

Comrade WOLFE (America):

Comrades! In the first place I must express on behalf of the American delegation its regret that the **Opposition** in our Party, in such an irresponsible manner, has again attempted to turn the 'World Congress of the Communist International into an enlarged Anglo-American Secretariat. At every stage they have introduced matter into this Congress that cannot be examined except by a small working commission. They have been speaking **over the heads of the Congress delegates**, to the "masses" beyond, to the rank and file of the American Party, in an effort to utilise this Congress as a sounding board to start a new factional war in the American Party.

Comrades, it has been said here that the working class was omitted from the report of Comrade **Lovestone**. But I must

say that the comrades do not know how to listen or do not want to understand what they hear. I will mention only a few of the points that I heard in Comrade Lovestone's report that dealt with the working class and its activities in the war danger:

- 1) The repression of the workers as part of the war preparation.
- 2) The effect on the standard of living of the working class caused by the export of capital and the consequent sharpening of the class struggle.
- 3) The role of the labour aristocracy and the trade union bureaucracy.
- 4) The role of the State apparatus.
- 5) The Party as the sole leader of the struggle against war.

And this is called: "leaving out the working class".

Comrade Bittelman comes here for the second time to declare that the basic cause of imperialist war does not lie in the relation of forces between the imperialist powers and in the uneven development in those relationships, but the basic cause is to be found in the inner contradictions inside of each imperialist power. Comrade Bukharin answered him and called this attitude a social democratic attitude. It seems Comrade Bittelman is unable to learn, because he comes and repeats the same error, after hearing Comrade Bukharin's summary.

I turn now to some general questions.

First, the importance of the **Left turn that the Communist International** is attempting to execute in the various sections of the Comintern from the standpoint of the world situation, the war danger and the preparations for war. It is made in order to steel the Parties for the great struggles that are coming, to prevent vacillations when war begins, to prepare the Parties for illegality, to promote greater self-activity of the masses, to expose and destroy the influence of Pacifists, Liberals, and the trade union bureaucracy and Social Democracy. It is important because of the vital need of greater internationalism at this time in our parties.

A new war, comrades, may start on any front and with such a world situation as we have today, the American working class for example must have their eyes focussed on **Lithuania and Poland** which have scarcely existed for them previously. They must have their eyes focussed on **China**, on every centre of possible war.

Secondly, in such a situation it is a most vital necessity for every Party to carry on a continuous **anti-war campaign**. Thus in the American Party this continuous campaign has been carried on under a whole series of different aspects. The **Hands-off-China campaign** is one phase of it; the **Hands off Nicaragua Campaign** another. The **10th Anniversary of the Soviet Union**, the return of the trade union delegation that went to the Soviet Union, were turned into campaigns for the defence of the Soviet Union. Our campaign against the Trotsky opposition was basically a campaign against the slanderous attacks on the Soviet Union which if unrefuted would have rendered the working class incapable of defence of the working class Fatherland. The **Kellogg Treaty**, the naval and military preparations, the Pan-American Federation of Labour Convention — each of these concrete occasions have been made the centre of one of the phases of a continually growing and continuous anti-war campaign.

Third, our Party and I think all Parties of the Comintern must greatly intensify their work inside the armed forces of the imperialist powers. Our Party has made a beginning in this direction. Leaflet distributions, demonstrations, correspondence and the sending of a few picked comrades into the army — but it is only a beginning and unless it is vastly extended will be hopelessly inadequate for the needs of the period we are approaching.

Fourth, it is necessary for every Party to be most vigilant in the constant and swift correction of every error of a pacifist character made during the present period. We must carry on a continuous fight against pacifist illusions in the working class, and above all, in the ranks of our Party. In that connection I want to say that the comrades of our Opposition have sought to create a completely false picture of the nature of the anti-war work of the American Party.

Comrade Dunne neglected to say that the manifesto read by him was written before the last Convention of our Party, corrected by the Convention, publicly by me and by the C.I. representative, utilised later in a national Agitprop conference for further correction.

Furthermore there are features of that manifesto that Comrade Dunne still does not seem to understand. Although it was clumsy, stupid, wrong, nevertheless it contains within it the first effort of the American Party to address itself directly to the American marines. And Comrade Foster, only a few days ago criticised precisely that positive side of it — namely — that this manifesto protests against the death of marines in Nicaragua!

I want to speak a moment about the correction of errors in our Party and the difficulties we have in making those corrections. Comrade Dunne knows, as all American delegates know, that the worst errors made in our Party for any length of time were made in **California**. In California they declared that unemployment was due to the fact that there had been a revolution in China and a revolution in the Soviet Union. This objective incitement to crush the Chinese and Russian revolutions was one error Comrade Dunne never mentioned. The second, we wrote to our California District Organiser, instructing him to distribute a leaflet among the marines. He said in the district committee, "Only a provocateur could instruct a Communist Party to distribute leaflets among the marines". The third one — California recently issued a leaflet saying "Since when is learning to handle a rifle or to shoot men of educational value?"

Comrade Dunne does not mention these errors because the comrade who is the district organiser in California is receiving factional protection from the Opposition and because he is a supporter of this newly-baked "Left wing" that discovers itself at this Congress.

There is one other sore spot in our Party where we have had difficulty in correcting pacifist and opportunist errors, and that sore spot is the **Anti-Imperialist League**.

I will mention a few we have had to correct and have corrected. 1) the sabotaging of the **Hands Off Nicaragua Committee** set up in Latin America and setting up of a **Red Cross Committee** in place of it. 2) The issuing of a slogan of "enlist with Sandino — join the Red Cross". 3) The advice given by the head of the Anti-Imperialist League to comrades to plead guilty in the court when they were arrested for demonstrating in front of the White House. Comrade Dunne does not mention these cases because this newly-baked "Left winger" who made them, sits here in the Congress as a part of our opposition.

Next, I want to protest in the name of the delegation against the deliberately false impression that has been given concerning the work of our Party in the anti-war campaign. The Party has done much work, and in the main, good work. Outside of California, and outside of the work of Comrade Gomez, it has made few errors and corrected them very quickly.

I want to remind the Congress that our Party was born in a struggle against war, was born in a split in the Socialist Party on just this issue of a struggle against imperialist war. And Comrade **Ruthenburg**, who led that split was the first American to go to jail in 1917 for opposition to the imperialist war. The comrades who today lead our Party are largely the same ones who founded that Left wing in the Socialist Party.

I can only enumerate a few of our recent activities: **Hands off China Campaign**. The defence of the Soviet Union campaign. **Hands Off Nicaragua** campaign with defeatist slogans. The campaign to desert to Sandino, based particularly on the desertion of two American marines. The demonstrations before the embassies. The distribution of leaflets inside the Navy Yards, the Boston Navy Yard, the Philadelphia Navy Yard, the Norfolk Navy Yard. The penetration of Fort Slocum and distribution of leaflets there. The leaflet distribution to the soldiers during the war manoeuvres in New York. The correction of the boycott slogan for the Citizens Military Training Camps and the sending of the youth into the C.M.T.C. The sending of the first Communists into the Army. The establishment of an anti-war department in the "**Daily Worker**". The setting up of an anti-militarist department. The establishment of a mailing list of soldiers and sailors to receive weekly news letters. The building of a **women's anti-war movement**. The connections built up for the organisation of the world war veterans. The Red Army anniversary campaign, etc., etc.

I must say that special credit must be given to our **Young Workers Communist League** for its activity in every one of these campaigns and for the fact that this summer in every

summer school of the League they are giving courses in military training chiefly to overcome pacifist illusions.

Finally, the entire **election campaign** is carried on in the spirit of a struggle against war, in the spirit of a struggle to defend the Soviet Union, in the spirit of a struggle against imperialism. And the election platform is imbued with the same spirit.

Comrades, America has traditions on which we build for a struggle against imperialist war that we cannot afford to neglect. We have the tradition of **Ruthenberg**, the tradition of **Debs**, the tradition of **Haywood**. We have the strike of the longshorement on the Pacific Coast to prevent the sending of munitions to Kolchak. We have the tradition of the American soldiers who mutinied in Archangel and compelled the government to withdraw them. Building upon these traditions, our Party must lead the American working class towards the defeat of our ruling class in the next imperialist war.