related to the fact that the Labour Party was the one Party which could at this stage draw large masses of British workers into war in the interests of British capitalism.

We have been conducting a systematic campaign to establish contacts with the soldiers and sailors organised in the barracks and in the naval towns of Britain. At the same time we have put forward very great efforts in the endeavour to persuade and make the British workers understand that the British Labour Government, notwithstanding its pacifist phrases, is the one Party in Britain which possesses the greatest possibilities of leading the workers into the struggle against the workers of other countries.

We agree, that during our campaign in the General Election, in our work amongst the soldiers and sailors, we had not sufficiently directed this propaganda towards August 1st. We have used our general campaign with a view to launching

a successful series of partial strikes and demonstrations on August 1st. At the same time we are conscious of the weakness in our Party; that there is a sub-conscious giving way to the pacifist phraseology of the Labour Party, which has led many of our Party members to fail to appreciate the imminent danger of war. That is a fact which we have to admit. But it is a fact that we, as a Party, are making every endeavour to correct this feeling in our own ranks.

The coming of the Labour Government has given us a grave responsibility and a still greater opportunity to demonstrate to everyone of our Party members the chauvinist and militarist character of the Labour Party in Britain. Lastly, we have to learn in Britain how to recruit members for the Party, how to connect the economic struggles of the workers in general with the political struggles against war and against Social Democracy and capitalism.

Immediately following the General Election, the British Political Bureau started preparations for August 1st. We decided immediately to call together every section of responsible cadres inside our Party, to arouse them to the seriousness of this failing and weakness in our Party. A special meeting of the Central Committee was called in order to discuss how real this danger is, how great our responsibility is, and how now, the trade union movement will no longer be of use, in the hands of the reformists as it is, in fighting the government in the struggle against war.

The C. C. called district Party committees in every part of the country. Every organisational and agitational possibility in everyone of the districts, in company with the members of the Party in those areas, was explored to the full. Further, conferences have been called and have been held in some places. Aggregate meetings of every member of the Party over the whole of the country will be held, in order that the whole of the Party membership should get an appreciation of the importance of carrying out the work for August 1st, in accordance with the plans which the C. C., in conjunction with the districts, had agreed upon.

Now as to the general line. As slogans we said: We must gather the **miners** on the streets for the immediate institution of the 7-hour day, together with the fight against war. This is the most potent matter before the miners at the moment.

With regard to the **textile workers**, we have the offensive slogan amongst the textile workers for the 40-hour week and no wage reductions. This slogan can be used against the Government, against the textile owners, together with the slogan against war.

Amongst the **engineers** a demand has been made for an increase of 8/- a week. Already Allen Smith, the Employers Chairman, has been declaring to the agents of the Union that the Labour Government must not take any step to damage the industry by giving concessions to the engineers.

Therefore, in the factories and mills we are developing the slogan of an immediate one day's strike, towards the demand of 8/- a week increase and against war, on August 1st.

In the **chemical industry**, we are issuing a number of pamphlets and booklets, and are using all the forces at our disposal to try to get stoppages in this industry. Where full day strikes are not possible, we are trying to get partial strikes, where the workers can leave the mills, mines and factories in their working clothes, marching from their factories into central demonstrations for the 7-hour day, for the 8/- a week increase, and against war.

A huge gathering is being arranged for July 28th in Trafalgar Square. This demonstration is to be the final driving act in the district agitation to get stoppages, partial strikes and demonstrations against war on August 1st. The local organisations, the Minority Movement branches, the unemployed branches, the Workers' Legion (which we are hoping to build up during this period) — all these are being included in the struggle for big results on August 1st.

The **women** are being gathered into the united front conferences in all parts of the country, and we are seeking to gather them for the demonstration in Trafalgar Square in London and in the work of the districts for the demonstrations on August 1st. A special anti-war edition of the "Workers' Life" will be issued.

We are concentrating on the barrack towns in particular. We are going to towns where there are soldiers and sailors, and the Workers' Legion is mainly doing this work. Our task, leading up to August 1st and afterwards, is to build up the Party, linking up the economic struggles of the workers in the fight against war. And after August 1st, we shall carry on our struggle, against rationalisation, against the government of rationalisation, against war and the British Labour Government; and particularly we must fight to destroy the pseudo-Left pacifists, who are at the moment deceiving and fooling the British working class.

Comrade PIECK (Germany):

It is the duty of all the Sections of the Comintern to mobilise the toiling masses thoroughly and profoundly, so that the International Day against Imperialist War on August 1st might really be the grand expression of the firm militant resolve of the proletarians against the imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

Hence it follows that it is not only a question of action on August 1st itself, but rather that the day of August 1st should constitute the measure of mass mobilisation. It is a question of a continuous and growing campaign against the imperialist war. The campaign should be continued after August 1st, particularly in the factories, upon an increased scale. The International Day against Imperialist War should be the touchstone of the ability of the Sections of the Communist International to lead the masses into supreme action against war. This ability should be demonstrated especially in mobilising the working men and women in the factories, and above all, in the munition factories. Therein lies the supreme significance of the decision of the VI World Congress.

It is to be welcomed that both the preparatory Commission of the Plenum and the Brussels Conference have adopted the proposal of the West European Bureau to organise this International Day against Imperialist War on August 1st. This will not only revive the memory of the outbreak of the world war which reaches its fifteenth anniversary this year, but it will also mean to hold revolutionary fighting demonstrations of the labouring masses on this day as against, above all, the pacifist, impotent slogan of "No more war" raised by the II International.

A further reason for the necessity of the decisions of the VI. World Congress was that in our own ranks the acute character of the war danger is not yet quite properly realised. This is shown in the negligence and carelessness with which the struggle against imperialist war and the preparations for the International Day have been carried on in most of our Sections. This attitude is properly rebuked in the resolution submitted to the Plenum.

I do not wish to absolve the German Section from this criticism, but we have already made very serious preparations for August 1st and have also carried on a persistent campaign against imperialist war. To this we have been particularly urged by German imperialism which is joining ever more openly the advanced front of the struggle against the Soviet Union. Along with our fight against the imperialist war preparations of the bourgeoisie we have also carried on an increased fight against the social democracy in order to oust its reformist influence upon the masses in the factories. Our fight has so nettled the social democracy that it now believes that only by the violent measures of the capitalist State can it check the progress of the Communist Party.

While there are still big defects in our work in the factories, we have nevertheless established firm positions for ourselves in the large factories, which the social democracy and the employers tried to shatter by means of repressive measures against the Communists.

For the 1st of August we have already carried out a series of highly important preparatory measures which entitle us to anticipate both the scope and character of the demonstrations on August 1st. We have laid particular stress upon forming united front organs from below, as we have done in connection with the preparations for May Day. **Anti-war committees** have already been formed in a number of important factories

in Berlin and other leading industrial centres, e. g. the Ruhr, Hamburg, Halle-Merseburg, etc. The anti-war committees have been elected by general meetings in the factories. A special effort was made to get the factory councils to assume responsibility for the strike, and to get them active through a conference of factory councils on the question of this fight. In their turn, these factory council conferences elected their anti-war committees which sent delegates to the united local anti-war committees. Thus, we have concentrated our activity in the factories. For this purpose we have published **factory newspapers** in every factory, laying particular stress upon the election of revolutionary delegates in the factories. Furthermore, we are linking up the August 1st campaign with the special factory questions, with the raising of wage demands, with the wage scale campaigns, the economic fights, and so on.

The **working women** are being attracted into this fight against imperialist war upon a much larger scale than heretofore. Also the proletarian **youth** is being mobilised by the Party, as well as by the Y. C. L. in the factories in a very strong degree. Conferences are held to which sympathetic young workers are attracted and at which anti-war committees are formed which joined in their turn the united anti-war committees. On June 21st an anti-imperialist conference of the youth was held in Berlin. Just as we are mobilising the men, women and youth in the factories for this fight, so we are trying also to win the **agricultural labourers and working peasants** for the revolutionary alliance between town and country. We are also mobilising the **worker sportsmen**. The fourteenth district festival of the workers' sport organisations held in Berlin has shown tremendous militant enthusiasm for the slogans of the International Day against Imperialist War, for the active fight against imperialist war, and for the defence of the Soviet Union. This sport festival was one of the grandest recent demonstrations. The factional activity in the trade unions and in the mass organisations, particularly among the Free Thinkers, tenants, etc., is equally directed towards mobilising the masses for August 1st.

We have somewhat neglected the activity in the occupied districts. However, the Party has shown greater activity in these districts in connection with the preparations for August 1st. On July 21st, a **frontier rally** of five neighbouring western countries is to be held at Aix-la-Chapelle. A frontier rally was also organised on the Eastern territory.

August 1st in Germany will be a great day of campaign against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. True, on May Day we have shown great shortcomings in organising the campaign against the prohibition of demonstrations and against police terror. Yet the very fact these defects and shortcomings have been unanimously recognised by the Party entitles us to expect that this experience will cause us to make better preparation for the August 1st campaign.

The **political mass strike** is a particularly suitable means of getting the workers to realise the whole gravity of the situation and the necessity of the fight against imperialist war. Particularly in the munition industry, this strike will be understood as the expression of the determination to refuse to furnish to the bourgeoisie the weapons for the defeat of the Soviet Union and for the imperialist war. For this reason we are doing our utmost in Germany to get a decision upon this question of carrying out such a strike in all the factories, particularly in the war industry.

Everything depends upon the preparations for the campaign. By these preparations we should confirm the conviction of the workers as to the acute danger of war and their desire to take action. This conviction must be firmly rooted in the mind of every worker, who should realise that the chief enemy of the proletariat is in his own country and should be defeated there, that the bourgeoisie and the social-imperialists should be defeated at home in order to prevent the war. The defence of the Soviet Union should turn into a class war against the bourgeoisie, just as the bourgeoisie carries on the war against the Soviet Union as a class war against the proletariat. In this campaign we should direct all our forces against the war mongers, against nationalism and chauvinism, against fascism in every shape or form, against the Steel Helmet, against the Reichsbanner, against the Heimwehr, against the blackleg organisations of the reformists, and so forth. It is essential to

call forth a tremendous movement of the masses, so that our demonstration on August 1st should constitute a grand review of the determined army of the proletariat, and a mass action against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

We expect the decision of the X Plenum to contribute to the elucidation of this significance of August 1st to all our Sections. In this respect too the tactical change outlined by the VI World Congress should be obligatory to all our Parties in regard to their methods and tactics. We know how tremendous are the difficulties, but this should not deter us from carrying out our tasks. The prevention of war, its transformation into civil war, is certainly a difficult task; nevertheless we have to carry it out and we should not be cowed back by the difficulties. There are even greater difficulties on the part of the revolution, but we must organise and carry it out, because for this we are Communists. Therefore, onward with the work for August 1st, onward with this campaign which constitutes the revolutionary fight against imperialist war and for revolution! The German Section will carry out these tasks.

Comrade BUDICH (I. C. W. P. A.):

The fight against war is not only a matter for the Communist Parties, it is even more the task which confronts all the revolutionary class organisation of the proletariat. For this reason the E. C. of the **International Class War Prisoners Aid**, on its part, has also appealed to all its Sections and fraternal organisations to take part in the August 1st campaign, in the campaign against war and the danger of war, it is the specific task of the I. C. W. P. A. to mobilise the masses of the members in its organisations, so that their voices might be heard on August 1st.

Our second task is to point out to the masses of workers and peasants the internal connection between fascism and white terror and imperialist war. To the extent that the imperialist bourgeoisie is preparing for war, there is a corresponding growth of oppression in the different countries. It is a fact that white terror and fascism, the subjugation of the workers, the suppression of the revolutionary organisations of workers and peasants, and the extraordinary measures of the capitalist states against the proletariat, are of equal service to the war preparations as the proper military preparations of the imperialist governments.

The third special task of the I. C. W. P. A. is the question of relief and support to war opponents whether they wear military or civil clothes. The fight against war opponents is already pursued by the bourgeois governments with full vigor. In connection with the intensification of the war danger, and consequently the growing struggle of the workers and peasants against war, we should expect a further intensification of the struggle of bourgeois government against those who are opposed to war. It is therefore an important task, which the proletarian masses should be made to realise in time, to render aid to the proletarian victims of this fight, this being a substantial component part of the fight against war. If we fail to render substantial and real aid to these victims, it will mean a weakening of the fighting forces of the proletariat in the fight against war.

We carry on our campaign chiefly by means of big mass meetings in all countries where sections of fraternal organisations of the I. C. W. P. A. are in existence. Furthermore, an extensive press campaign is conducted.

The I. C. W. P. A. has approximately 35 of its own papers and journals in the different countries. But we are also trying to make use of the newspapers and publications of all the organisations in sympathy with the I. C. W. P. A., e. g. the Communist press, the papers of those trade unions that are collectively affiliated to us, of the co-operatives, and so forth.

The Executive Committee of the I. C. W. P. A. has resolved further to take part in the forthcoming **II. Anti-Imperialist World Congress** by sending a special delegation, in order to draw the attention of the organisations participating in this Congress to the importance of the I. C. W. P. A. organisations in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Our mass meeting campaign is backed further by a special film which we have released. On the other hand, there are difficulties which we doubt whether we shall be able to overcome in time so as to exhibit this film on August 1st. We believe, however, that the campaign against the war danger should not be ended on August 1st, but on the contrary, that it should be even further increased. Therefore, this film will be useful even after August 1st.

Lately we have been able to supply our Sections with highly interesting material for this campaign. We refer to a compilation of data on the preparations of the different imperialist powers and on the conviction of war opponents in the different countries. These data show that the imperialist governments are combating the war opponents upon a far larger scale than we have imagined, and that there is an internal connection between this persecution of opponents and the strength of military armaments. Of course, the material is not complete, because the persecution and conviction of war opponents is carried on by the imperialist governments quite frequently in full secrecy.

We must again, however, regretfully observe that the Communist Parties do not extend to us the necessary opportunities to urge our case in their press, and that the importance of the I. C. W. P. A. in the fight against the war danger is still absolutely under-estimated by them. I have to draw the attention of the delegates to this grievous mistake and to remind them of the fact that the I. C. W. P. A., as a super party organisation of the working class, is able to reach a good many elements which the Communist Parties, as political parties, either cannot reach at all, or they can do so only with tremendous difficulty.

Comrade GARLANDI (Italy):

The most useful side of the discussion on the question of the struggle against the war danger and for the preparation of "International Day", is the study of the work that has been accomplished by our Party so far in the field of agitation and propaganda, — which has made it possible to clarify for the masses the complicated process through which imperialism arrives at war, — and in the field of the practical organisation of International Day against Imperialist War. We know that among the broad masses and even among certain masses in our Party, there is a failure to see the advance being made in preparation for imperialist war; and even when this advance is recognised and there is a consciousness that the time is ripe for the inevitable war against the U. S. S. R., even then at times there is a failure to understand or to see how this historic advance is progressing from day to day, and how the launching of imperialist war against the U. S. S. R. comes on the order of the day of the politics of international capitalism. The whole organisation of the bourgeois State, petty bourgeois pacifist ideology, the role of the social-democracy, the inevitable zig-zags of international politics, and the open opportunism — or, which is worse, the hidden opportunism — in our Parties are a great obstacle in our work of clarification among the masses. Our task will be facilitated when all our Party members and all our Parties have become completely convinced that imperialist war is imminent.

The Italian political situation gives rise among the masses in Italy to a particular state of mind — an expectation of war, any kind of a war. In this state of mind there are positive elements such as the burning desire of the masses to possess arms. It is for this reason that the working masses of Italy do not believe that Mussolini will make war, that Mussolini "will break his head in a war". Consequently, our propaganda and our agitation find a fertile field for the understanding of the directive of "transformation" of fascist imperialist war, but only on condition that our Party succeeds in opening the eyes of the workers to the imminent threat of war, of which Italian fascism is one of the most active factors. But if in Italy — where all pacifist propaganda has been abolished, where the social-democracy cannot make its deceptive manoeuvres, and where chauvinist propaganda is well organised — there can be such widespread distrust of the Communist alarm, it is possible to understand how in the so-called democratic countries the working and peasant masses are still blind.

August 1st should give us the opportunity of measuring the influence that we have gained in struggles of the workers. I say "measuring the influence", but it is necessary to state precisely what influence this refers to. It refers to real influence, that is to say the **contact with the masses ready for revolutionary struggle**, which is quite different from the influence that we can gain in the course of municipal or parliamentary elections and in elections for factory councils or municipal bodies. The gaining of influence in these elections gives us the possibility to advance; but it is the conquest of the masses in the real struggle that enables us to measure accurately our influence.

I should like to make a few remarks on the subject of the preparation for August 1st. Considering that we are interested in organising a demonstration enabling us to measure the real influence of our Parties on the basis of maximum effort, I believe that we should have given openly, and publicly, more modest aims for the demonstration, and attempt to go beyond the aims that have been openly stated.

Comrades, in spite of the difficult situation in which our Party has been placed by the reaction, it is working out a plan of activity for August 1st.

Comrades, it must be said that our Party, as well as the whole Italian proletariat pay great attention to the activities of the big Parties in the big countries. The great events of May in Berlin and the agitation in France have had a market effect upon the Italian workers. We trust that the comrades of the big Parties will develop their whole activity and make the greatest efforts in their countries to succeed brilliantly in bringing our Parties before the working masses as the true guiding force of the workers in the struggle against war — the true revolutionary force capable of winning over the majority of the working class.

Comrade PURMAN (Poland):

Without dwelling on all the recent facts and events indicating the furious war preparations of Polish facism, I should like to draw attention only to those facts which should particularly be taken into consideration by our Parties, and by the Comintern as a whole, concerning the war preparations by the fascist government and by the whole of the fascist camp, which have not yet been quite fully realised by our Party and by the Comintern. It is this very stage in the preparations of fascist government and the fascist forces which has for its purpose the mobilisation of the masses for war. To this end the fascist government is organising during this July a **fascist congress of Polish emigrants** from all countries of Europe and America. Essentially this fascist congress has for its aim the consolidation of the prestige and influence of the fascist government, as well as the preparation of the whole of Poland and of the Polish emigrants for a war against the U.S.S.R. under the slogan of national solidarity.

This congress coincides with a special big plan conceived by the fascist government in the shape of the big **Polish Exhibition at Poznan** which is also an attempt to rally all the forces of Polish nationalism around the fascist dictatorship, and which has for its aim to help the fascist government not only in consolidating its influence in Poland proper, but also to prepare and mobilise the large masses to support the fascist regime and dictatorship under fascist slogans. At the same time such circles as the National Democrats have also organised their congress which was held on June 30th, on the occasion of the 10th Anniversary of the Treaty of Versailles, and indulged in nationalist, imperialist demagoguery for the purpose of preparing and mobilising the masses for war against U.S.S.R. At the same time it should be noted that an even more dangerous role in these war preparations is played in our country by the social-democracy, the P.P.S. which carries on an active pro-war campaign. While making opposition gestures in the direction of the fascist regime, the P.P.S. in reality prepares the masses for war under the guidance of the fascist dictatorship, cynically declaring that the foreign policy of facism is its own concern. These furious preparations of Polish facism for war should urge our Party to the most resolute and most active counter-campaign; the 1st August should not appear as something like an isolated campaign, but should rather be the cul-

minating point of the whole anti-war struggle waged by the Party in recent years.

In its anti-war struggle since the 4th Congress of our Party, it has to record some successes and achievements which were the result of our policy of linking up every campaign, every economic and political fight conducted by our Party, directly with the slogans of the fight against war, against the fascist dictatorship as the organ of the possessing classes which are preparing for war. I should like to call attention merely to those campaigns which were conducted by our Party in connection with the **Lodz strike**, under the slogans of the struggle against war and the defence of the U.S.S.R. which proved the most popular slogans among the textile strikers. Or take the case of our **May-Day celebration**. Although it was carried out under conditions of heroic struggle by our Party against the fascist dictatorship, although we were exposed to unparalleled terrorism, although the whole of our active Party membership and even non-Party revolutionary activists were eliminated for a month before the event, the majority of them being in prison long before the 1st May; in spite of all this the Party did celebrate the 1st May as the mass review of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat and the insurgent peasantry. This indicates not only a revolutionary revival and the radicalisation of the masses taking place in Poland, but it also testifies to the great achievements of our Party since the time of our 4th Congress. Another testimony to the successful struggle of our Party against the war danger is given by the fact that the fascist military organisation "**Strelec**", which had over 300,000 members at the time of the VI Congress, has now come down to 150,000 members on its own admission. It means that the fascists themselves admit a drop of 50% in the strength of their military organisation. According to data by our own Party, there was even a greater drop in the membership of that organisation, so that at present it does not exceed 90,000 members. It should be mentioned that in the struggle against the "**Strelec**" our Party has managed either entirely to break up entire branches of the "**Strelec**" or, in a number of industrial localities like Kozenic, and the numerous rural districts, our Party has captured considerable numbers of proletarian and poor peasant elements from the "**Strelec**" organisation.

Turning now to the question of preparations for the 1st August it ought to be said that owing to the general inner Party situation, owing to the factional strife which has been corroding our Party ranks until quite lately, we have failed until quite recently to do adequate work for ensuring the success of this all-important campaign. This should be admitted here quite frankly and clearly. True, our Party has taken in this respect a number of steps, which should be carried out by our organisations until the 1st August. A circular was issued by the C.C. giving precise and lucid suggestions on press activity, etc., etc. A conference of the working youth was held which was attended by 58 delegates from the largest industrial centres, including factories that are of prime importance to war preparations. A Committee was elected by the Conference to take charge of the 1st August campaign.

Besides our general press activity, in which respect priority ought to be given to our C.P. of Western White Russia which issued a number of press publications; besides this press activity of our Party, it ought to be said that the rest of this work consisted only in suggestions and instructions, and we have not yet been able to verify whether they been carried into effect. The slogans and organisational forms outlined by the Party in its circulars and instructions may be summarised as follows: 1. The question of the struggle against war; these questions should be thoroughly thrashed out by our Party nuclei and by the Communist factions. It ought to be said that the Party is still unprepared for this campaign. Moreover, the Party is not yet sufficiently alive to the importance of the International Day against Imperialist War as one of the links in our anti-war campaign. 2. The whole campaign should be centred in the factories and workshops where we should work for the united front from below, as we did in connection with May-Day, electing anti-fascist factory committees for the struggle against war. These committees should elect central local bodies to take charge of the movement throughout the country. 3. The mobilisation of the masses of workers and peasants with the aid of our legal mass parties, and of the trade unions, getting the masses of workers and peasants in these organisations to support the legal anti-war committee in the district. 4. Special

attention should be given to the activity among the women, convening conferences of delegates from working and peasant women. Attention should also be given to the activity and help of the Y. C. L. and of the working youth generally. 5. The International Day against Imperialist War should be linked up with the present campaign of our Party against the fascist congress of Polish emigrants held on July 14, and in which a delegation of Polish workers from the U. S. S. R. was to participate. In connection with this Congress a vast campaign was conducted in the U. S. S. R. on the election of delegates, but the elected delegates were denied admission. It is, therefore, essential to raise now a wide campaign against the nonadmission of Polish delegates from the U. S. S. R., and to expose the fascist and pro-war character of this congress. This campaign against the fascist congress organised by the government should be closely linked up with the campaign of our Party in connection with the International Day against Imperialist War.

Our campaign on the 1st August and its slogans should be co-ordinated with the campaign for the political mass strike and with the preparations for the economic fights which are confronting the proletariat in Poland. On July 30th, the term of the wage-agreement of the metalworkers expires in Warsaw. In Lodz a big fight is imminent in the textile industry. We have already elected a mass committee of action, composed of delegates from all the large textile mills of Lodz. In Upper Silesia and in the Dombrow region, where the agreements will also shortly expire, the Party should do everything necessary for the organisation of the economic strikes while co-ordinating them with the slogans of the International Day against Imperialist War. We should take stock of our May-Day experience in organising this mass demonstration. The May-Day demonstration has shown how important it is to attract the poor and middle peasants to take part in our mass demonstrations. What is particularly important to us, is to increase our activity among the oppressed national minorities. It is essential to ensure to our demonstration on the 1st August the character of international solidarity. The Party should increase its activity in the army, endeavouring to get the soldiers to come out together with the workers and peasants on the 1st August, particularly in those proletarian districts where the troops may be drafted against the workers and peasants. In this connection it is essential to urge fraternisation with the soldiers.

The Party will carry out this campaign under the slogan of the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, against war preparations, against the pacifist phrasemongering of the P. P. S., for the defeat of the fascist government in a war against the U. S. S. R., which would mean the victory of revolution. The struggle against the P. P. S., as the most dangerous enemy engaged in war preparations, should be increased and intensified. I feel sure that the last Plenum of the C. C. of our Party did straighten out our policy in regard to the P. P. S., eliminating the mistakes of some of our comrades in this respect, so that also our campaign against the P. P. S. will make headway. I must say that although our preparations are still inadequate, judging by the information so far received; although we may expect a fresh wave of repression on the part of the fascist government, which may be expected to repeat and exceed the repressive measures applied on May-Day when thousands of our comrades were thrown into prison; nevertheless, in spite of all this, the manifest rise of the revolutionary movement, the increased militancy of the revolutionary struggle under the guidance of our Party, and the general radicalisation of the masses, all this warrants the expectation that the Party will not lag behind the masses and that it will apply the correct tactics and give the correct instructions which have been precisely worked out by the last Plenum of the C. C. We should not only get in touch with the masses as we did on the 1st May, but we should go even further on the 1st August, which should be not only a day of the grand review of the fighting forces of the masses arrayed against war, but also a mighty and imposing action of the proletariat, the peasant masses and the oppressed nationalities, for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. (Applause.)

Comrade SÉMARD (France):

Comrades, I must first of all point out that in our country, struggle against war and anti-militarist work have been carried on steadily for some time. There are, of course, weak points

in this sphere of work, we are probably still making mistakes, but our Party has recorded and is recording every day good results in this sphere of activity. The masses in our country are probably more on the alert now than in other countries. Moreover, the general situation, the accentuated struggle of the proletariat are favourable just now to more energetic demonstrations against imperialist war.

What has our Party done for the preparation of the International Day against Imperialist War — August 1st? Firstly, in regard to the preparation: its agitation started in the course of March and April, during the May-Day preparations, it was continued during the municipal elections, on the occasion of demonstrations such as that of Vincennes — a chauvinist air-men's demonstration, as well as on the occasion of the demonstration in commemoration of the Paris Commune. In the course of all this Party activity and agitation, we raised the question of a one-day strike for August 1st. We pursued our agitation also during many strike movements which took place recently. What was the basis of our agitation? Its basis was the factory: as a result of energetic agitation the united front was established, August 1st committees were formed in all factories and works, and among the peasantry; the mass movement for immediate demands was developed; factory and strike committees were formed wherever we had an opportunity to do so owing to the situation being ripe for this in the factories, which, however, should not prevent us forming now, wherever we can do so, August 1st committees which will be the basis for the eventual formation of factory committees. The same applies to the Workers and Peasants Congresses which are to take place between July 1st and 15th, and which were prepared by August 1st Committees, and industrial conferences organised according to industries. We have included in the Agendas of workers' and peasants' congresses wage demands, struggle against capitalist rationalisation, repression and war preparations, and last not least, workers' demonstrations for the International Day against Imperialist War, leaving it to the various workers' Congresses and to our fractions at these Congresses to decide on the forms of the strike demonstrations for August 1st. The Party has also organised workers' funds, collections in the factories and special funds for propaganda in connection with the International Day against Imperialist War. It has increased its activity in the industries which work for war, and has also developed and systematised its anti-militarist activity.

What was our orientation? To obtain concrete facts concerning war preparations, not to talk about these preparations in general, but to give every-day political, economic and military facts by which our Imperialism is systematically preparing for war; to link up these facts with the struggle for wages and workers' immediate demands, so as to give a political character to our present economic struggles, in order to prepare our International Day against Imperialist War, in order to link up this accentuated struggle of industrial workers with the struggle of the soldiers and reservists, raising at the same time in the factories the question of soldiers' demands. We have organised factory patronage over certain barracks in the Eastern and Paris regions in particular.

Our general political orientation is — a more vigorous struggle against social democracy and its social fascist and social imperialist attitude. We have also been struggling against opportunism which exists in the ranks of the Party and of the Unitarian trade unions, we have carried on a vigorous struggle against under-estimation of the war danger and of the repression which war has in store for the workers. We have also struggled against the fears, the pessimism which existed in the ranks of the Unitarian trade unions and the Party. Fears and pessimism in regard to the possibility of mass demonstrations, especially in the Paris region where the reinforcement of the police had made certain Party members and also many workers afraid of physical resistance to the police forces. It goes without saying that this struggle cannot be carried on without energetic measures against certain elements who impede and oppose us, especially in regard to the August 1st demonstration. There was opposition in the trade unions already at the time of the Vincennes demonstration, when some of our comrades tried to dissuade us from demonstrating right at the air-men's meeting where, as they said, we would only be jostled by the Nationalists, and wanted us to postpone this demonstra-

tion till the Paris Commune demonstration which was to take place in 8 days' time. We fought this under-estimation of the war danger, and although our demonstration at the airmen's meeting was not very imposing, the agitation carried on by us had an echo among the masses, and we were able to organise a few small protests at the airmen's meeting.

In connection with August 1st, we meet with the same opposition. Certain opportunist, wavering or pessimist comrades, assert that the present policy of the Party will not be able to draw on August 1st big masses of workers into the anti-war struggle because of the too political character we are giving to this day. They are opposed to the political question being raised by us in the labour organisations and during labour struggles; some would like the Party to undertake the leadership of this work without the help of the other organisations, in order to be able to blame the Party for any shortcomings; others raise the question: why the Party and not the trade union organisations, why not the organisations which struggle against imperialist war, intending thereby to eliminate direct action and the leading role of the Party in the anti-war struggle at the head of the working class.

Comrades, we have reacted to all these tendencies, and I can say that if we have not already got the best of them, we have at least managed to silence them to a certain extent, and to make them work for the organisation of the International Day against Imperialist War.

What were our slogans? First of all, we wanted a strike, if possible a demonstration strike in all the industries. We issued the slogan of a 24-hour strike, especially in the basic industries, engineering, building, chemical, wood-working, and mining industries, where we have opportunities to draw the workers into energetic anti-war demonstrations. We have been more cautious in the public service organisations, in the transport organisations where the bourgeoisie is trying to deteriorate the revolutionary movement, to separate the workers from us, to separate them from the revolutionary movement by acceding to certain wage rises. In order not to isolate ourselves from the masses, to keep up contact, to continue to draw them towards us, we have considered the advisability of putting a temporary stop to our work, to manifestations on the spot, meetings in the factories themselves, to workers leaving factories before the end of the working day, etc.

In regard to street actions, we have decided on big demonstrations throughout the country, in big industrial centres, so as to prevent the bourgeoisie manoeuvring, concentrating its police forces in Paris. We organised these demonstrations on the factory basis.

As to our agitational work, we have, of course, utilised our whole Press, especially factory newspapers, to which we have given an almost exclusive anti-war orientation. We are also utilising the trade union press which plays rather an important role in our country, and has a circulation of 500,000. Leaflets, posters, pamphlets written in a popular style, etc., form also part of our agitation.

Our fractions are in charge of the work in the mass organisations — Red trade unions, the Republican ex-soldiers association, the co-operatives, the householders' societies, the Friends of the U. S. S. R., the W. I. R., the I. R. A., the Women's anti-war sections, etc. In all these organisations our fractions have seen that their special work be linked up with their special demands. For instance, in regard to the Householders' Societies, where a mass movement exists against higher rent, we have instructed the fraction of the Federated societies to link up the question of the International Day against Imperialist War with protests against war in general. At the Workers' Congresses to be held that fortnight, the various organisations which struggle side by side with the Party, will also be represented. We will go on organising August 1st Committees which we will endeavour to convert into factory committees after the August 1st demonstration.

We have also raised the question of the reinforcement of our Party, and we are contemplating a recruiting campaign under the slogan "August 1st levies" for which we have issued special stamps numbered from 1 to 10,000, which will enable us to ascertain when the workers have joined our Party, that

is say, at the time of accentuated struggle against the bourgeoisie. This will enable us to strengthen our Party numerically while we are eliminating opportunist elements; this strengthens our Party for the struggle which will have to be continued after August 1st. We look upon August 1st as the starting point of a more energetic struggle against French capitalism whose position has become more serious, and of a more direct and vigorous struggle against imperialist War. The International Day against Imperialist War will certainly be a means of verifying our political influence more effectively than during the municipal elections, and of ascertaining to what extent we have been able to draw the masses into direct action compared with the preceding demonstrations; May-Day, Vicennes and Paris Commune. We will be able to gauge the growth of proletarian influence and resistance in the struggle, as well as the standard of the fighting capacity of our rank and file.

Comrades, what are the first visible results? Firstly, a development of the struggle in the last months, better leadership in the struggles by the Party and revolutionary trade union organisations, a more effective mass movement also from the political standpoint. In Limoges, for instance, we witnessed a vigorous reaction against the police forces and the Light-guards. It should be pointed out that our masses and the soldiers understand very well the meaning of this struggle against repression. There was a typical case in Limoges where the working class crowd, including the young workers, fought the Light-guards and not the soldiers. If we have not yet overcome all our deviations and legalism which still exists, if we have not yet got the best of the formidable tradition which exists especially in regard to the demonstration at the Wall of the Communards, we have in spite of the police, brought out the mass of the workers into the open to demonstrate in the streets. Out of four intended demonstrations, three were a success.

There were conscripts' and soldiers, demonstrations. There were several cases when conscripts demonstrated in the medical examination boards with red banners. We had fifty-seven demonstrations in the course of two and a half months; twenty seven reservists' and thirty regulars' demonstrations. We have been told that in Lille (Northern region) 2,000 reservists demonstrated at the railway station cheering our Party. In Paris, in the Reuilly barrack, 500 soldiers demonstrated for their soldiers' demands. We have witnessed a demonstration of the will to fight during the navvies strike in the Paris district, when our comrades held their own against the police at all the Paris posts. The first results are the product of the steady agitation of the Party against imperialist war, for every day demands, and against repression pursued in connection with the preparation of the International Day against Imperialist War.

This allows us to prognosticate, but not to prophesy. Evidently, the 24 hours strike cannot be made the general slogan. Our aims are more modest, and in keeping with our forces. We are taking into account the present counteroffensive of the workers against the employers' offensive, in a word, we are estimating correctly the situation in France, the forces of our Party and the forces of the working class.

We think that we shall have on August 1st, as big a strike as on May-Day, in the building, wood-working and engineering industries. On May-Day, the strike in the Paris district according to industries was: 80% for the engineering, 90 to 100% for the wood-working and building, and 40% for the chemical industry, and we think that the strike in the mining industry will be of a similar extent.

We are bound to have more energetic demonstrations in the public services, in the transport, because we were not able to do much in these services for May-Day. It is not at all out of the question that good demonstrations will take place on the railways, especially in the shops.

A more categorical reaction against repression is bound to take place, especially in the provinces.

Comrades, this will place the workers' struggle in France on a higher and more revolutionary plane. Our Party will appear before the mass of the workers as the leader and guide of their struggle.

Comrade GOTTWALD (Czechoslovakia):

The carrying out of the International Day against Imperialist War encounters particular difficulties in Czechoslovakia, despite the fact that our Party is numerically strong, constituting in this respect a mass Party, and despite the fact that a number of mass organisations are under our influence. The special difficulties we encounter in the preparation for August 1st are both of general political and inner-Party character, consisting, first, in the fact that about one year ago we tried a similar action and have sustained a defeat. This inner-Party crisis is still having its effect.

Nevertheless, it never occurred to anyone in the C. C. to refrain from organising the International Day against Imperialist War. The information received here is not true, it is false. As far as I learn, it was merely a case of an unguarded utterance by a member of the Polit. Bureau in the C. C. of the Youth, according to which the C. C. of the Party would not organise the Anti-War Day because of the general weakness of the Party. As against this, it ought to be stated that there is a fairly big mood of passivity, but the C. C. has not combated this passive mood energetically enough. For this reason, the misgivings are justified, if not in the form in which they were expressed.

In connection with August 1st, in view of the preparations in Czechoslovakia for war against the Soviet Union, in view of the general war preparations in Czechoslovakia, it would be necessary to point out and bring home to the workers the actual gravity of the danger. Secondly, we take it to be our task to advocate and popularise our forms and methods of anti-war activity, which means its transformation into civil war, revolutionary defeatism, the defeat of our own bourgeoisie, desertion to the side of the Red Army, and so on. Thirdly, the spreading of sympathies for the Soviet Union among the masses of the workers, by informing them about the progress of socialist construction. Fourthly, the fight against war as an everyday struggle of the Party and the working masses, so as to lend to this fight the broad background of the united front of workers and peasants. Fifthly and finally, the task of increasing the activities in the bourgeois army, increasing our activity and influence in the war industry, on transport, and in the big industries.

On the question of linking up the political slogans of action with the actual economic problems, there has been certain vacillation in our Party, a certain tendency towards economism, and underestimation of the possibility to mobilise the masses of the workers upon the ground of purely political anti-war slogans. At any rate, we have set ourselves the task of fostering minor local movements and extending them into wider movements, so that a general political action might take place on August 1st.

It is our endeavour to establish the organisational foundation of the action upon the broad basis of the united front. This is the task which we have set to ourselves. It is our aim to form committees of action in the factories and in the localities, while taking advantage of our position in the factory committees to activate the factory workers. We are trying to utilise for this action the mass organisations, such as trade unions, co-operatives, tenants associations, invalid societies, sport organisations, etc. We are planning to organise special committees and conferences of working women and youth. Finally, we are endeavouring to form self-defence organisations in the factories, upon an industrial basis, upon a mass basis, for the protection of the demonstrations. There was also certain vacillation in our Party on the question of the organisation of Committees of Action for the August 1st preparations. Some of our leading comrades believed that in most of the factories it was not possible to come out directly with the slogan of organising an anti-war committee, that it was expedient to start with more modest tasks, e. g. the organisation of committees against high rents, for better insurance for mine-workers, and so forth. We solved the question in the sense that it was necessary to aim at the formation of anti-war committees from the outset. Nevertheless, in those factories where the mobilisation of the workers was not sufficiently advanced, other questions should be given prominence for the time being, such as were likely to prove a mobilising force in the respective factories. It should be our endeavour to broaden the political basis of the Committees of

Action, so as to transform them into the respective anti-war committees.

The weakest point of our action consists in that we have not yet sufficiently entrenched ourselves in the big industries, in the war industries, and on the transport.

In connection with the preparations for August 1st, we should devote our whole attention to the building of new organisations and factory nuclei, and we hope that we shall succeed in utilising the action to widen and strengthen the basis of our Party in the factories.

The general preparation for the action consists in that we are endeavouring to foster minor local movements on various issues, to develop and increase them; it is our endeavour, in the course of preparation for minor demonstrations, to organise local meetings, factory gatherings, open air meetings at factory gates, and conferences of factory delegates, in order to give a general character to such movements. In this activity there have been mistakes and defects, but also some successes. We are now making use of the strikes to form such committees, so as to enlighten the workers on the connection existing between their economic distress and the danger of war. Thus, we made use of the invalid congress in Prague in this direction. We are now utilising the movement which has started in the question of house tenants. We organise manifestations, demonstrations, committees of action in the factories and in the localities, linking them up with the fight against the imperialist war. We do the same thing in connection with the question of insurance for mine workers. We have also organised a demonstration in connection with the visit of the Egyptian king in Prague, which was combined with a press campaign and questions in Parliament. We are utilising the preparations for the International Co-operative Congress, and the International Co-operative Alliance itself, for our 1st August campaign. It is our endeavour to develop other movements tending in this direction. In connection with the industrial catastrophe in Bratislava a few days ago in which 18 working women were killed, we are trying to link up the question of rationalisation, speeding up, and fascism in the factory with the question of the war danger, of the fascisation of Czechoslovakia. We are organising demonstrations to which we are trying to lend a broad basis. We have also made use of the Parliamentary tribune to further our 1st August preparations by introducing questions, chiefly on armaments and war preparations, which are disseminated by our press as propaganda material. Furthermore, we are trying to bring up in the communal councils the question of the Anti-war Day and the fight against imperialist war. In short, we are endeavouring to avoid a repetition of our mistake last year, when we carried on a general agitation for weeks in favour of the Red Day without any mass actions. We are now trying to organise systematically a wide mass action based upon various causes, and developing into a higher political issue.

As to the form of action on August 1st. We have not given out a general slogan for a 24 hours' strike, but we have issued instructions to the effect that this was to be the aim of our Party branches everywhere. We have said that the aim should be to develop the action into an eventual 24 hour protest strike. In connection with the action we shall advocate a 1-hour, or 12-hour, or 24-hour protest strike in conformity with local circumstances. As a general slogan to be raised and carried out everywhere, is our slogan of demonstrating, in defiance of prohibition by the authorities. We are also endeavouring to get in touch with the country-people, so that demonstrations and mass meetings should be organised in country districts on August 1st. We have also tried to extend the 1st August campaign to the army.

The bourgeoisie has been conducting for weeks a furious campaign against the 1st August demonstration by means of wholesale house searches, arrests, etc. It should be noted that the majority, and in some localities of Czechoslovakia, and at certain times nearly the whole of the active Party apparatus are constantly in prison. There is repeated prohibition of demonstrations and mass meetings, coupled with the suspension of newspapers. We are now in Czechoslovakia on the eve of the almost total suppression of the daily press of our Party. Neither do the reformists, the renegades and the Liquidators rest. For weeks they have been showering abuse upon the 1st August action. Nevertheless, we are convinced that we must carry out

the demonstration in spite of the prohibition, and in this direction we are working.

We are quite aware that we have to pay our bill to the Comintern. (Piatnitsky: "Not to the Comintern, but to the workers of Czechoslovakia to begin with".) Yes, also to the workers of Czechoslovakia. We know not whether we shall be able to settle our bill on August 1st. We can make no binding pledge in this respect, because the discrepancy is still great between the objective tasks which confront us and the subjective abilities of our Party. We are doing out utmost to close these scissors. The general radicalisation of the workers, which is also going on in Czechoslovakia, will facilitate the elimination of the discrepancy between the Party's tasks and abilities. We can only say that we have undertaken everything to settle this bill on August 1st. At all events we are going to demonstrate on August 1st against war, and for the Soviet Union. Under no circumstances are we going to repeat the Red Day of 1928.

Comrade HANSEN (Norway):

The debates concerning the preparation for International Day Against Imperialist War show that so far the preparations in a number of countries are very poor and that some of the Parties did not believe in the possibility of fulfilling this task. They did not believe in the possibility of enforcing the slogan of mass strikes and mass demonstrations. One can hear among some of the delegates at the Plenum the opinion that we are not as yet in a position to mobilise the broad masses. On the other hand, the speeches of the French and German comrades have shown that not only extensive political and ideological but also organisational preparatory work has been done which really guarantees that there will be extensive mass action on August 1st.

Comrade Gottwald spoke of the discrepancy between the political necessity and objective possibilities on the one hand and the political and organisational leading ability of the Communist Parties on the other. This discrepancy is quite general in our Parties. This is quite clear for instance if we study the various strike movements. Of course we have made much progress and we are leading big mass struggles. But there are still very many instances in which the Parties are caught unawares by spontaneous strikes and in which we have tried to gain leadership only after their spontaneous outbreak. In some countries we had instances of an under-estimation of the discontent and ferment of the workers owing to the consequences of capitalist rationalisation, as outlined by Comrade Kuusinen. These questions are very important, especially in connection with the mass strikes of August 1st. Without linking up the strike slogan with the struggle against capitalist rationalisation, August 1st cannot be a great success.

We must emphasise the question of political mass strikes on August 1st, because the issuance of the strike slogan for International Day Against Imperialist War is of utmost importance for the general development of political mass strikes and because our position on mass strike movements forces also the small Parties to concentrate on factory work and to recognise their own organisational deficiencies. Further, this must be done also because the importance of the strike in the struggle against imperialist war plays a big part in general as a revolutionary method. I believe that in connection with the question of mass strikes on International Day Against Imperialist War, there is to be observed in some Parties an under-estimation of the objective possibilities which is linked up with the under-estimation of the acuteness of the class antagonisms and the growing revolt of the working class against the methods of capitalist rationalisation in the factories. We must warn the Parties against this under-estimation.

I should like to emphasise also that in connection with the carrying out of the mass strike slogan on International Day Against Imperialist War we can clearly see our organisational defects. With very few exception all spoke of our shortcomings in the work of the factory nuclei. On the other hand, the example of France and Germany shows that this preparatory work can be done organisationally also in the factories. The methods employed by the French and German Parties were those of organisation of committees of action in the factories and of concentration of the Parties' attention on the most important strategical

points, the large factories. This should serve as a lesson also for the other Parties.

We have in the various fundamental decisions re International Day Against Imperialist War widely stressed that the centre of gravity must be shifted to the munition works, particularly to the chemical industry. But what is the situation? We have during the past year, since the VI. Congress, witnessed great economic struggles in various industries, but only a slight movement among the chemical workers. The lessons of the Berlin May Day struggle have shown that the workers of the important industries, for instance the metal industry, were unable to react to an immediate slogan of action because they experienced no economic struggles in the past. These lessons must be remembered when speaking of the special importance of organising political mass strikes in the chemical and ammunition industries. I believe that it is no accident that the initiator of Mondism is the king of the chemical industry of Great Britain. I believe, that it must be quite clear to us that the bourgeoisie does its utmost in order to have peace and security precisely in the chemical industry. That is why we must direct our attention chiefly to this industry. It is obvious that we can speak of rationalisation not only in the textile industry but also in the chemical industry, and that it is possible to link up our political struggles, the struggle against military preparation, with the organisation of the struggle against the terrible methods of exploitation as a result of rationalisation in the chemical industries, as a basis for our struggle. On this question I can take the example of the fighting chemical workers of Norway. We witness in Norway at the present time a series of spontaneous strikes in the chemical industry. These spontaneous strikes are a result of labour discontent with the speed-up system, with the system of rationalisation, the introduction of American methods, with the object of making higher profits. These movements show that there is the possibility also in the chemical industry to fight in connection with rationalisation, an industry the struggles in which must be linked up with the struggle against imperialist war.

A few words on the question of linking up strikes with street demonstrations. We are here confronted with the question as to whether we should centralise and generalise the August 1st strikes and link them up with the organisation of street demonstrations, i. e. the question of taking the workers directly from the factories to the street demonstrations. When it is said here that in each factory, in each locality and in each case it is necessary to establish when the strike can be declared, one begins to doubt as to whether we shall be in this manner in a position to concentrate the masses and to organise big demonstrations, to centralise the mass movement so as to make it successful. Naturally, this is connected with a whole series of technical questions with regard to the organisation of demonstrations. It is said that in some cases it would be better to have some decentralisation of the demonstrations in marching against the police. But how can we organise strong mass demonstrations without the greatest concentration of our forces in the factories and a certain generalisation of the strike slogan.

As to the preparations for International Day Against Imperialist War in the various Scandinavian countries and particularly Norway, I wish to observe that here too the main short-comings and defects are to be observed in the organisational preparation in the factories, that steps were taken too late for the organisation of committees of action in the factories, that too little emphasis has been laid on the calling of factory delegate conferences, etc. We are now about to hold such conferences in the most important centres of the chemical industry in which there is an economic struggle going on.

A few more words concerning the Scandinavian-Baltic Anti-War Conference of July 21st. I believe that all comrades clearly realise that the Scandinavian-Baltic frontier is of quite considerable importance in the imperialist war preparations against the Soviet Union. The Swedish bourgeoisie takes very active part in financing the war preparations of the Baltic States. It is no accident that the King of Sweden is now visiting the Baltic countries and that a leader of the Estonian Social Democrats has cordially received him escorted by cavalry. If one sees the collaboration of the Scandinavian and Baltic States and the efforts to weld together all Baltic and Scandinavian forces for a broad attack on the Soviet Union, and parallel with this

the collaboration of the Amsterdam International, it is quite clear that all forces of our Parties and the revolutionary trade union opposition must unconditionally be co-ordinated for the mobilisation of the working masses.

The conference of July 21st, has three objects in view: 1. To initiate and give the signal for the organisation of strikes and demonstrations in the respective countries so as to give an impetus to the preparations for International Day Against Imperialist War and to try to set up organs for the further co-operation of the Scandinavian and Baltic Parties in their struggle against imperialist war in the respective countries. 2. To accentuate the struggle against the splitting policy of the reformists in the unions, in Sweden as well as in Finland and in the other Baltic States. 3. To mobilise the workers for a struggle against terrorism in the Baltic countries.

The conference is called by the Communist Parties, but it is so organised that there will be mass participation of delegates of the important factories, trade union branches and the trade unions. The Finnish comrades are doing their best in order to have strong participation of the Finnish revolutionary workers at the conference.

The Norwegian Party is organising a broad workers' congress for August 23—25 in connection with International Day Against Imperialist War in order to bring together the Left Wing movement. I believe that the idea expressed in the resolution concerning the organisation of national congresses is correct and that it will be necessary to organise and hold such congresses in several countries after August 1st. I believe that

it would be expedient to call an International Anti-War Congress for Nov. 7. It seems to me that an attempt should be made to hold that congress in Great Britain, in the country where most frantic preparations are made for war against the Soviet Union. That would undoubtedly be a means of welding together our forces in the struggle against war on an international scale.

It was spoken here of discretion. It is of course important to give a sober estimate of things, it is important not to try to make oneself believe that action of a revolutionary character is possible when the forces for doing so are not available. I believe however, that in this campaign excessive "sobornes" is displayed and our forces and possibilities are in some cases under-rated. We must make use of all possibilities to mobilise the masses in order to make International Day Against Imperialist War a day of real mass demonstrations against imperialist war. We need no artificial "optimism".

The mass movement is growing and will continue to do so. Our forces will also grow. But we need not adopt a half fatalist attitude. The self-confidence of the members of our Parties, especially the small Parties, must be strengthened. The Parties must not lag behind the movement of the masses as has been the case in some instances. The small Parties, too, must take the course of actual mass mobilisation. The August 1st events will reveal our ability to solve the tasks of the epoch of growing revolutionary upheaval and strengthen the subjective conditions for the carrying out of the great struggles for the winning over the majority of the working class for the proletarian revolution.

Tenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I.

Fourth Session.

Comrade YUZEFOVITCH (R. I. L. U.):

The reformists are a direct and — what is most important — a fully conscious instrument of the imperialist policy of the bourgeoisie. Whatever they do, wherever they speak, the reformist leaders of the trade union movement are reproducing like a gramophone the moods and interests of their bourgeoisie. One has only to recall the story of the breaking up of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee. This happened after the British conservative government had severed relations with the U. S. S. R. Then, there is also the Kellogg Pact and the way the reformists reacted to it. While the American Federation of Labour, which is a tool of American imperialism, looked upon this Pact as the expression of State wisdom, the Amsterdamers, being a tool of Anglo-French imperialism, were not very enthusiastic and did not take up a very benevolent attitude to this Pact. I could give many examples showing vividly how reformism is becoming more and more part and parcel of the bourgeois State, how it is carrying out the plans of the imperialists, how it is participating in the preparation of another imperialist war. In the various countries reformists no longer only vote military credits and petition the League of Nations re further armaments for the armies and navies, in Germany they themselves construct armoured cruisers for the conduct of future wars, they are busily preparing another imperialist war by participating in the preparation of an attack on the U. S. S. R.

They are endeavouring to disarm the working class ideologically and organisationally, to make it believe that the U. S. S. R. is the only obstacle to peace; they are endeavouring to surround the U. S. S. R. with hatred and hostility, to isolate the U. S. S. R. proletariat from the other detachments of the world proletariat. The reformists in the various countries are endeavouring to deceive the workers by the assurance that the construction of armoured cruisers and the development of the war industry are dictated mainly by the desire to alleviate unemployment. This was the explanation of the MacDonald Government in 1924 for the construction of five cruisers, this is the explanation of the leaders of the metal workers' international for the growth of that branch of the metal industry

which is working for war purposes. But every worker can easily convince himself of the inconsistency of all these arguments, by comparing the dynamic of the growth of armaments with the dynamic of the growth of unemployment. Armaments are growing rapidly, but unemployment, far from decreasing, is growing continually. Twelve to thirteen million workers are unemployed in the chief capitalist countries, but the Social Democrats and the reformist trade union bureaucrats who look for and find means for the construction of armoured cruisers, for new feverish armaments, do not shrink from lowering the unemployment benefit. All this must be exposed and explained by us to the masses on August 1st.

The trade union bureaucrats are trying more and more to inspire the working class with confidence in the League of Nations which they represent as the guardian and instrument of peace. In his book "disarmament", Jouhaux, a prominent member of the Amsterdam International and leader of the Confederation of Labour in France, writes:

"The existence of the League of Nations alone constitutes a programme which includes immeasurable chances of peace. If it had existed in 1914, would Germany and Austro-Hungary have begun war?"

The reformists are all the more dangerous because they act as an agency of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class. Therefore, giving an impetus to our struggle against the reformists, the Left Social Democrats and the Right liquidators and their positions is, in regard to the war danger, one of the best methods and means of struggle against the imperialist plans and the attack on the Soviet Union which the imperialists are preparing.

On August 1st, we must demonstrate very clearly our militant programme in connection with the war danger. The mass of the workers must be made to realise that the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union movement alone are fighting organisations and at the same time an organising force capable of leading the proletariat to struggle and victory, to struggle against another world conflagration. It is essential to mobilise all revolutionary trade unions and

the opposition in the reformist unions for the carrying out of August 1st. All forces and cadres must be prepared and mobilised for this purpose, every member of the revolutionary trade union opposition and of revolutionary trade unions must be an active propagandist and organiser for the preparation and carrying through of the International Red Day.

Unfortunately, we must admit that not the whole revolutionary trade union movement has realised the importance of the impending campaign against imperialist war and attack on the U. S. S. R. — August 1st. We cannot rest content with the present rate of the preparation for the International Day Against Imperialist War.

The R. I. L. U. has repeatedly placed before its sections the question of struggle against the war danger. But unfortunately, we are unable to say that they are all fully prepared, that they have paid sufficient attention to this. The local sections of the R. I. L. U., as well as the Parties, are not easily set going. Underestimation of the war danger is still prevalent in the revolutionary trade union movement and in the ranks of the Parties. It is this underestimation which is the cause of a certain amount of inertia on the part of the parties, as well as on the part of the revolutionary trade union movement in regard to struggle against another imperialist war and against the preparation of an attack on the U. S. S. R.

The R. I. L. U. has done everything for the preparation of the International Day Against Imperialist War on August 1st. Instructions were sent to the whole trade union press in connection with the preparations for this Day: directions were given specially to factory newspapers and also to worker correspondents and the trade union press. All international committees of action are also working energetically. Harbour bureaux and international clubs have also been drawn into this work, and they have already begun to carry out the instructions of the R. I. L. U. A special number of the Red International of Labour Unions has been issued under the title "The International Labour Movement". Similar instructions have been sent to our local organisations, namely, that they should also issue special numbers of their press organs. This question was raised at our initiative at a number of congresses and conferences, including the A. U. C. T. U. which has already made a beginning with this campaign.

It should be pointed out that the greatest energy in regard to preparations for the International Day Against Imperialist War is displayed by the Unitary Confederation of Labour in France and by a number of other organisations. But I reiterate, that in a whole series of other countries the revolutionary trade union movement does not yet give evidence of the required energy and initiative, it does not yet realise the necessity of serious attention to this exceptionally important international political campaign.

And yet the time at our disposal is very short. We must make the best possible use of it for agitational and organisational work in connection with the International Red Day.

The factories and workshops must be of course the basis of this work. Here it is essential to link up in the entire agitational and organisational work the general political tasks of the International Day with current everyday facts connected with war preparations, as well as with the immediate demands of the mass of the workers, as for instance, struggle against capitalist rationalisation, for higher wages, struggle against reformists, industrial peace, economic democracy, compulsory arbitration, etc. The experience of individual countries with special committees for the carrying through of this day must be utilised to the utmost. In the interest of a united front from below on this question which is agitating the workers, it is essential to promote to the committees not only Communists but also the best, most militant and advanced social democratic, christian democratic and non-party workers, without, however, weakening our severe and relentless criticism of reformism.

The success of this campaign will also greatly depend on our ability to draw into the August 1st demonstrations **unorganised workers, women, the youth and the unemployed.**

Finally, we must draw into the demonstrations as many **teachers** as possible, as well as **agricultural labourers** from whose ranks the cadres of future armies will be drawn. We must first and foremost throw all our strength and forces

into the preparation of the International Red Day in the **engineering, chemical, mining industries and in the transport service.** Our attention must be chiefly concentrated here.

The toiling masses know about the war preparations of the imperialists for attack on the U. S. S. R., but they know very little about the feverish activity of the general staffs which are preparing to suppress any insurrections or big revolutionary mass demonstrations of the proletariat. This must be brought to the notice of the masses, especially now when the reformists are proclaiming everywhere industrial peace, "economic democracy", the peace efforts of the League of Nations, etc. You remember of course the notorious **Z. Plan** drawn up by the **French General Staff.** The General Staffs are elaborating similar plans in the other countries. Considerable attention is paid to street fighting and suppression of workers militant demonstrations by Lieutenant Colonel **Stefan Rovetsky** of the **Polish General Staff** in his book "Street Fighting" which has made such a stir. Rovetsky gives full instructions how to carry on the struggle against the working class in its mass actions.

In regard to gathering information, Rovetsky says:

"When questioning the population one must of course be very cautious. First of all, one must ascertain the origin, the milieu and the social and political views of the person who is being questioned. The experience of the recent civil war has shown that the first people to be questioned should be doctors, the clergy, teachers, merchants, post and telegraph and civil servants in general."

He also tells how the military forces must behave in the streets when suppressing workers militant demonstrations. He says:

"On no account must one use blank cartridges or shoot in the air. This only makes the crowds more daring... It is only by utmost determination and relentlessness that it is possible to cope with the situation and to re-establish the former state of affairs." He goes on to say: "It has repeatedly happened that the crowd puts forward women and children, marching behind them against the troops, in order to encircle, overpower and disarm them. In such cases one must stop the advance of the foremost ranks of the crowd by using the butt-ends of rifles and swords, while several hand grenades should be thrown into the ranks at the back where the leaders are. As an alternative to hand grenades several shots can be fired."

He also recommends maximum utilisation of technical means against the working class — artillery, armoured cars, aeroplanes, chemical means, etc.

One is led to believe that **Zörgibel**, of Berlin fame, was guided in the suppression of the Berlin May-Day demonstrations by a special plan elaborated on this subject by German military circles.

Comrades, I have given you all these quotations to emphasise the fact that the class enemy is preparing energetically for the struggle, that he is making a careful study of the tactic and strategy of the struggle for the street, in order to show you how he does it, and in order that we should take all this into account. August 1st is to be the test of the connection between the Communist Parties, the revolutionary trade union movement and the masses. It must demonstrate our ability and capacity of fetching into the streets wide sections of workers under our banners, it must become a serious test of the fighting capacity of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union movement. There is every reason to believe that given a wide and serious mobilisation of the masses, the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union movement, August 1st can be converted into an impressive international manifestation of the strength of the working class and its readiness to demonstrate against another imperialist war and against an attack on the first Workers' State of the world — the U. S. S. R.

Comrade WILSON:

The growing intensity of the struggle within the imperialist countries during the third period of post war capitalism, the ever-increasing tempo of rationalisation in capitalist countries,

the developing inner contradictions of capitalism, reducing as they have the purchasing power of the workers in the "mother" countries and restricting as they have, the home markets, have as a result not only materially reduced the surplus profits of the capitalists and sharpened the class struggle, but have also intensified the exploitation of the colonial peoples and have worsened their already desperate position.

The intensification of the policy of exploitation and suppression of the colonial peoples becomes the order of the day for the Imperialist powers. The struggle of these international robbers for an ever larger share of the world markets, must inevitably mean the still further enslavement of the colonial peoples and must eventually culminate in new and more bloody wars for the redivision of the colonies.

In India today the iron heel of British Imperialism is sinking deeper and deeper into the quivering flesh of the exploited masses. The Indian bourgeoisie, fearful of the rising militancy of the Indian masses, is turning appealingly towards the English bourgeoisie, and deserting even their considerably softened policy of demand for National Independence.

In Africa the imperialists in their respective spheres of influence, are daily grinding out the last ounce of strength of the native peoples in their mad effort to secure greater and more surplus profits.

The reformist heroes of the II. International as always, are hastening to the aid of the English and South African bourgeoisie, to the aid of imperialism. They have sent their agent Ballinger, to South Africa to draw the masses away from the revolutionary stream and into the ranks of the Reformist trade unions.

In Latin America the "Eagle of the North" is sinking its talons deeper and deeper into the flesh of the toiling masses. Desperately battling with British Imperialism for domination of these markets, American Imperialism is setting up its puppet dictators, who will more ruthlessly exploit the workers and peasants, in order to gain the favour of the American Imperialists, and to acquire for themselves a larger share in the surplus profits as payment for their vile treachery.

In China the millions and millions of desperately exploited proletarians are now facing a band of war lords who have sold themselves to the English and American imperialists, and are determined to crush out every evidence of militancy in the Chinese workers.

But on every hand we note the growing resistance and the rebellion of the native masses. The heroic fight of the Indian workers of Bombay against continued and increasing exploitation. The insurrection of the masses of French Equatorial Africa. The rising of the workers on the banana plantations of Colombia; the struggle of the masses carrying forward the Chinese revolution are all signs of the growing power and resistance of the revolutionary workers, which keeps pace stride by stride with the march forward of the revolutionary workers of Western Europe.

In America, despite the efforts of the Black Reformists to prevent it, the Negroes are becoming more militant in their fight against racial discrimination and oppression and are joining forces in the economic and political struggles of the White workers which struggles are in truth the source of their own exploitation. The growing class-consciousness of the mass of Negroes of America is one of the results of the rationalisation policy of the American imperialists.

In the last war millions of Negroes were drawn into the struggle of the Imperialists to perpetuate their own enslavement. In Africa, Black troops fought against Black troops in order to bring power to the French and British imperialists, and to transfer the fruits of their slaving from the hands of the German bourgeoisie to the hands of the equally rapacious French and British overlords.

The American Negroes fighting for democracy, found after the war, a rope and the flames of lynching awaiting them.

Comrades, the theses of the heroes of the II. International drawn up at their last Congress in August of last year condemns the colonial peoples of Asia and South Africa and even the

Negroes of America to perpetual enslavement. Today in South Africa, the Hertzog Government seeks to deprive the black masses of their last iota of political rights. Internationally the position of the colonial people is becoming worse.

August the 1st cannot be, for these masses, a day of demonstration only; for them, and for the black mass of America, August 1st must be the date when they serve notice on the imperialists and their bloody agents, the native bourgeoisie and reformists, that the twilight of their exploitation and suppression has arrived. It must be the day for announcing the unity in fact, and not in word, of the toiling masses of the "home" countries and the natives of the colonies. Only by this unity in deeds, and not in words, — this unity demonstrated by concerted action — can the workers of the world find freedom. On August 1st we must breathe the breath of life into the resolutions of the II. Congress of the Communist International. What then, in view of this, becomes the tasks of the sections of the International? This message of the meaning of August 1st must be brought home to the masses of the colonies. The English, French, Belgian and American Sections of the C. I. must strengthen their lines of communication with the colonial peoples. Today these lines are far too weak.

Comrades, our Parties must put into practice the colonial programmes they have formulated. A relentless campaign must be carried on against the white chauvinism of the workers in the metropolitan countries. The theories of the "scientific" agents of the capitalists regarding the inherent superiority and inferiority of nations must be relentlessly exposed. The workers of the metropolitan areas must be shown that there are no superior nations, that there are no inferior nations. That in the process of development some of the nations have made greater progress than others, but that the colonial peoples bear no marks of inherent inferiority.

This is one of the tasks of our Communist Parties. But the doubt in the minds of the native peoples of our sincerity can only be broken down if we go over to the carrying through of our colonial programmes, regardless of the costs. We must not hesitate in the face of objective difficulties to carry into effect the programmes we have formulated regarding the colonial peoples. Our programmes, and particularly our programme regarding the native people of Africa, have been for the greater part programmes on paper, and not programmes carried into life and into action. We must turn our attention on August 1st to the task of making it a commencement day for carrying into life this programme of ours regarding the colonial peoples and the linking up of the colonial liberation movement with the revolutionary movement of the peoples in the metropolitan areas.

We must launch the slogan of self-determination for the Africans and for the blacks of the Southern States of America.

The example of the practice of the Leninist Party of the Soviet Union must be our guide. Comrades, of course there is a difference here. The nationalist programme of our comrades of the Soviet Union could be carried into life because our comrades of the Soviet Union had taken power into their hands. But nevertheless, before the taking of power into their hands, our Comrades of Russia had not only shown in theses and resolutions but also in practice their attitude towards the nationalist question and their attitude towards the colonial peoples. The co-operation of all nationalities and all races for the accomplishment of the building of socialism for all men must supply the driving force that is necessary to carry into life our programmes regarding the colonial peoples. We must seek to eliminate in so far as is now possible within the capitalist countries the differences caused by race and colour which hamper the solidification of the international proletariat.

Comrades, the colonial peoples are watching us with an element of doubt in their eyes. The colonial peoples are asking themselves whether or not we are going to carry into effect these programmes that we have mapped out regarding the liberation of the colonies. We must prove to them that this is our aim and object.

Comrades, our cry on August 1st, must everywhere be, forward to the alliance of the toiling masses of the colonial peoples, with the enslaved workers and peasants of the metropolitan countries and with struggles of the free workers and peasants of the Soviet Union. An end to imperialist wars! Long live the glorious August 1st!

Comrade LOVERA (Y. C. L.):

Comrades, the Day of August 1st Against Imperialist War is of great significance for the working youth in the towns and villages, in view of the fundamental role which it plays in the preparation for war and during imperialist war itself.

On this day and throughout the preparation, a task of primary importance for our Communist Party must be to draw the working youth into the struggle for continuous and systematic action against imperialist war.

If we examine the methods employed by the bourgeoisie in the development of technical progress and the introduction of rationalisation, we see a growing increase in the number of young workers employed in production and consequently in the number of workers involved in the class struggle. The imminence of war and the preparation for war give rise to a bitter struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for the conquest of the youth, particularly the new elements of proletarian youth which are entering into the process of production. If, on the one hand, the working youth is becoming more radical and playing a more and more important role in the present struggles of the working class — as we have seen in the Lodz strike, the strikes in Germany, particularly the lock-out in the Ruhr, and in all the class conflicts in France, we find, on the other hand, that the bourgeoisie is taking advantage of the fact that these new elements have not had the experience of the last imperialist war and that they have not had the experience of the revolutionary conflicts which took place at the close of the war — we find the bourgeoisie taking advantage of the fact that the young workers have entered the process of production during the time of stabilisation. Thus, the bourgeoisie is attempting to win over the youth and draw it into bourgeois organisations of all kinds.

We have witnessed in recent times in Lodz the activity of the bourgeoisie to militarise the youth. We must realise that the organisations of military preparation, sports, gymnastics, cultural groups, entertainments, etc. are gaining strength each year parallel with the tendency of the bourgeoisie to get complete monopoly of the organisation of the youth and to destroy its proletarian organisations. We also see that the bourgeoisie is changing its organisations according to the new conditions and for its war aims. The bourgeois organisations of military preparation, sports, schools, etc. are now being openly used by the bourgeoisie to prepare the youth for war, under the control of the State. In France, for example, during the last few months, an Under-Secretariat of Sports has been established. Anyone can easily understand that this Under-Secretariat is a direct method of French imperialism for controlling and directing the preparation of the youth for war, particularly the two million young members of bourgeois sport organisations.

This strengthening of the bourgeois organisations and their transformation are being carried out by the use of measures adapted to the demands and to the mentality of the youth, by pressure and by advantages, by violence and by the support of the priests and the Social Democracy. But the most serious factor of all this activity consists in the efforts made by the bourgeoisie to penetrate the factories. Factory sport clubs, rest clubs for young workers in the factories, fascist groups in the factories which seek to organise particularly the young apprentices, christian youth organisations which have a special basis in the factories, and still other methods, are adopted by the bourgeoisie with a view to winning over the youth within the factories.

We may state that now, with the changes in the structure of the bourgeois army which have taken place in almost all countries, a large part of the work for preparation for war is being carried on by the organisations of the bourgeoisie, and particularly by the militarisation of the youth.

Today almost all the imperialist States are strengthening the general staffs of their armies and are increasing the number of regular soldiers. These regular soldiers are largely recruited among the young unemployed workers, and among the young peasants.

Another important factor is the role which will be played by the youth in the factories when war breaks out. The experience of the last imperialist war shows that it will be the women and the young men who are not yet old enough for the army who will keep the war factories going.

These facts alone show that the Communist youth should place in the centre of their activity against imperialist war the work for the conquest of the youth in the factories. The militarisation of the youth and of the bourgeois organisations constitute the best basis for the development and strengthening of Fascism. It is among these young workers that Fascism will carry on its recruiting for its fighting groups; it will find young people with an ideology closer to its own. A characteristic example is that of the present situation in Italy. In Italy, in Turin, the centre of the Italian proletariat, while the majority of the workers remained anti-Fascist, approximately 20% of the young workers now entering the process of production are enlisted with the fascist Avant Gardists, and a large number of these young workers are enrolled in the Fascist sport organisations.

In the field of the militarisation and fascisation of the youth, the social democratic youth is following the same line as the social democratic parties. It is declaring itself ready to struggle against war and saying that it will call upon the masses of young workers to struggle against war when the moment comes, but in reality the organisations of the social democratic youth are serving the bourgeoisie in the ideological and physical preparation of the youth for war. The social democratic youth in certain countries have already adopted fascist methods of violence against our organisations as is the case in Czecho-Slovakia.

In what direction and on what practical basis must we organise the youth for International Red Day? First of all on the basis of the immediate economic and political demands of the working youth in the towns and villages. The youth is always first to join the struggle when a strike breaks out or mass movements are launched, and we can say that it is always the last to yield. The young workers are more exploited than the adult workers; even when they accomplish work equal to that of the adult workers they receive a lower wage; the youth works and lives under conditions which are truly impossible, and it is for this reason that the linking up of the demands of the working youth with the struggle against imperialist war is of great importance for its mobilisation in the preparation for International Day.

We must mobilise the youth in our anti-militarist activity. Our anti-militarist work must become a systematic mass work in view of the growth of our anti-militarist organisations, the establishment of mutual aid societies of conscripts and reserves, and the organisation of patronage of soldiers and sailors units by the workers in the factories. For International Red Day we must extend our anti-militarist work.

Since I am speaking of anti-militarist work, I should like to say a few words on the anti-militarist activity of our Parties. These last months we have discussed the problem of anti-militarist work with the principal Leagues in Europe.

All this shows that in general the anti-militarist work of the Communist Parties is entirely too weak, and that it is not a systematic mass work.

Our work must be orientated towards the factories, to strengthen our weak positions in the factories, to make our members more active and to bring about the united front of the working youth from below. It is in this sense that we are working to bring about a change in our Leagues, to make them stronger and to link them up with the masses of working youth.

What concrete work have we accomplished up to now? We discussed the preparation for August 1st with the largest Leagues. We brought up this question and discussed it with the Central Committees of our European Leagues. We submitted it to their conferences, and after discussion with the comrades from each federation we prepared in conjunction with them plans for concrete work for the preparation and carrying out of the International Day. In some countries special slogans were worked out adapted to the specific situation of the country. For example, in England there will be this summer a meeting of boy scouts from the whole world. One hundred thousand boy scouts will go to England. We have linked up the struggle for International Day on August 1st with the boy-scout day and the struggle against the MacDonald Government. In Austria there will be a gathering of socialist youth of Europe, and for this occasion too we have linked up the

question of the struggle against imperialist war with the struggle against the socialist youth and against Fascism, which is a concrete danger in Austria. In Czechoslovakia we have linked up the question of August 1st with the question of the struggle against Fascism.

Nevertheless, we say openly that we are not satisfied with the work accomplished by our federations — not that our federations have done nothing, but because, considering the great importance of International Day, they have not responded with the necessary energy, the energy that the occasion demanded.

We are now beginning to receive exact information on the preparation of our Leagues for International Day Against Imperialist War. I shall mention a few of the most important countries. In Germany a good campaign is being carried on. Rank and file committees have been formed in Berlin with young atheists, reformists, and non-Party youth. A start has been made to establish these committees also in the districts. In France a good campaign is being carried on but there has as yet been no concrete preparation from an organisational standpoint. In Poland a Congress of Young Workers was held, the majority of the delegates being non-Party. It is the first time that such a congress has been held. The Congress was interrupted by the police. This activity can serve as an example to all the Leagues for the preparation of International Day of August 1st.

On August 1st itself we believe that the youth will also play a very important role in the struggle for the conquest of the streets. We have drawn the attention of our Leagues and our comrades to the character of the demonstrations to be held on August 1st. After the lessons of May 1st in Berlin and after the preparation that the bourgeoisie is carrying on to defeat us on August 1st, we have said that the bourgeoisie can do everything it likes, but that on August 1st we must conquer the streets.

In this connection we have also brought up the question of establishing self-defence groups of the youth.

In conclusion, we believe that August 1st must also mean the united front of adult workers with the working youth and must be a step forward for the conquest of these working youth by the proletariat. We are convinced that on August 1st, if we succeed in our preparation during the short time that is left, the working youth in the towns and villages will be at the side of the adult workers in the streets, determined and courageous, and that it will become a more and more decisive instrument in the struggle against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

Comrade BEWER (E. C. C. I.):

Comrades, I want to touch upon a few practical questions concerning the preparations for August 1st.

The first question is that of **self-criticism**. It is quite obvious that the self-criticism which we have witnessed on the part of the representatives of some Parties in relation to themselves and in relation to the Parties of the other countries was absolutely necessary. This self-criticism as well as all material which the Commission has on the preparation for August 1st, show that only a very small number of Parties has done real serious work in preparation for August 1st.

Among these Parties are the German, French and Polish. I regret to say that there are no others to be included, as the preparatory work done by the others, as has been demonstrated by their own representatives on this platform, is very poor. But if we are not going to move, if the Parties themselves are going to act as before and do nothing for the preparation of August 1st, if the Central Committees will not understand that the August 1st demonstration is not an ordinary demonstration which is organised dozens of times in the course of a year, the sense of the resolutions of the VI Congress on that question is entirely lost.

A few days ago it was proposed to hear reports from the representatives of the Norwegian and Danish Parties on the work they have done. The representatives of these Parties declared that they have no material on hand concerning the work

done by their Parties and therefore refused to give a report. But the question arises, is it not clear that if members of the Polit. Bureau of a Central Committee who come to the Plenum of the E. C. C. I., one of the points on the agenda of which is the preparation for August 1st, cannot give a preliminary report without written material on the work done by such small organisations as the Communist Parties of Norway and Denmark, that in these Parties matters are not quite what they should be with regard to the preparation for August 1st? It is hard to imagine a serious attitude towards the preparation for August 1st if members of the Polit. Bureau and secretaries of the C. C. cannot even give a short report without documents as to what their Parties have done and on the most important tasks which confront those Parties in connection with August 1st. If matters continue the same way in the future, there will be no August 1st. Attention must also be called to the circumstance that if we listen attentively to the speakers who have taken the floor here it must be admitted that with a very few exceptions most of the comrades have not yet grasped the importance of August 1st and the need of serious preparation for it, on the manner in which the imperialists are making all possible preparations for it, etc. etc.

A representative of the Young Communists told us how many youths are now working in the factories and what an enormous role the youth are now playing, and he used his 15 minutes for the purpose of agitating the members of the E. C. C. I. and proving to them the importance of considering the fact that there are so many youths in the factories.

The representative of the British Party told us that the C. P. G. B. does all in its power in order to make good preparations for August 1st, but we have not heard a sound as to how many August 1st committees there are in factories. From other sources at our disposal we know that practically nothing has been done as yet towards the organisation of such committees. When we asked the British representative to report on the work done in the Preparatory Commission he referred to the instructions worked out a few days ago saying that they give exhaustive information on how to start the work. But unfortunately, he could not tell us what the instructions contained. The main conclusion to be drawn from such facts must be that in the course of this Plenum it will be necessary most carefully and pitilessly to verify the work done by each Party. The decisions of the VI. Congress concerning August 1st must be carried into operation at all costs. They must be carried out not in the form of general agitation but in the form of real preparation of truly broad mass action. No proposals to postpone the settling of accounts made by some Parties can be accepted by the E. C. C. I. The E. C. C. I. is not a shop where one can bargain on the question as to whether demonstrations and strikes can or cannot be organised on August 1st after that question has been settled by the VI. Congress of the E. C. C. I. The August 1st decision must be carried out. The representatives of the Party must, apart repeating arguments to prove the importance of August 1st, give exact information on what they have actually done, what they have not done, what obstacles they have to overcome in order to make up for lost time.

Another serious practical question. Some Parties raise the following question: **When** should the direct preparations for August 1st begin? At a session of the Executive Committee of the Y. C. L. of Czechoslovakia, an official representative of the Pol. Bureau of the Czechoslovakian Party explained that preparations must begin before August 1st because if it were to begin now repressive measures would be taken by the police and the preparations would have to be stopped. We have here the minutes of that session of the Executive Committee of the Czechoslovakian Y. C. L. We cannot agree with this proposition. The preparation must begin immediately. The August 1st demonstrations cannot be simply an act of a moment which like Venus, comes out of the sea. The August 1st actions must be the culminating point of actions which begin now, which develop now and which will continue also after August 1st. That is why the position held by some comrades, some Party organisations, some Parties, the position formulated by the representative of the Pol. Bureau of the Czechoslovakian Party at the above-mentioned session of the Y. C. L. Executive, must be condemned. The organisation of August 1st committees must begin right now, especially in the factories and also in all mass organisations. Preparation must immediately begin for the

organisation of all kinds of mass actions which should be extended and widened so that the most serious blows against the danger of an imperialist war be delivered on August 1st.

Another practical question which must be raised is the question of carefully investigating what has been done concretely in preparation for August 1st demonstrations and strikes. It is not enough to pass resolutions concerning strikes. It must be carefully verified as to what the Parties really have in those factories, as to what the Party nuclei in those factories really are, and as to who are the leaders of the nuclei. We have seen in many cases how the best resolutions adopted by the leading bodies of the Party have never been carried into effect owing to the sabotage of the leading elements of the District Committees and the factory nuclei. It is absolutely necessary to make a close investigation of the matter so that this may not be repeated with regard to August 1st.

The extent to which the leading elements of the lower organisations which must directly prepare for the strikes and demonstrations are really performing the necessary work, to what extent this preparatory work guarantees that there will be a movement, that there will be strikes and demonstrations, must be verified.

Another question directly connected with that is the question of uniting the various demonstrations, the question of leading demonstrations on a city, district and national scale. The May Day demonstration in Berlin, the experience of which has been closely studied by the Central Committee of the German Party and the Berlin-Brandenburg District Committee, shows that it had no leadership. That is one of the most important questions. The experience of the Berlin comrades must be taken into account. The self-criticism of the German Party must be learned from by all Parties so that the August 1st demonstrations may be organised and not individual and separate demonstrations, disconnected and unorganised, without proper organisational and political guidance.

The third practical question is, what should these combined and interlinked strikes and demonstrations represent? In some Parties it is believed that in as much as our aim at the present time cannot be an armed uprising, the August 1st demonstrations must be confined to the limits of the law. Accordingly, if the police is against the unfurling of the Red banner by the demonstration, the banners must be hastily furled so as not to provoke the police. This is the viewpoint held by the leaders of the Prague Committee of the Czechoslovakian Party. Such tactics must be emphatically rejected. The line of the Comintern is to fight for the banner, to fight against the attempts of the police to disperse the demonstration, to fight for the street as was done a few days ago by the excavators of Paris during their demonstration, which was quite successful. Notwithstanding the fact that the police mobilised its forces, the excavators managed to break through the police cordon and to demonstrate, true, in torn shirts, true, covered with blood, with great enthusiasm, through the boulevards of Paris.

Such must be the line of the Comintern. The streets must not be surrendered without battle. In this connection there is the question of self-defence. Now this is a most serious question which must be practically raised. All Parties must carefully examine to see how the matter stands and particularly to what extent reliable comrades are at the head of the self-defence organisations.

Finally, the last question which must be seriously raised is the question concerning the preparation for unavoidable police repressive measures and for the Parties' reorganisation on an illegal footing, if they are now still legal. Has everything been done in this respect? This must be most carefully weighed. Repressive measures will of course begin on the eve of August 1st. They must be anticipated in the next few days. It is to be expected that the newspaper offices will be raided, that the most prominent members of the Communist Parties will be arrested. In Czechoslovakia this has already begun. I am not going to expatiate on this subject. I only mention this task as a most important one, for the carrying out of which the leading comrades will have to be responsible to the proletariat of their own country and to the International.

Finally, there is the question of the Y. C. L. It is true that in many Communist Parties anti-military work is at a very low

level. It is true that on the whole the Y. C. Ls. performed this work better than the C. Ps., but it must be clearly stated that anti-war work is not what it should be even in the Y. C. Ls. We must have full self-criticism on this.

Self-criticism must not be abused but we must not shut our eyes to our defects; we must not try to obscure these defects in one way or another, particularly, we must not make ourselves believe that if a resolution or a manifesto is adopted against war, a real serious step has been taken in the struggle against war. A resolution can very nicely remain on paper. A manifesto may easily be spread through the country without leaving any serious impression. What is necessary is real mass work in the factories and actual work in the army. The Parties must verify the work they have done so as to make good their mistakes, so as to do away with their defects, so that August 1st may be just what it was meant to be by the resolution of the VI. Congress of the C. I.

Comrade BOSHKOVITCH (Yugoslavia):

Since the renewal of the Anglo-French Entente the war danger in the Balkans has become more acute. Anglo-French rivalry has stopped and has been replaced by co-operation. For this reason the antagonism between Yugoslavia and Italy, which reflected the antagonism between Great Britain and France, has weakened. At the present time preparations are made for war against the U. S. S. R. under pressure of Anglo-French imperialism. In preparing for war against the Soviet Union the Anglo-French imperialists are busily working at the creation of an anti-Soviet bloc in the Balkans. The Pirot Conference (Yugoslavian-Bulgarian negotiations) was held under Anglo-French pressure. The Salonica Treaty of Greece and Yugoslavia was concluded under the same pressure. The same is true of many other treaties. All these treaties and conferences are aiming at the diminution of the contradictions in the Balkans so as better to prepare the ground for an anti-Soviet bloc.

There is a process of concentration of the big bourgeoisie in all Balkan States under the pressure of Anglo-French imperialism. The present governments of Greece, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria are a sign of concentration of the big bourgeoisie, concentration of all bourgeois groups under the hegemony of finance capital. There is a process of assuagement to be observed in the antagonisms between the various bourgeois groups, the bourgeoisie of the dominant nations and the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nationalities are coming to terms.

But it is impossible to prepare for and declare war against the U. S. S. R. without first stifling and destroying the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants and the movement for national emancipation. That is the chief explanation of the furiously raging terror in the Balkans. The Communist Parties of all Balkan States are now illegal. Even in Greece, where until recently there was no law for the Defence of the Realm, our Party has been driven underground. Bestial terror reigns everywhere and its object is the physical extermination of the revolutionary cadres.

The military-Fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia indicates a concentration of the big bourgeoisie (Serbian, Croatian, Slovene) under the hegemony of Serbian finance capital. The military-Fascist dictatorship is a declaration of civil war on the working class, the toiling peasantry and the toiling masses of the oppressed nationalities. It indicates that preparations are being made for war against the Soviet Union. But with all this, our Parties, including the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, are waging a struggle against the preparations for war, in spite of the savage terror, the murder of Comrade Diakovitch and other responsible members of the Party in connection with the anti-war work of the organisation. Comrade Diakovitch worked actively among the forces.

Ever since the establishment of the military-Fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia, the movement of the Russian White Guards has gained impetus. General Kutepov, in coming to Belgrade, also aimed at assisting in the war preparations against the Soviet Union. The organisation of Russian military schools in Bosnia and Vojvodena, the enlarged military budget of Yugoslavia, the extension of the old and construction of new ammunition plants are the best evidence of this.

In the course of the last few years the Communist Parties of the Balkan countries have gone through internal crises. An ideological struggle was going on against the Right danger, against conciliation, against inactivity and against an under-estimation of the danger of war. The ideological struggle is over. The recent Congresses of the Communist Parties of the Balkans prove this. Nevertheless, the Balkan Parties have not yet fully rid themselves of inactivity and of the under-estimation of the war danger although a persistent struggle is now going on against the old opportunist survivals. The Balkan Communist Federation has worked out a series of measures in connection with August 1st campaign. It organised a number of conferences with representatives of the Central Committees of the various Parties of the Balkan countries and intends to hold another conference this month. The August 1st campaign of course is carried on on the basis of the resolution of the VI. Congress on the danger of war and also on the resolutions of the military question of the Congresses of the Balkan Parties. As to the various Parties, the C. P. of Greece, influenced by the letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, devotes now chief attention to the struggle against the war danger. The recent Plenum of the Central Committee occupied itself chiefly with the question of the war danger and in the working out of a series of concrete measures for the organisation of street demonstrations and strikes.

The Communist Party of Bulgaria decided to shift the centre of gravity of its activity towards short strikes and street demonstrations. The Party is taking measures so that work may stop in the most important factories for 2 or 3 hours and that street demonstrations be held.

The Communist Party of Roumania intends to hold a number of meetings and demonstrations on International Day Against Imperialist War and to distribute proclamations and manifestoes. Wherever influential revolutionary unions exist it is intended to call strikes.

As to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the last session of its Central Committee, which took place at the end of May, recorded that, compared with the past, the Party has made great progress in the struggle against the war danger. The Party slogans "Against war" and "For the defence of the Soviet Union" are stressed and popularised in all illegal circulars and manifestoes and in all circular letters and documents. But notwithstanding all this, the Central Committee recorded that the Party has not yet rid itself fully of the past deficiencies — inactivity and the under-estimation of the war danger. The local organisations have not yet learned well enough to conduct a systematic struggle against war and to link up the daily struggle of the workers and peasants with the war question.

Comrades, the struggle against the war danger, of course does not end with August 1st. Our Party sees all shortcomings and defects of the campaign, but August 1st can serve as the best impulse so that the anti-war campaign may not end on August 1st and that it may be carried on not only in the factories but also in the villages and the barracks. The struggle against the war danger is closely bound up with the struggle against Fascism and vice versa, the struggle against Fascism in the Balkans at the present time is simultaneously a struggle against the war danger.

Comrade JAQUEMOTTE (Belgium):

The bourgeois and Social Democratic press puts the question in this way: "The C. I. is organising a revolution for August 1st!" We know why the capitalist press and the Social Democratic press take such a stand. Naturally, in connection with the general question on the imminence of war and the preparation of the bourgeoisie for imperialist war.

We should like to draw attention to the fact that in the "small" countries the Social Democracy is supporting the bourgeoisie in its war preparations and is playing around a great deal with this idea: "The little countries are in themselves pacifists". At the present time the small capitalist countries must develop their military organisations because in one way or another they are always drawn into one or another of the imperialist clans which are lined up against the proletariat.

In the period which preceded the last imperialist war from 1905—1910, the war budget in Belgium increased 5%, and from 1910—14 the war budget increased nearly 60%. The period from 1910—1914 then, judging from the increase of the military budget in Belgium, showed active preparation for war. We observe the same development in the present period, that is to say, that the war budget which increased 6% in Belgium from 1924—1926 has increased over 50% for the period from 1926—1929.

We find then an increase in the war budget which shows a development identical with that existing on the eve of the world war in 1914. As for the Army, in 1926 there was a force of 13,300 men; in 1929 it reached 45,000 men. The Social Democracy has fully supported the development of armaments, the increase in the war budgets, etc., and this is an irrefutable answer to the statement made by the Vandervelde party, that the Social Democracy is pacifist and that its role in the world is to win over the other countries to the pacifism of the Belgian bourgeoisie.

Can we say that in Belgium the preparation for the International Red Day of August 1st was begun in good time and energetically launched? We feel that we began too late since serious preparation of a mass mobilisation, a period of organisational preparation of the Party, a period of activity within the factories, calls for a work of 3 or 4 months.

Nevertheless, on May 11th there was a preliminary meeting of delegates from the German, Dutch, French and Belgian Parties, at which a number of resolutions were adopted, notably the one relating to the organisation of a larger conference in Belgium on June 16th, at which the four above mentioned Parties would be represented, plus the Party in the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg.

The conference of June 16th adopted a resolution which was published by the press in the countries concerned, and we are now engaged in Belgium in the preparation for the international mass demonstration day at Aix La Chapelle for July 31st in connection with International Day Against Imperialist War on August 1st.

We consider that our participation in this international demonstration must not be limited to the sending of a restricted delegation but must take the form of a mobilisation of the Belgian workers in Germany. With this idea we have organised savings funds in the various towns for which the workers are saving their money and subscribing each week when they receive their pay in order to provide the necessary amount for the trip.

This activity is not being carried on only in the districts bordering on the frontiers but is extending throughout the country; in this way we can draw in the workers of Anvers, Gand, or even more distant districts.

Of course we shall link up this Aix la Chapelle demonstration with preparation for International Day. In all the material sent out to the Parties as a whole, we insist on the necessity of the work which must be done for the establishment of committees within the factories, especially the big factories, and we insist on the mobilisation of all the workers in the industrial centres and the rural districts. At the present time meetings are being held in the factories. We are making use of the experience which we gained in the preparation of May 1st and in our electoral campaign to avoid the shortcomings and the mistakes made in preceding campaigns of our Party, in order to guarantee that our work now should be carried on in the most effective manner with the fullest possible results. The campaign for August 1st began very late; it was not started until 2 or 3 weeks ago; nevertheless, it has produced a very lively reaction in the capitalist and Social Democratic press against the organisation of International Day Against Imperialist War.

The capitalist press puts the question in the following manner: "The Comintern organises civil war for August 1st". "Comintern attempts to incite all countries and Belgium, and arm the masses for August 1st; Comintern attempts to organise armed struggles; attempts to turn the workers into the streets with arms in their hands." It is to be expected that the Government will take measures "for guaranteeing order and public peace". Of course this manner of presenting the question on

the part of the bourgeoisie and the Social Democracy gives reason to expect that the Belgian bourgeoisie and the Belgian Government will take measures against the demonstration itself.

Our forms of demonstration are primarily mass demonstrations in all the industrial centres of the country, and it seems to us absolutely impossible — and we are in agreement with the reporter on this point — to issue the general slogan for strike; nevertheless, we shall attempt to organise demonstrations which will assume the character of a suspension of work either in the factory or by leaving work before the regular hour so that demonstrations of suspension of work may be carried out even for a very limited time.

Comrades, in this campaign, we have also considered the activity to be carried on in connection with the "peace" demonstration organised by the Second International, which is to take place the Sunday following August 1st. In this connection measures have been taken based on the experience of our May 1st campaign in Belgium. While in all cases the police authorities favoured the demonstrations of the Social Democracy, it prohibited the demonstration of the Communists. At Charleroi and Anvers, and elsewhere, our May 1st demonstrations were prohibited. In spite of this we carried out independent demonstrations calling upon the workers to demonstrate on May 1st under the slogans of the Communist Party, linking this demonstration up with the struggle against imperialist war on International Day Against Imperialist War. In several places there were clashes with the police.

There is no doubt that the demonstration of the Social Democracy for "peace" will be permitted, and not only permitted but supported by the bourgeoisie, which, it goes without saying, has the greatest interest in creating the impression that the Social Democracy and the bourgeoisie are struggling for peace in Belgium. Moreover, the bourgeoisie, with the support of the Social Democracy, will attempt to prohibit the demonstration of August 1st, and to combat any demonstration that we may carry out on August 1st against the deceitful demonstration of the Social Democracy.

We have carried on our activity in all spheres, especially with a view to drawing into the anti-imperialist struggle the thousands of foreign workers living in Belgium, particularly Poles and Italians. In the question of preparation for August 1st, the question of struggle against Fascism and of the defence of the right of asylum for foreign workers, and of the defence of the foreign workers living in the capitalist countries, becomes a question of immediate importance.

In conclusion we shall make the maximum effort to prevent Belgium from being a black spot from the Communist standpoint in the Red Day of August 1st, the day of struggle against imperialist war.

Comrade PIATNITSKY (E. C. C. D):

The C. C., C. P. S. U. (b) decided to launch an extensive campaign in the press and at meetings in connection with August 1st. It decided to organise demonstrations in the industrial centres and wherever else it is possible, on August 1st. Meetings will be held on the eve of August 1st to explain the significance of that day. Wherever there will be no demonstrations, in the small towns or villages, meetings will be held on August 1st. In Moscow there will be a grand international meeting prior to August 1st at which Comintern representatives will take part.

Now I should like to say a few words concerning August 1st outside the Soviet Union. It seems to me that the success of August 1st depends on the extent to which our Parties are connected with the working class and the amount of influence they have on the working class. This will be a sort of rehearsal, a test as to the quickness with which they can mobilise the masses. If after such active preparation they will be unable to carry out any of the measures indicated in the resolution — strikes, demonstrations, meetings, etc., it will mean that our Parties are badly connected with the masses. Each of our Sections must know this, especially the legal Parties.

All our Parties must know that when the VI Congress decided that an international day against imperialist war be

set, it did not at all believe that this was to be a grand uprising or a great battle, but simply an index as to the quickness of the Parties in mobilising the masses and as to how well they can do it. Demonstrations will certainly be banned in many countries. Here it seems to me the Parties will have to utilise our experience, the experience of the C. P. S. U. in 1917, when we organised street demonstrations. Firstly, we kept our leaders in hiding so that on the eve of events they could not be arrested, which would leave the demonstrations without leaders. I think that many of our Parties must do that, especially in the countries where demonstrations will be prohibited. If the leaders will stay at home and their addresses will be known to the police, it may happen as it happened in France, when some officials of the Party were arrested before May Day. I have in mind the most active members of the Central Committees and the local Party organisations.

Secondly, it is necessary to choose such central streets for the demonstrations which can be reached by many side streets and passages and for each such gathering place a special leader should be appointed, whose task should be to bring the masses at a given moment to the spot where the banned meeting is to be held, and from where the prohibited demonstration is to begin. These are all little things which we very well know but which are not known by many of our Parties, and it would be well for them to consider their plans of demonstration so that each group of workers may have its leaders. That is the main thing. That is necessary so that in case for some reason or other the Central Committee is unable to lead, they may take the leadership into their own hands. Of course, it is necessary to be in touch with the factories so as to bring the workers into the demonstration.

Comrade FORD (Communist Fraction in the R.I.L.U.):

Comrades, the day of international struggle against war is of great significance to the international working class, and the need of mobilising the Negro masses to demonstrate and to struggle against imperialist war is a great task of the international working class.

The International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers of the R.I.L.U. has issued an appeal and instructions to the Negro workers as to what they should do on August 1st. It was necessary in issuing these appeals, to point out some of the effects of the last imperialist war upon the Negroes. Some of these consequences have been that the Negro workers were used in great numbers in the last imperialist war; that great numbers were killed; that after the war there was great persecution and oppression of the Negro working masses in all imperialist countries.

We have already seen what has taken place in the French colonies in oppressing the natives after the world war. In America there was very much oppression of the Negroes. We have pointed out also the imperialist character of the last world war to the Negro masses who at that time were not familiar with the class character of the imperialist war.

We considered that these were the important features to point out to the Negro working masses and to draw their attention to the new imperialist war that is approaching.

We already see preparations for the use of Negro troops; in the previous imperialist war millions were used. At the present time we know that France, America and England are mobilising, training and preparing Negro troops for use in the next war. Another evidence of the use of Negro troops in the general preparation for war is that of the strike of French miners in the latter part of 1928, in which Negro troops were used as a protection of the bourgeoisie against the rising of the white proletariat. We also have seen that England plans to use Black troops in China to suppress the Chinese revolution. All these are concrete evidence of the fact that in the next war large numbers of Negro troops will be used.

What were the definite instructions that were issued in the Profintern to the Negro workers against the imperialist war? We advised the Negro workers to demonstrate at mass meetings, in clubs, and in street meetings against war. We advised the Negro workers to join in the strikes of the white workers, in America in particular. We advised the Negro troops in France to fraternise with the French workers. We advised the Negro

workers to join the ex-servicemen's organisations (the A. I. C.) as a demonstration against the next war. We have advised the Negro soldiers that they must join in joint struggles with the white workers on an international scale in turning the next war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. It is very significant and very important for the working mass of Negroes to understand the class character of the imperialist war and the necessity of joining the white workers. We have advised the Negro workers in the case of war to fraternise with the soldiers of the opposing armies. We have advised the Negro workers to defend the Soviet Union in case of an attack upon the Soviet Union. These are some of the specific instructions we have sent to our comrades from the Profintern and to the Negro toilers with whom we are in contact.

Secondly, at the Anti-Imperialist Conference that will take place in July, the International Trade Union Committee of Negro workers plans to hold for one day before this conference opens, a preliminary conference of Negro working class delegates. At this conference the war danger will be one point on the agenda, and we will also ask the Negro workers to go back to their respective countries and to demonstrate against war.

In connection with the conference at Frankfurt we have printed many pamphlets of appeal to the Negro workers against imperialist war. We have printed a pamphlet on the Negroes in the last war as a special propaganda appeal to the Negro workers. We printed a pamphlet by Comrade Barbé on "The Revolt in Equatorial Africa in 1928". This pamphlet is of tremendous significance in the struggle against war. The revolt in Equatorial Africa had been brought about as a consequence of France's preparation for war, the railway that is being constructed which caused the revolt is evidence of the preparations being made by France for the next war to transport troops as well as war materials.

I want to speak now, comrades, about the general tasks of the revolutionary working class in the Imperialist countries, in this struggle against war. This has been emphasised several times in the Profintern. In the Profintern there has been pointed out consistently and constantly the necessity of carrying on considerable propaganda in the chemical industry, as being adjunct an industry in the preparations for the coming imperialist war. The same is true of the munitions factories. But all these preparations of the workers in these industries must have organisational results after the demonstrations of August 1st have taken place.

The MacDonald Government in England will disgrace itself before the working masses in the colonies and before the Negro masses of the colonial countries. Therefore, our British Party must expose the Labour Government's role of preparing war against the Soviet Union. The British Party must expose the rôle of the Labour Government in bringing the colonial peoples into a war on behalf of British imperialism.

In the United States we have a peculiar situation. On the one hand we see that America is mobilising her Negro working masses for war against some other imperialist nation — Great Britain — but on the other hand we see a peculiar kind of propaganda in America, which is preparing the white masses for a race war against the Soviet Union. There has been recently published in the American press a series of articles characterising Stalin and characterising the Soviet Union as being the leader of the Black, Brown and Dark races of the world against the White races. This is no more than preparation by the American bourgeoisie of the white working masses for war on the Soviet Union. The American comrades must therefore, bear this in mind when preparing for the demonstrations on August 1st and point out that the next war will not be a race war but a class war.

In conclusion, I should like to say that the revolutionary working class in the imperialist countries, all our parties should raise concrete and special demands of the Negro workers and link them up with the general struggle. We must raise the demand that in the case of war, we must struggle for an Independent Negro Republic in South Africa, and also the right of self-determination of the Negroes. We must connect up concrete propaganda slogans in order to unite the Negro workers with the white workers in the demonstrations against imperialist war.

In outlining what has been done in the Profintern as to the organisation of the Negro workers with the White workers in the struggle against war, we believe we have done concrete things to draw the Negro masses with us into the demonstrations. But this demonstration must not end with August 1st. This demonstration must continue after August 1st, and in this connection, I would suggest that the Ex-Servicemen's organisation (I. A. C.) made up of the ex-servicemen of all countries of Europe and which took part in the war, should be strengthened.

In this way, following out the lines of the work laid out by the Profintern in connection with bringing the Negroes into the demonstrations for August 1st, we shall effect a united front of the Negro and white workers in the struggle against the preparation for war, which will bring far-reaching results, towards the emancipation of the Negro masses from the yoke of imperialism and towards the proletarian triumph over imperialism.

COMRADE KOLAROV (Bulgaria):

Comrades, Like Comrade Boshkovitch, I was unable to tell you in detail what has been done so far by the **Balkan Parties** to carry this resolution into effect. But I must say that the Parties have really, and are taking very seriously this decision of the VI. Congress, and that they are exerting all efforts really to mobilise the masses on the 1st of August, and to get the masses to show their determination to fight against the war danger and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

The Bulgarian Communist Party considers the 1st of August as the review of its revolutionary internationalism. It has resolved to organise a political strike, connecting it with demonstrations and mass meetings. The Party had reasons for this decision. Firstly, our Party has experience in this matter, as it has already carried out mass political strikes. Secondly, just now in Bulgaria (as well as in Roumania and Greece, and in a certain sense, also in Yugoslavia) we are experiencing a strong revival in the labour movement. Although these countries are under the sway of White Terror, although the conditions of activity are exceptionally difficult, although all the Communist Parties of the Balkan countries have been driven underground; nevertheless the objective conditions just now warrant the expectation of being able to carry out a more or less mass action against war on August 1st. Let me allude to a few facts. At the present time there is a big strike movement in Bulgaria, and under such a state of excitement among the workers, it will not be difficult for the Communist Party directly to connect the immediate demand of the working class with the slogan of the struggle against the war danger. Our Party has resolved to endeavour to raise the mass struggle of the working class one step higher by linking it up with the struggle against the war danger and with the struggle for the defence of the Soviet Union. Lately (two weeks ago) in Greece there was a dockers' strike at Piræus. The strike was very characteristic as an indication of the mood of the Greek proletariat. Although the strike was of an economic character, nevertheless there was one incident which allowed its political character to reveal itself. The strike was directed against all the ships in the harbour; yet when a Soviet ship arrived in the harbour of Piræus, the strikers declared that their strike did not extend to the Soviet Union and they unloaded the Soviet vessel. Of course, this demonstration provoked terrible fury and hatred on the part of the imperialist bourgeoisie, and all steps were taken by the government to crush the strike by force.

What practical steps have been taken and are being taken by our Party to carry out this slogan? In the first place, it takes a series of steps to mobilise the Party itself, the local organisations and the factory nuclei of the Party, to begin with. It mobilises the press. The Party newspaper will publish a special number devoted to the 1st of August. Just now it is disseminating the anti-war resolution of the Party Conference, as well as the anti-war revolution of the VI. Congress, and it issues a special manifesto on this subject. The theoretical organ of the Party devotes a special issue to questions relating to the war danger. The Party has taken steps to publish some of the revolutionary experience of the Bulgarian Communist Party during the time of the imperialist war. We have made it our task

to revive this experience and to bring it home to the present generation of workers.

The Party takes steps also, to mobilise the mass organisations and to secure their maximum participation in the 1st of August demonstration. The Party endeavours also to mobilise the Left elements of the Peasant Alliance for the same purpose.

The leadership of this action is in the hands of the factory committees, and of the joint committees elected by the local committees.

The Party issues leaflets for the army containing the slogans of the Communist Party and including special demands on behalf of the soldiers, as well as a special leaflet on the so-called Labour Squads, which to some extent take the place of the standing army in Bulgaria.

This, comrades, summarises in a few words what our Party is undertaking in this matter.

Amplifying what has been said by Comrade **Boshkoviřh** about the Roumanian Party, I must say that the Roumanian Communist Party has tremendous difficulties in carrying out this action in Roumania. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the special role which Roumania is destined to play in the event of an anti-Soviet war, the Communist Party of Roumania is doing everything in its power to participate in this action.

We have reasons to expect a really successful action on the 1st of August. These reasons consist, firstly, in the fact that the Roumanian Party has succeeded in celebrating the 1st of May. The Roumanian Party has succeeded in holding labour demonstrations, at least in some of the big cities. Demonstrations were also held on May Day in Bulgaria and Greece. Strikes were successfully organised at some places in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria: at Sořia, Philippopolis and elsewhere. These facts warrant the confident expectation that we shall be able to hold successful demonstrations on the 1st of August, even if under more difficult conditions, and that we shall succeed after all in mobilising the masses and causing them to protest against the war danger. Thus, I believe, the Balkan Parties will carry out the pledge they gave to the VI Congress.

I should like to add a few words to what has been said here by Comrade **Bewer**.

Comrade **Bewer** has pointed out that the Parties generally have done little to prepare for the International Day Against Imperialist War. He has particularly criticised the CPs. of Great Britain and Czechoslovakia. In this I concur with Comrade **Bewer's** criticisms. But I must point out also the following fact. In my opinion, both the Czechoslovakian and the British comrades should realise that in the forthcoming anti-Soviet war there will be a sub-division of roles. Poland, the Balkan countries, Roumania, and the Baltic countries, will furnish the cannon-fodder, the human millions for the army of war, whereas Great Britain, France and Czechoslovakia will chiefly play the part in the rear, being turned into huge arsenals and munition factories for the war against the Soviet Union. The danger consists in that the European bourgeoisie, while not directly participating in the war, might be able to a considerable extent to stifle the movement both in Czechoslovakia and in Great Britain by giving work to the unemployed in Great Britain and Czechoslovakia, by offering them higher wages at the expense of the combatants, and so forth. Herein lies the danger. I believe the British and Czechoslovakian comrades should bear this in mind and should overcome this "pacifism" which, in the language of Communism, means passivism. I think the Communist International has the full right to demand from these very Parties (to the Polish Party, to the Roumanian Party, to the Parties of the neighbouring countries this is quite clear, because their peoples will directly fight and it is a question of their own blood) — from the Communist Parties of Great Britain and Czechoslovakia that they should specially consider these facts. Bearing in mind this character of the war, and the role to be played by these two countries, it is essential to urge the British and Czechoslovakian comrades in all seriousness to do their utmost, and at any price, to explain to the masses of the workers in Great Britain and Czechoslovakia the character of this war, so as to turn their semi-pacifist into

revolutionary sentiments. It is essential to agitate not only to prevent the British Government from sending the British workers to the Soviet front, but also to transform this war against the Soviet Union into a revolutionary war, so that the British workers might utilise this war against the Soviet Union for the purpose of overthrowing the British bourgeoisie, and the Czechoslovakian workers for the overthrow of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie, so as to turn the anti-Soviet war into the international revolution. (Applause).

Comrade **GOROV** (Communist Fraction in the Peasants International):

Who should give our utmost attention to attract the basic masses of the peasantry to take part in the organisation of the 1st August campaign, in the preparations and in the demonstrations. This task is facilitated for us by the radicalisation of the basic masses of the rural population, by their struggle against war. Everywhere in all countries, along with the formation of peasant leagues following the lead of the bourgeoisie, there are also formed leagues of the basic elements of poor peasants who go hand in hand with the working class in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. In all these Leagues there are already definite anti-capitalist tendencies to be observed. They are definitely raising slogans which draw the basic masses of the peasantry into the fight against capitalism, while frequently the leadership of the Leagues is in the hands of the Communist Party. There is no doubt, the objective conditions of the basic masses of the peasantry are driving them into the fight against capitalism as such. Judging by all the demands raised by the toiling peasantry everywhere, it may be definitely assumed that the united front of the workers and toiling peasantry against war can fully be realised. There are already tokens to show that the peasantry is prepared to take up the fight against war. For what does the movement of reservists in France and elsewhere indicate? We can easily guess this, if we bear in mind that the overwhelming majority of the reservists are peasants.

Another symptomatic fact is that the peasantry in some countries, e. g. in Poland and the Balkan countries, has taken part in the demonstrations and manifestations on May-Day 1929. All this goes to show that the basic masses of the peasantry are prepared to fight against war. On our part, we should be able to mobilise the basic masses of the peasantry on the 1st August. The Krestintern has already done everything in its power in this respect. To begin with, already before the 1st May there was a peasant congress held in France, at which there was a special item on the agenda dealing with the subject of war. This question caused a lively discussion, with the result that a resolution was carried in the spirit of those very slogans which we advance against war. Furthermore, a special letter of instructions was issued by the Krestintern urging its Sections to get the basic masses of the peasantry to take part in the May-Day demonstrations under the slogan of the struggle against war. This was followed up by sending individual letters of instructions to the different countries, showing the steps to be taken by the respective Sections of the Krestintern for the mobilisation of the peasantry on the International Day against Imperialist War on August 1st. The Krestintern drew up also a general manifesto to the peasantry, and is now drawing up leaflets and pamphlets, and is also preparing a film to be shown in the capitalist countries. The chief measures suggested by the Krestintern to its Sections are the following: Each Section of the Krestintern should utilise all Sundays and holidays to get their Committees to send organisers to the different villages to hold meetings and conferences during the preparatory period, pointing out the preparations of the imperialists for a war against the U. S. S. R., and addressing also the Youth, the soldiers on leave, the invalids, and the women, on the danger of Imperialist War. It was further recommended that these meetings should be addressed both by local peasants and by workers from adjacent industrial localities, and that there should be a mutual exchange of delegates at demonstrations respectively organised by the workers and the peasants. At the same time it is essential that the individual sections should issue special numbers of their papers dealing with the action against war. Articles on this subject should also be published regularly, as well as leaflets, appeals, etc. Such articles should also be offered to other peasant newspapers and journals for publication. At the same time the Krestintern keeps up a

correspondence with those peasants who were in the Peasant Delegation of 1927, advising the latter to write in the Peasant newspapers as well as in the general press on the subject of the imperialist war preparations against the U. S. S. R. and on the need of an active struggle against war and for the defence of the U. S. S. R. Some successes in this respect may already be recorded. The Krestintern workers have sent special articles to the publications of the National Sections as well as to Communist newspapers.

The difficulties encountered by the Krestintern in the preparations of the 1st August are raised chiefly by the Communist fractions in the local peasant organisations of some countries. For instance, some comrades expressed doubt as to the possibility of carrying out the International Day against Imperialist War, first, because the 1st August is a working day, and secondly, it occurs at the very height of the season of field-labour. For this reason they doubted the possibility of mobilising the peasantry on this day.

Needless to say, the Krestintern has resolutely brushed aside such arguments, pointing out that the anti-war question is the very question which can really bring about a united fighting front of the peasantry and the working class, and that by taking up this question the national Sections will not lose contact with the non-Party masses, but on contrary, will ensure their further influence over these masses. Since then the comrades began the local preparations for the 1st August in the villages, and we have already information showing that in Germany, France, and elsewhere, special committees are already being organised to take charge of the 1st August demonstrations. These committees get in touch with the workers' committees and jointly they will carry out the preparations for the 1st August. I am amazed by the fact that the comrades who have spoken here, with rare exceptions, have entirely failed to mention the necessity of the wide mobilisation of the basic masses of the peasantry on the 1st August. Even Comrade Semard in his splendid speech has forgotten to mention this, although something has already been done in France in this respect. In France there is a Peasant Communist Federation which has already taken steps in this direction. I believe if we shall succeed in rallying on this Day more or less extensive masses of the toiling peasantry, we may calmly anticipate a successful issue to our action. If we fail to do this, then I repeat, we shall carry out our task only by half.

COMRADE CHANG PIO (China):

Comrades, in connection with the international anti-war campaign of August 1st, I should like to say a few words concerning the relationship between the struggle against war and the revolutionary movement of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The imperialists of all countries are striving to win over the national bourgeoisie of the colonial countries and to support all reactionary forces in the suppression of the labour and peasant movement in those countries and in the more effective exploitation of the workers and peasants. At the same time the imperialists are striving to have the national bourgeoisie at their service in the forthcoming imperialist war. The social-fascists, who loyally and truly pursue the policy of the imperialists, are seeking to capture the yellow and reformist unions of the colonial and semi-colonial countries under the pacifist cloak, and to organise such unions wherever they do not exist so as to be able to lull the masses in case of war. The imperialists are also trying to form a front in the colonial countries for the encircling of the Soviet Union. The recent reactionary uprising in Afghanistan and the overthrow of the old regime, openly directed by British imperialism, and the provocations of the Chinese police in raiding the General Council of the Soviet Union in Harbin, which was also done at the behest of the imperialists, prove this. But the war amongst the Kuomintang militarists (Chang Kai-shek, the Kwangsi clique, Feng Yu-hsiang) reflect the imperialist antagonisms in China, showing that the imperialists want to partition that country and to exploit the Chinese workers and peasants. On the other hand, these militarist wars are but a prelude to the great pacific war for the conquest of the Pacific Ocean to be waged by the great imperialist powers.

The MacDonald Government will not diminish these imperialist antagonisms; on the contrary it will widen and deepen them. In 1924, under the first Labour Government, Great Britain threatened Canton, the then centre of the Chinese Revolution, and the present Labour Government, which is in the process of fascisation will carry the colonial policy of British imperialism even more openly. While this is the case, the opportunist renegades Roy & Co., do not see that the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeois upper stratum of the colonial and semi-colonial countries betray the revolution in its process, as has happened in China and as the bourgeoisie of India has in substance already done. They do not see that the bourgeoisie capitulate before the imperialists, and maintain that in spite of this the proletariat must conclude an alliance with the national bourgeoisie in the bourgeois democratic revolution. They exaggerate the revolutionary character of the upper stratum of the Indian petty bourgeoisie. This means nothing but subordinating the proletariat to the influence of the compromising national bourgeoisie. It means nothing but to supply the masses of workers and peasants of the colonial countries as cannon fodder in the coming war and to render them an instrument of the imperialists in the struggle against the Soviet Union. In this respect our renegades are no different from the social democrats. It is the task of the Communist International unconditionally to liquidate these opportunist ideas, to mobilise independently the broad masses of toilers of the colonial countries and to organise them under the leadership of the international proletariat for the struggle against the imperialist war danger and for the defence of the Soviet Union. The toiling masses of these countries which are to be used in the forthcoming imperialist war as the reserves of the imperialist troops must be formed as a principal factor among the forces directed against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

China is the country in which war has never ceased in the last few years and in which the struggles of the workers and peasants are becoming wider and fiercer. The wars amongst the Kuomintang militarists now in progress will never stop without a victorious workers' and peasants' revolution. The Communist Party of China has advanced the slogan of conversion of the war of the Kuomintang militarists into a war of the workers and peasants for the overthrow of imperialist and Kuomintang domination. Our Party conducted a series of campaigns and guerilla warfare in many districts under this main battle cry, which is linked up with the daily struggles of the workers and peasants. The partisan troops of Chu Te and Mo Tse-tung, 6,000 strong, have fought for 2 years and are still fighting under this watchword. There are comrades in the provinces who thought that nothing has to be done before the outbreak of a militarist war, and that we must wait. When the war begins, a mass struggle should be started.

Another incorrect view is the failure to understand as to how the struggle against war should be conducted, how the struggle against war which has already commenced should be linked up with the daily struggle of the workers, with the agricultural crisis, with the struggle of the peasants, with the guerilla fighters, etc. Objectively, this amounts to a renunciation of the struggle against war. This Right deviation must be liquidated in the struggle against war.

We are firmly convinced that the C. P. C. will be in a position to organise broad labour demonstrations and to carry on extensive work among the soldiers and sailors, among the poor and middle peasants and the agricultural labourers on August 1st.

We believe that big demonstrations will be organised also in India, in the Latin American countries and among the Negroes on August 1st.

I propose that a clause be included in the anti-war thesis on the preparation and organisation of the toiling masses of the colonial countries against war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. Not only the Communist Parties in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, but especially the Communist Parties of the Metropolis and first of all the Communist Parties of Great Britain, France and America must devote greatest attention to this clause. They must work out a concrete plan and concrete methods of work in the organisation and mobilisation of the toiling masses of the colonial countries. They must constantly work against war amongst the coloured troops stationed in the Metropolis and also among the sailors. They must start a big and steady movement in favour of withdrawing

the imperialist troops from the colonies and semi-colonies. In this respect, our general task is to see to it that the proletariat of the colonial and semi-colonial countries should independently lead the broad toiling masses against the danger of imperialist war, against the exploitation and oppression of the colonial toilers by imperialism. They must see to it that the front which the imperialists seek to establish in the colonial countries against the Soviet Union should be converted into a front of the colonial workers and peasants for the defence of the Soviet Union and for their own emancipation.

The anti-war struggle must naturally be linked up with the agrarian revolution in the colonial countries, with the abolition of the feudal survivals, with the economic and political strikes, with the partial demands of the workers and peasants, for the overthrow of the national bourgeoisie and the landlords. Only if the Communist Parties of the imperialist countries will actually devote greatest attention to this and will carry on practical steady work among the colonial toilers will they be able to capture the majority of the working class and destroy the influence of the social-fascists on the working class, overthrow imperialist domination and establish a world Soviet Republic.

Comrade BELL (Great Britain):

The general tone of most of the speeches have left the impression on me during this Plenum that there is a considerable amount of pessimism throughout the whole of the Parties, and expressed by the speakers. I do not think this pessimism is justified. I think, however, it is one of the consequences of over-zealous self-criticism, that in the anxiety to be critical of the work, or lack of work, we get a picture as expressed by Comrade Bewer, that apart from three parties, there is nothing being done throughout the whole of the International. I think that such exaggerated statements as made by Comrade Bewer should not be permitted at meetings such as this. I think there is no ground or justification to be pessimistic at all. I believe that if we seriously believe in the radicalisation of the masses in all countries, including England, that there are potentialities and possibilities for successes on August 1st in all countries. I do not think it is correct to come and say to the British Party that it cannot tell the Plenum of one single committee set up in England for preparation of International Red Day. When Comrade Piatnitsky made his speech for the Russian Party he did not speak of the number of committees in Russia for the preparations for International Red Day. The question of committees and of the concrete question as to what we will do must be brought into relationship with the hesitancy of the Parties and of the Presidium itself to arrive at a decision concerning International Red Day itself.

Closing Speech of Comrade BARBÉ (France):

Comrades, It is clear that we cannot reply to all the questions and all the issues that have been raised today with regard to the preparation and carrying out of International Day on August 1st. We merely wish to stop at certain important points which have been brought up in this discussion.

This morning already, in the report which was submitted we have emphasised a great number of weaknesses, pointing out that these weaknesses had been examined on the basis of insufficient knowledge of the preparation carried out by the various sections of the C.I.: this evening after the discussion we can say that not only was the estimation of the weaknesses correct, but for a great number of sections of the C.I. it is lower than the estimation we gave this morning.

It is the important characteristic appearing in the discussion, apart from four or five sections of the Communist International which carried on serious work in relation to their capacity and to the objective situation of the countries in which these Parties work. Apart from these few sections of the C.I. we note in the other sections marked shortcomings and a very great weakness in the preparation for August 1st.

One characteristic of the discussion has shown that in order to get an idea of the work of these sections it has been necessary to repeat a number of generalities which actually conceal the lack of activity, and this is the important characteristic for a number of comrades to keep in mind.

There is no ground at all for the pessimism expressed in the Plenum. I think the Parties are alive to the work they have to do. Of course I speak for England; the organisational plans and the steps we are taking to make demonstrations, partial strikes, and so on are a reality and will be a success. But the fact that we cannot give chapter and verse concerning the number of committees we have, is no indication that the Party is doing nothing. Take for example, the great Unemployed March. This was carried through successfully and at no time were we in a position to say how many commissions we had.

I believe the Parties are doing their utmost, and I think the radicalisation in many of the countries provides opportunities for the Parties to make August the 1st the real Day of mobilisation against war. I think the Plenum should end its discussion on August the 1st with this note, and not express the position that no one is doing anything in any of the Parties except the French, the Russian and the German Parties.

I consider that the Parties should be given some note of encouragement to help them to carry forward preparations for August the 1st and to make the demonstrations on August the 1st a reality and a success.

Comrade GOTTWALD (Czechoslovakia):

In my speech I have endeavoured to give a true picture of the facts, difficulties and weak points in the preparations for the 1st August action in a substantial, critical, self-criticising manner. It was my good intention to inform the Executive, and the Plenum, and to portray the situation as it really is. It is a well known fact, however, that the road to hell is paved with good intentions. And thus I have landed in the hell of the Defeatists, of the passive elements. My speech, and also some mysterious document, some protocol, has given occasion to some comrades to assume that the C. P. Cz. had been very neglectful, and had carried out the preparations for the action in total disbelief of its success. I thought it was not necessary to make fighting speeches here. I am going to save up a fighting speech for a factory meeting in Prague. If the comrades believe this to be Defeatism, then please put me down as a Defeatist. I will make a fighting speech in the factory, but here I must frankly point out the mistakes and defects. With regard to August 1st I declare: the CC, as well as the Party, is making serious preparations for August 1st; it is in no defeatist mood. For this there is no occasion. We want unity organs, we want to carry out mass strikes, we are preparing for them, and we shall organise the demonstrations. Fighting speeches we shall not deliver here, but shall do so on August 1st in Prague, in Ostrau, in Reichenberg.

Already one comrade said in the discussion that it was not necessary here to convince the Plenum of the dangers of Imperialist war, but that it was above all necessary to convince the Plenum of the determination and energy displayed by the Parties in the preparation for the struggle against Imperialist war. Now for a number of sections and in the speeches of a great number of comrades it has been clear that they wanted to convince us of the imminence of Imperialist war; they did not want to convince us that in their Party there was the conviction of the imminence of imperialist war and that in any case the comrades had understood the importance of preparing the struggle against imperialist war.

I wish to take a few characteristic examples. Our comrades from the British Communist Party spoke on a few occasions. I do not feel that the second speech corrected the impression made on us by the first speech. Comrade Bell transformed to some extent the difficulties and the roles. In his second speech Comrade Bell attempted to explain to us the lack of real work which was judged in relation to the capacity of the British Communist Party. He attempted to explain to us the causes of this lack of activity in relation to the capacity of the British Communist Party, under the angle of a retardation in the instructions for August 1st.

Comrades, I think that Comrade Bell, who was the official reporter at the VI. World Congress on the Thesis on the War Danger, should not have used such an argument, because all

the same in the preparation for August 1st, if the most technical instructions were not issued to the Communist Parties as a whole before the month of March, from the time of the VI. World Congress, the question was brought up of the preparation by all the Parties of a more far-reaching and effective campaign against imperialist war, not only in a general form, but also in a concrete form, stating that the culmination would be a day of struggle against imperialist war.

The question of the instructions cannot be treated from the point of view of the formal letter of technical instructions. The preparation for the International Day of August 1st against imperialist war was brought up a year ago before the sections of the C.I., and it is impossible to come here and attempt to hide the passivity and the lack of practical work for the preparation of August 1st behind this so-called lack of instructions. Furthermore, if that played such a great role in England it must have played the same role for all Parties. Now we notice that the British Communist Party, which has had a number of fairly favourable objective political possibilities — possibilities for serious legal activity in Great Britain — is much behind the Polish Communist Party for example. If the instructions which arrived late played such a part in England, they would have played the same part for the Communist Party of Poland. It is not this. It is an attempt to hide the passivity of the Party behind arguments which are not serious.

Apropos of the activity of the Party of Czechoslovakia, Comrade Gottwald, after the first speech, made a statement to convince us that the Party of Cz. was really devoting the maximum effort in preparation for August 1st. We feel that in the speech of Comrade Gottwald there are serious intentions evident to draw the Party of Cz. into the work of carrying out International Day, but in the exact facts, or rather the lack of exact facts which characterised his speech from the viewpoint of the results already obtained in the preparation for International Day against War — we feel that the conclusion to be drawn is not that the C.P. of Cz. has remained the old Party of the old Red Day — not that the Party of Cz. is the worst Party in the C.I., — but that it has not yet made the maximum effort to carry out this Day of August 1st. It is necessary to take into account the situation of the C.P. of Cz. and say that this Party has gone through particular times, and especially that if the C.P. of Cz. does not succeed in better mobilising its forces for August 1st and if the present leadership does not succeed in obtaining the maximum amount of activity for International Day from the membership of the Party as a whole, the responsibility does not lie entirely with the present C.C. of Cz. It is clear that great responsibility will rest with those who during this period attempted to break up the C.P. of Cz. The great responsibility for the fact that the Party perhaps will not be able to mobilise all its forces for August 1st will weigh heavily on the Liquidators who have been driven from the Czech Party. But if this is a special difficulty which has confronted the present leadership of the C.P. of Cz. this difficulty must not cause the leadership of the Party of Cz. to fail to understand that the very preparation and carrying out of International Day against Imperialist war in Czechoslovakia must be and is a means of drawing the working masses of Czechoslovakia into the struggle against the Liquidators who have attempted to break up the Party, and a means for continuing to intensify the rectification of our brother Party of Czechoslovakia. If, on the one hand, there is this difficulty, on the other hand, as a result of this difficulty, the present leadership must work harder than any other Party to carry out this day of August 1st., because the carrying out of this day will be the most majestic answer to the Liquidators who have attempted to break up the C.P. of Czechoslovakia.

The comrade who spoke in the name of the Scandinavian Parties made a very characteristic speech: he spoke to us of the active preparation for August 1st in a number of Parties with the exception of the Scandinavian Parties, or at least he said practically nothing about the activity of these Parties. He spoke to us in detail of the good showing of the C.G.T.U. in France, of the good work carried out in Poland and in Germany, but from the standpoint of the actual work accomplished by the Scandinavian parties there was almost nothing definite on what they had accomplished for carrying out this Day. It is a symptom of the state of the preparation of International Red Day against Imperialist War in a number of Parties.

I should like to speak also of the Youth. The role of the youth in the Y.C.I. in the preparation and carrying out of International Day on August 1st should be the most important role fulfilled by the mass organisations, not only for drawing the masses of young workers into the struggle of August 1st against Imperialist war, not only for rallying the soldiers and sailors, young workers and peasants in the imperialist countries around the Communist youth, but — at this time when we observe the very great underestimation of the importance of International Red Day against Imperialist War in the C.I. — the Y.C.I. should take up again to some extent its energetic role of struggle against this underestimation of the danger of Imperialist war. In the present period a certain relaxation can be observed in the role of the Communist youth from the standpoint of stimulating the Communist Parties to make greater efforts in the struggle against imperialist war. I believe in this sense the Y.C.I. must make a greater effort for International Day. Finally, it should assist the Communist Parties in ridding themselves of the underestimation of the dangers of Imperialist war in order to force the Communist Parties which are unwilling to carry out the practical work against war, to carry it out nevertheless: this is one of the important tasks of the Communist youth.

There are other speeches which could be discussed and examined, but I believe that in reply to the speeches which we consider to be poor, it does not merely suffice to content ourselves with severe criticism of Parties which are not carrying out preparation: I believe that it is necessary to study in a very practical manner, in conjunction with the different comrades from the sections of the C.I. which have shown great weakness in the preparation for International Day, the practical methods for remedying and correcting these weaknesses not only for International Day itself, but most of all afterwards.

I believe that we must make a study of this and that, in addition to our general resolution, we should address very practical instructions with very clearly defined objectives, based not merely on the situation of the country, its subjective situation, but also on the mass movement in these countries, and the capacity of the Parties to struggle in their respective countries.

I should like now, lastly to speak on the statements made by Comrade Garlandi.

Comrade Garlandi also emphasised that perhaps we should have been more modest in the objectives.

It is not a very good idea to establish at the present time modest objectives. First of all what modest objectives? What objectives more modest than those established by the C.I. for International Day of August 1st? If it is a question of discussing the reaction of the bourgeoisie, of imperialism, and of the social-democracy, of the Trotsky renegades and opportunists, then comrades, even if we had had more modest objectives I do not believe that would have prevented the bourgeois governments or the social-democrats from shouting about insurrection, adventurism, and putsch, because this is a method of discrediting our effort and our struggle.

I believe that the objectives issued for International Day of struggle against imperialist war, were set within the limits of the present moment, that is to say, within the limits of the greatest struggle of the working masses at a time when new elements are joining the struggle — the peasantry, the colonial peoples, and new elements such as the Negro population of the Congo.

At this moment it is impossible to set more modest objectives than those established for International Day.

We have already characterised the Day of August 1st, by saying that it should be a more active moment in the struggle of the masses in a period of heightened class struggle — an appeal to the masses for the unification of their struggle, for their international unity under the banner of the C.I. This objective which we set ourselves at this time is a mass objective, an objective of mass education. It is also a change, as the appeal of the Western European Bureau called it. But in what sense can August 1st be characterised as a change? Is it because we are going to bring about an insurrection? Certainly not. But it is a change in the sense that it indicates to the masses a change in their revolutionary political struggle; it is

a change in the sense that it places on a political basis the whole class-struggle movement of the workers; it is a change in the sense that it enables us to correct the weaknesses and errors existing in various sections of the C. I.

In this sense August 1st is a change for our revolutionary political activity.

Comrades, these are the most important remarks I wanted to make on a few points which were raised in the discussion. In general, in the discussion on the Draft Resolution which was submitted there is no important disagreement. I believe that we can limit ourselves to adopting this draft resolution as a basis.

Resolution of the E. C. C. I. on the International Day Against Imperialist War.

In fulfilment of the decision of the VI. World Congress re organisation of an **International Day Against Imperialist war**, the Plenary meeting of the E. C. C. I. endorses the decision of the conference of thirteen Communist Parties in **Brussels** to fix that Day for **August 1st** and fully approves the instructions issued by the Politsecretariat of the E. C. C. I. to the Sections of the Comintern concerning the organisation of this International Day.

The militancy of the May Day demonstrations of this year, especially the heroic struggle of the **Berlin workers on May 1st** on the barricades, and the application of the political strike as a weapon in the fight, the struggle of the workers of **Bombay** under circumstances of the growth of the national revolutionary movement in India, the ever growing economic battles of the working class, gives the international campaign of August 1st against imperialist war and reaction the significance of an event which goes beyond the framework of ordinary working class action against imperialist war.

The campaign of August 1st must be closely linked up with the general economic and political struggle of the working class, its revolutionary struggle against capitalism, fascism and fascist social democracy including the **MacDonald government**, which is a government of war and capitalist rationalisation. This action must become a powerful means of unifying on an international scale the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat against capitalism. In view of the tremendous importance of August 1st, in the struggle against imperialist war and for the defence of the U. S. S. R., the **Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I.** proposes to all Sections of the Comintern:

1. To take and to intensify all preparatory measures in order to lend the action of the international proletariat against imperialist war and for the defence of the U. S. S. R. on August 1st, the character of a militant display of the **revolutionary fighting forces of the proletariat**.

2. For this purpose it is necessary to intensify the activity directed towards the mobilisation of the broad mass of workers by means of application of the new forms of tactics of the united workers' front from below, in the factories; to carry out most energetically the work of organisation of **workers' committees** and call **delegates conferences** elected in the mills, mines and factories for the realisation of the action of August 1st and also for the carrying on of the campaign against imperialist war after August 1st as well.

3. The sections of the Communist International prior to August 1st must develop the struggle of the working masses for the right of **workers' manifestations in the streets** and to this end they must organise in all countries mass meetings and mass manifestations and even where this will be prohibited by the police, unauthorised meetings and street demonstrations should be held.

4. An extensive mass struggle must be developed against the attempts of the bourgeoisie, especially in connection with August 1st to isolate the Communist Party from the broad mass of workers by repressive and terroristic measures, such

as the outlawing of labour organisations, persecution and closing down of the Communist press, dissolution of the Communist Parties, etc.

5. Utilising the experience of this year's May Day demonstration which, in some countries, have taken place with the active participation of **peasants**, the sections of the C. I. should take the necessary steps to involve the masses of agricultural labourers and peasants into the August 1st actions against imperialist war, linking up their participation with the immediate requirements and demands of the peasantry and the agricultural labourers.

6. The Sections of the C. I. must ruthlessly expose the **social democracy** and its role in the **preparations for war**, especially the "Left" social democrats, which are the most dangerous variety of social imperialism because they conceal and support the military preparations of the capitalist States for war by means of pacifist phrases used with the object of lulling the minds of the working class. With this in view it is necessary, among other means, also to organise active Communist groups to attend the social democratic meetings on August 4th.

7. A most energetic struggle should be waged against **pacifist illusions** which will be spread particularly now, in connection with the coming into office of the MacDonald Government in Great Britain. We must explain to the masses that MacDonald's coming to power at the present time is one of the forms of covering the direct preparation for the new imperialist war.

8. The Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I. recommends to all Sections of the Communist International the following forms of action on August 1st: the organisation, wherever possible, of **political mass strikes; mass meetings and street demonstrations of the workers** in spite of government prohibition must be organised with the participation of soldiers, sailors, women, young workers, ex-servicemen, war invalids, etc., in these demonstration and manifestations. In view of the growing reaction, and the possibility of provocative acts by the police and the fascists, all Communist Parties must immediately take steps to strengthen or to create **proletarian self-defence organisations**, everywhere and first of all in the enterprises.

9. The campaign against imperialist war and reaction and for the defence of the U. S. S. R., must be continued also after August 1st; for this purpose it is necessary that the achievements obtained in the organisation of International Day Against Imperialist War on August 1st should be retained in lasting organisational measure. This e. g. may be accomplished by means of calling **non-Party delegate conferences of factory representatives** in the industrial districts with the aim of organising national workers' congresses against imperialist war.

10. The Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I. calls upon the working masses of the **colonial and semi-colonial countries** to support vigorously the action of the international proletariat against imperialist war. It is the task of all Sections of the C. I. to strengthen the revolutionary activity among the workers of the colonial and semi-colonial countries and

also to intensify the anti-militarist activity among the imperialist occupation troops.

Pointing out the insufficient activity of some Sections of the C. I. in the preparations for International Day Against Imperialist War, the Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I. records that inactivity in this connection on the part of some **Elements** in the Communist Parties is an expression of general opportunist tendencies bound up with their underestimation of the war danger, their fatalist attitude towards it, with the underestimation of the strength of the proletariat and the diminishing of the role of the Communist Parties in the proletarian class wars. Calling upon all Sections of the Comintern to wage a most determined struggle against inactivity and pessimism displayed by the opportunist elements, the Plenary Session of the E. C. of the C. I. records that the greater realisation of the war danger by the working class, the growth of militant

activity of the masses, the growing influence of Communism under the conditions of the development of a new revolutionary revival of the labour movement, create very favourable conditions for making the militant International Day Against Imperialist War a great success. The Communist Parties must concentrate all their efforts to utilise the few weeks they still have before them for the preparation of this Day.

The Plenary Session of the E. C. of the C. I. appeals to the **trade unions** and to the **revolutionary mass organisations** to take most active part in the preparation and the organisation of the International Day Against Imperialist War. Party members working in trade unions and revolutionary mass organisations, must do their utmost to draw all these organisations and also the **unemployed** into the participation in the mass action of August 1st and to make it a success.

TO OUR READERS!

The monthly subscription rates for the "Inprecorr" are as follows:

England	2 sh.
America	50 cents
Germany	1.50 marks
Austria	2 schillings
Norway	1.50 crowns
Sweden	1.50 crowns
Denmark	1.50 crowns
U. S. S. R.	1 rouble

For all other countries the subscription rate is 3 dollars for six months.

Readers in the United States will please note that the sole agents for the "Inprecorr" in the U. S. A. are the Workers Library Publishers, 39 East 125th Street, New York, N. Y., to whom all subscriptions should be sent.