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SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

(FULL REPORT.)

Twentieth Session.

Moscow, August 3, 1928 (morning):

Methods of the Struggle against the Danger of Imperialist War.

Co-Report of Comrade Witkovski.

Under the chairmanship of Comrade Cachin the discussion is continued on the second point on the agenda.

Comrade WITKOWSKI (Communist Fraction of the R. I. L. U.):

In the struggle against the war danger the trade unions must play an extremely important role as mass organisations with the aid of which we can penetrate the depths of the working class. Here however we encounter first of all the attitude of the Amsterdam International and of all of its affiliated organisations without exception, with respect to the war — sanctimonious in form but decidedly treacherous in its essence. After the declaration of war in 1914 the International Trade Union Secretariat collapsed exactly as did the II. International.

The chief task of the reformist trade unions in all the countries at war was to impel the working class to refrain from economic and political struggle, and to tie it up most closely with the war.

When the Russian proletariat overthrew Tsarism and transformed the imperialist war into a civil war, the reformist trade union leaders continued their policy of the past, the policy of imperialist lackeys. In Germany and Austria in 1918 they supported the war against the Soviet Union, in France, Belgium, etc., they looked upon the October revolution as a weakening of the Entente front and not only failed to come out against the policy of intervention, but on the contrary they helped to throttle the revolution in Hungary. Finally, they took an active part in signing of the Versailles peace.

The Amsterdam International, which was founded after the war, at its foundation congress followed an identical policy towards the German trade unions as did Great Britain towards the vanquished German nation.

Thereby the reformist international, resurrected after the war, on the one hand emphasised that it is determined to collaborate with the entire imperialist bourgeoisie in the policy of duping the proletariat, by parroting the bourgeoisie in saying that a settlement of threatening conflicts is possible on a peaceful path. On the other hand, the Amsterdam International strove to awaken illusions in the working class as to the approach of social peace, and for this purpose set itself the task of diverting the proletariat from immediate class struggles.

In its further development the Amsterdam International fell lower and lower. By their membership in the League of Nations and in the International Labour Office, by their entrance into or support of the bourgeois governments in Germany, Great Britain and France, the Amsterdamers support the imperialist policy of their States and are taking the most active part in this policy. In questions of disarmament they take the same position as their government. They are endeavouring to begot the masses as to the war danger which constantly threatens in connection with the conflicts resulting from the peace established by the Versailles peace treaty. The pacifism of the Amsterdamers is only a cloak for the imperialist policy of the bourgeoisie.

With respect to colonial wars and conflicts, with respect to the liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples of the

colonies, the Amsterdammers have the position of their bourgeois States.

When the so-called Labour Government of MacDonald got into power, based upon the British trade unions, they carried on against India the same policy of imperialist oppression as do the unmasked bourgeois governments.

When the French C. G. T. U., courageously fulfilling its revolutionary duty, launched a campaign against the war in Morocco and declared a one-day protest strike for October 12, 1925, the reformists not only forbade their unions to participate in this strike but also helped the government in its struggle against the organisers of the strike.

When Great Britain sent troops to China, the leaders of the British trade unions contented themselves with a resolution which expressed "regret for the challenging military demonstration directed against the Canton Government, since such a demonstration is only inclined to arouse a spirit of panic and aggressiveness in both (!) camps and to make inevitable the very catastrophes which they claim to seek to prevent."

The resolution contains no protest against the sending of troops and against the intervention in revolutionary China.

During the whole course of the Chinese revolution the attitude of the British reformists towards the revolution remained unchanged. And no matter what the resolutions written under the pressure of the masses may say, the British reformists in the essence of the thing are in solidarity with their government.

The organisations affiliated to the Amsterdam International arranged no campaigns of any sort in defence of the Chinese revolution. In March 1927 Oudegeest gave a rebuffing answer to the appeal of the representative of the Chinese Seamen's Union for the arrangement of demonstrations in Europe for the Chinese revolution. The reformists also refused to send delegations. The Amsterdam International therefore stands fully by the imperialist position, and is only concerned with concealing the essence of its policy with revolutionary phrases.

Amsterdam never ceases to shout about struggle against Fascism. Its supporters in Italy, however, have either gone over to the side of Fascism, or have miserably capitulated to it, or else have fled abroad. Whatever the Amsterdammers may say it is beyond doubt for anyone that Albert Thomas, at the time of his trip to Rome, which aroused so much attention, played the role of an intermediary between Amsterdam and Mussolini. In Poland also the reformist trade union leaders actively support the Fascist Government.

In respect to the danger of a war with the Soviet Union, the Amsterdam leaders such as Jouhaux declare that the Soviet Union is the only enemy of peace. But they do not content themselves with vilifying the Soviet Union, and with opposing the peace proposals made by the Soviet Delegation to the Disarmament Conference, but they take an active part in the preparation for war. Exactly the same is the position of the French, German and other reformists. At times they are forced by mass pressure to pass protest resolutions against the preparations for war against the Soviet Union, but this does not change essentially their hypocritical treacherous policy.

Thus the General Council of the Trade Unions, when the British Government broke off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, broke up the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee. These two facts are most closely bound up with one another. The Polish reformist Trade Union Federation obviously supports the Fascist Government of Pilsudski which prepares for a war against the Soviet Union; in their resolutions the Polish reformists have the brazenness to speak of a "Soviet imperialism" and to maintain that the war danger threatens not only from the side of the bourgeois States but also from the side of the Soviet Union.

We must enlighten the workers that the "pacifism" of the Amsterdammers has an essentially imperialistic content, that it is only a special form of preparation for war. This form is more dangerous than the armaments, the building of new warships, etc., because it has the purpose of disarming the working class in the event of a war, to utilise the powerful trade union organisations for aims contrary to the interests of the proletariat, to subjugate other peoples, and to destroy the first workers' State in the world.

The R. I. L. U. and its affiliated organisations have always adopted against the Amsterdam International, a revolutionary class-conscious attitude on the question of war.

In the question of the struggle against the war the R. I. L. U. not only gave advice in the resolutions of all its Congresses, but it took a stand on all concrete questions, on the wars in Syria and Morocco, on the Chinese revolution, etc. Its supporters arranged a whole series of campaigns and spoke personally in these countries. We must emphasise especially the large-scale campaign arranged by the C. G. T. U. in France in 1925 against the wars in Morocco and Syria. The apex of this campaign was the one-day general strike in which one million workers participated.

The revolutionary international committees for propaganda and action in the various branches of industry likewise carried on anti-militarist agitation and propaganda in their field of activity. Some of them — the transport workers and chemical workers — worked out in their international conferences, practical measures for the combating of the war danger.

The foundation, in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of international trade union federations, such as the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and the Latin American Trade Union Federation, which embrace not only the adherents of the R. I. L. U. but also workers of other tendencies, is of greatest importance for the extension of the struggle against the war danger. The significance of these organisations is all the greater because the former works in colonial countries and the latter in such American countries where a struggle is being waged against American imperialism.

Our struggle against the war danger must be closely bound up with the daily economic struggles of the working class, with their demands, with the defence of their rights and achievements, with the defence of the trade union organisations against the joint offensive of the capitalists and the governments. Only such a concrete character of the struggle against the war can give us the possibility of winning over the masses of organised trade unionists despite the treacherous policy of the reformists.

In our everyday propaganda and agitation we must realise and make clear that the capitalist offensive of Fascism and reaction against the working class not only aims at the stabilisation of capitalism at the expense of the working class, but to a no lesser extent also the preparation for war. The propaganda for peace in industry, for class collaboration, for obligatory arbitration, has the sole aim of robbing the proletariat, in times of war, of its only weapon, the class struggle. The combating of these efforts must therefore constitute the subject of our everyday agitation and other activities. Every big strike, every trade union campaign, must be exploited to show the working class that the struggle for daily demands is bound up with the struggle against the war danger.

The efforts for the creation of Fascists' unions, or trade unions organised by the employers (company unions), the agitation for the formation of non-political trade unions, must be exposed among the workers as an attempt of the bourgeoisie to deprive the proletariat of fighting organisations in times of war.

In striving to link up the economic struggle of the working class with the struggle against war, we must utilise united front tactics. Committees of action must be established for the fight against the war danger. They must organise anti-war meetings, publish factory papers and in connection with the trade union organisation conduct the whole anti-war work in the factory.

In the struggle against the war the task of capturing the lower trade union organs and driving the reformist leaders out of them, takes on special importance. It must be made clear to the masses that only revolutionary class unions can be a means of struggle against the war danger. It is equally important to create a foundation for the trade unions in the factories.

The revolutionary trade unions, and the revolutionary trade union minorities, must not lose connection with the workers who are drawn into military service. These must remain trade union members, and through them revolutionary activity in the army is to be developed.

All trade unions are to be drawn into the political anti-war campaign, and must take the most active part in the latter.

In every country the trade unions or the revolutionary minorities must actively oppose the military budget, the in-

crease of armaments, and must support the demands for the reduction of the military service period, for the cutting down of the army, etc. They must oppose the aggressive policy of their governments which are preparing new military conflicts, and must expose the role of the reformists.

In the struggle against the war danger generally, the struggle against the danger with which the Soviet Union is menaced is of special importance. In this struggle our slogan, also in the trade unions, must be the defence of the Soviet Union, as the only fatherland of the workers.

The premise for success in this work is an extensive enlightenment of the masses on the achievements of the working class in the Soviet Union, on the successes in the work of socialist construction, a comparison between the methods of "peace in industry" and class collaboration as against the revolutionary methods of the class struggle by means of which the Russian proletariat was victorious. It is equally necessary to present the essence of the world policy of the Soviet Union, and to contrast this to the aggressive plans of the imperialist powers against the Soviet Union.

Particularly significant is the role of the trade unions of the railwaymen, seamen, dock workers, metal workers, miners and chemical workers.

The work must be concentrated primarily in the largest industrial centres, in the harbour towns and railway junction points.

The anti-war work of the trade unions must be international. The international struggle against the imperialist war which the R. I. L. U. has been waging for years must be intensified with all means. It shall also be conducted along the line of the international propaganda and action committees, emphasising the particularly important role of the transport workers, chemical workers, metal workers and miners.

Only a stubbornly conducted struggle, day after day, can transform the imperialist war into the civil war. In this struggle for the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war the trade unions can play an active role if they act not like in 1914, but in the opposite direction. This will depend upon the extent to which we will succeed in driving out the Amsterdam bureaucrats, and in leading the economic struggles of the proletariat.

It will be our task to direct the economic struggles of the working class on the basis of the conflicts inevitably created by the war, to organise strikes for daily demands and to tie them up with the struggle against the war. To the extent that these strikes develop and that contradictions are sharpened we shall have to extend them, striving to transform them in the proper moment of the struggle into a general strike, which will be the introduction to an armed uprising. Of special importance in the economic struggle will be the transport system and the branches of industry directly involved in

the conduct of war. In case of war it will be the task of the transport workers to refuse to move war materials intended for a war against the Soviet Union, against the colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

On all frontiers, the railwaymen in the countries in question must organise control commissions to keep check and to prevent the transport of war material. In connection with the war danger, the work among the seamen and harbour workers is of special importance. Port bureaux are to be organised in all most important harbours. The activity of already existing port bureaux shall be extended and increased.

We must give special attention to activity among the aviation forces, and increase the trade union work in the chemical industry in all countries. The revolutionary chemical workers should maintain contact with the transport workers in order to prevent the shipment of explosives and gases.

In all metal works action committees must be organised to fight against the placing of the factories on war production. The manufacture of arms and other war material intended for use against the Soviet Union and against colonial and semi-colonial countries must be prevented.

The economic struggle and the organising of anti-war work among the miners is of greatest importance since the undisturbed transport of coal is an indispensable condition of warfare.

The trade union work must be co-ordinated in the whole system of war industry and war transport. Efforts must be made to bring about blocs and agreements between the unions involved in war industry.

We must reckon with the result of the declaration of war in the form of an increase in the repressive measures against the revolutionary trade unions, particularly in connection with the intensified economic struggle, and still more as a result of cases of active resistance to the war on the part of the trade unions. This will confront the trade unions with the task of carrying on a fight for their legality. For this purpose efforts must be made to bring the trade unions into contact with the masses, by creating trade union nuclei in the factories, by organising factory committees, committees of action, etc.

The mighty army of labour, which is organised in independent revolutionary trade unions and in reformist organisations must be led into struggle for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, for the destruction of the powers of the bourgeoisie, for the transformation of the capitalist system into the socialist order. All objective conditions are of such a nature that they only justify our hopes that the year 1914 cannot repeat itself on the trade union front and that our revolutionary trade union movement will fulfil the task which devolves upon it (Applause).

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

Comrade SIKANDUR (India):

Comrades, Comrade Bell in his theses seems to have magnified the rivalries between the capitalist countries too much. He totally ignores the fact that these rivalries have now temporarily assumed the form of family quarrels. These quarrels of course arise out of the differences as to the sharing of markets. British imperialism, the father of the family, steps in, in all such cases, and decides the matter in favour of one country or another. Its arbitration is voluntarily accepted. The free booters, the imperialists, now stand united in their aims against the U. S. S. R. in spite of their differences.

The history of the entire post-war period has been one of monstrous war-preparations in every capitalist country against the Soviet Union. All along this period the scientific discoveries have been made use for the improvement of the man-slaughter machinery. The war which apparently terminated in 1918, practically developed into an intensified class war. The coming into existence of the proletarian state in Russia threw all the warring factions into one camp. The belligerents became allies and the united energy was directed to crush the proletarian revolution. A period of counter-revolution, blockade, and actual

armed intervention ensued. We know it well, how all this ended in a disaster for the aggressors. All attempts to smash the revolution failed. But the defeats did not dishearten the world bourgeoisie. The temporary cessation of hostilities was the beginning of preparations on a vast scale for a new offensive. The intervention period from 1920 to 1928, besides being one of war preparations, has also been one of creating an ideological background for such a drive on the proletarian state.

Apparently torn apart by competition and race in armaments, the bourgeoisie stand united in their common intentions against the Soviet Union.

Comrade Bell has dealt with the question of war in an abstract form. He ought to have been more concrete as to why of all the imperialist powers, British imperialism is the most hostile to the Soviet Union, and why it is supported in all its anti-Soviet moves by the world bourgeoisie. It is a recognised fact that British imperialism is the axis on which world capitalism revolves. Any check to it is a check to world capitalism.

Apart from being an ideological attraction for the world proletarian revolution, the Soviet Union constitutes a strong political unit. By the consolidation of the Soviet power in the

East, Britain's diplomatic status is shattered. Her hold on the untapped reservoirs of the East and rich markets of Asia is loosened. The message of proletarian revolution has penetrated the far-off obscure hamlets. The age-old slaves of India have challenged Britain's right to rule over them. The backward people of China have taken a definite stand against their old arrogant enemy; and, last of all, the Afghans and Persians have ousted her. All this is a bitter pill for British imperialism.

The great crisis in British economy, which is leading to the decline of capitalism before our very eyes, at the same time shattering to pieces its entire cultural structure, is producing in the British capitalist class a spirit of despair and vengeance against the Soviet Union, the only proletarian state. They attribute all their crises and diplomatic defeats to the "pernicious propaganda". While in fact all this is to be considered as the antagonism between the productive forces and the production relations.

Militant strikes, the crises in all spheres of industry, revolutionary waves in the colonies, sharpening of class antagonisms in all the industrially developed countries, the scarcity of markets for capitalist production, the futility of reckless competition in industry — these are signals of a gigantic eruption.

Most of the comrades treat the problem of the War Danger very lightly. They ridicule the possibility of a war in the near future. I put them a straight question: what is the meaning of the iron ring round the Soviet Union, of the Locarno pact, military and semi-military alliances, the multilateral treaties, the mechanisation of the armies, the increase of the aerial and naval armaments, the concentration of forces on the North-western frontiers of India, the hoarding of munitions in Poland? What are these if not the harbingers of a colossal storm?

Who can deny that the British imperialists have been provoking war ever since 1923. From the cold-blooded murder of Comrade Vorovsky in Switzerland down to the raids on Soviet embassies in China and England, the murders in Poland and China, the breaking off of the diplomatic relations — the imperialists of Britain have ceaselessly provoked war.

War preparations are numerous in India. The entire country is in the melting pot. Secret meetings of the heads of the districts with the feudal lords frequently take place all over the recruitment areas. Ceaseless efforts are being made to get the active support of India in the coming war. Aerodromes are multiplying on the Indo-Afghan border. A new station is being constructed near Razmak to accommodate some 12,000 soldiers in addition to 25,000 regular troops already stationed there. The whole border from Quetta upwards to Chitral resembles a war zone. According to the new scheme the three big fortified bases are now being extended. The first of these is the one at Peshawar. 25,000 men and three air squadrons are concentrated here, with huge stores of ammunition. There is a base at Kohat with 10,000 men and one air squadron. Another big base, described as the biggest in the world, is at Razmak. This base has great strategic importance as the Afghan military centre of Ghazni can be stormed within the lapse of a few days. Besides these there is the big base at Quetta, a huge fortified centre with an aerodrome, which is now being extended.

Besides the figures mentioned above there are the regular troops in all the cantonment networks.

The Native States armies which numbered 90,000 after the war, have now been raised to the strength of 150,000. But as this army under the Native States has been found inefficient the control has been taken over by the central government. It is being modernised now. The strength of the purely British army after the war was 75,000. Now the number has been raised to 150,000. The entire artillery is in the hands of the British troops. Then there is also a police force fully equipped. European residents in India have been enlisted in the Volunteer Force. Indian students, mostly from the upper layer of the society, are being attracted to military service.

Recruitment in India is continuously going on, especially in the Indo-Afghan and Indo-Chinese border areas. On the Indo-Afghan Border, or as it is known, the N. W. F. Province, there exists nothing like civic life. It is known in India as the lawless land. The administration is entirely in the hands of the military. Recruitment is the daily topic. In the small area round about Delhi and Meerut, 50,000 recruits have been enlisted recently. Confidential circulars were issued to the heads of the district administration throughout the country for recruitment early this year.

The termination of the war in Europe made it imperative for the imperialists to demobilise a large part of the army. The stupendous rise of the nationalist movement in 1920—22 forced the British Government to think seriously over the problem of the disbanded soldiers. But imperialism knows no other method than brute force. Charges of vagrancy and bad behaviour were framed against a considerable number of disbanded soldiers. Some were charged with dacoities and thus easily thrown into prison. But now the policy is altogether different. Confidential circulars had been issued as early as January 1927 to induce the ex-service men to take up service. From frying pan to fire, these people have no other way. Recruitment in India, though outwardly looks voluntary, yet in fact is carried on under strict repressive measures.

Most of the comrades here talk of anti-war propaganda, but there is no clearness on this issue. If by anti-war propaganda is meant the same thing that happened in the case of armed intervention in China, then it would be nothing short of criminal indifference. The British soldiers were allowed to ship off safely to China and then a campaign of resolutions of sympathy with the Chinese movement was started. This cannot be the work of the Communists. Only armchair-politicians can be satisfied with such a state of affairs. The work of the Communists is to strike the enemy on the forehead and not throw a shower of resolutions in the rear. We should not only start a systematic propaganda in the army against the war but should also arouse the desire in them to overthrow oppression in their own lands. The Comintern will have to attempt a strong policy in this direction.

It is not wrong to say that no Party, with the exception of the German comrades, have taken the war danger seriously. If the comrades of the other countries had attached any importance to it, there would have been Red Front Fighters Leagues in almost all the countries. It is the eleventh hour, yet it is not too late if we solemnly undertake to start our campaign even now. The comrades from the Baltic States and the States adjoining the Soviet Union have a heavy task to perform. The Persian comrades have to reckon with the intrigues of British imperialism with Riza Shah. The Polish comrades, whose country is becoming more and more a war magazine of world imperialism, have to perform a hard task. They should forget their internal dissensions and should hammer out a definite, concrete, clear-out policy to frustrate all hopes and intentions of the imperialists.

As for India: our situation is difficult, our path is uneven. Nowhere is repression so great as in India, no country is so much cut off from the rest of the world. In spite of all this we are not sitting silent. We know perfectly well that this time the theatre of operations will be India. The strategic importance of India need not be emphasised, it is as clear as day. We have started a propaganda for the defeat of British arms. On the National Congress platform, in military areas, in workers' quarters, in peasant fields, wherever we get access, we definite schemes to harass it in the rear if it is impertinent do our work despite the heavy hand of imperialism. We have enough to start with the "offensive" action. We will put the enemy between two fires. We will nip in the bud its scheme of colonisation of Turkestan.

Comrades, it should be realised that India is the most vulnerable point to deal British imperialism a mortal blow. If you reckon the potentiality of such a blow, then you will co-operate with us and render us facilities from your countries to promote our work. If this co-operation is assured, the days are not far when we will be able to throw British Imperialism into the Indian Ocean and remove this perpetual danger, not only from the Soviet Union, but from the proletarians of the whole world.

Comrade KRULIKOVSKI (Poland):

Comrades, the Fascist dictatorship of Pilsudski considered it necessary, on the occasion of the report of Comrade Bukharin on the activity of the C. I. to raise a protest to the Government of the U. S. S. R., through Pilsudski's lackey, Zalevski, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. That section of the report in which Comrade Bukharin said that the Polish Communists, in the event of war against the Soviet Union, would fulfil their proletarian duty and defend the U. S. S. R. as their Fatherland, as the Fatherland of the world proletariat, aroused par-

ticular rage in the Polish Government, and on the part of its dictator, Pilsudski. He is of the opinion that this section of Comrade Bukharin's speech constitutes interference in the internal affairs of Poland. In reality, however, Pilsudski's protest is an attempt to gag the Soviet soldiers, workers and peasants, in order that they shall not dare to express what they expect and demand from their Polish brothers during the war that is being prepared by international capitalism against the Soviet Union. The Polish dictator, Pilsudski, talks about interference in the internal affairs of Poland — the same Pilsudski who in 1918, 1919, and 1920 threw his White armies, jointly with the Russian counter-revolutionary bands, into Soviet Russia, the same Pilsudski who murdered and robbed the citizens, workers, soldiers and peasants of the Soviet Union, the same Pilsudski who devastated and ruined vast territories with fire and sword, one might say the whole of Soviet White Russia and a large part of Soviet Ukraine. He talks about interference in the internal affairs of Poland, he who organised the bands of Petliura and Balakovitch, who in 1920—23 forayed forth from Poland, under the instructions of the Polish general staff, under the leadership of Polish general staff officers, to conduct a series of raids and robber campaigns into the U. S. S. R., in which they murdered the best fighters of the revolution. This same Pilsudski talks about interference in internal affairs, who in Poland tolerates White Guard organisations which murdered the Soviet Ambassador in Poland and who instigated terrorist conspiracies in the U. S. S. R. This same man talks about interference in the internal affairs of Poland — while he facilitates espionage, provocation and sabotage on the territory of the U. S. S. R., as has already been repeatedly proven beyond all doubt in the Court procedure in the U. S. S. R. and recently in the trial of the counter-revolutionaries of the Don-Basin.

Comrades, Pilsudski talks about interference in the internal affairs of Poland, Pilsudski, who tore West White Russia and West Ukraine from their Socialist Fatherland by force of arms, who holds their peoples in his claws by means of the most brutal terror, by means of the worst tyranny. He talks about interference who seized Vilna by armed force, and who now seeks to grab the whole of Lithuania for himself. He talks about the interference of the U. S. S. R. in Polish affairs, he who has transformed the whole of Poland into a military camp against the U. S. S. R., he who openly prepares a war against the U. S. S. R. before the eyes of the whole world, he who makes treaties with France, Roumania and other capitalist countries in order to destroy the U. S. S. R., the land of Socialist construction and of proletarian dictatorship. By war with the U. S. S. R. Pilsudski does not only seek to solve the general class task entrusted to him by the bourgeoisie, viz., the overthrow of the power of the workers and peasants, but in addition he wants to assure markets for Polish manufacturers, he wants to put the Polish landlords into a position where they can once more rob the peasants of Soviet Ukraine and Soviet White Russia of their land which during the October Revolution they took from their oppressors with arms in hand.

But Pilsudski has forgotten one thing: the revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers of Poland know that the Government of the U. S. S. R., the Government of the proletarian dictatorship is putting into practice the teachings of Lenin, one of the main points of which is the right of self-determination of peoples to the point of separation, as is proven by the rise of a whole series of Soviet Republics, such as Ukraine, White Russia, Georgia, etc. The revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers of Poland know that from the Soviet Union there is no threat of danger to the independence of Poland, because they know that here power is in the hands of their brothers, the workers of the Soviet Union. They know this, and therefore the deception intended by Pilsudski will not succeed. It will fail also because the revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers of Poland look upon the U. S. S. R. as their Fatherland, and because for decades they have fought against czarism shoulder to shoulder with you workers, peasants and soldiers of the Soviet Union — because the cement that binds the granite blocks on which the Soviet Union is based, is the blood of the Polish workers mixed with the blood of the toilers of the U. S. S. R.

Pilsudski will also fail because our Party, already in non-independent Poland, by its whole work, by its whole activity, has proven its international spirit. It has taught the workers true international proletarian solidarity, it has shown them the

international interests of the proletariat by calling upon the toilers, during the war between Poland and the U. S. S. R., to defend the U. S. S. R. against Poland. The C. P. of Poland, which conducts a heroic struggle for the interests of the Polish toilers, declares from this tribune to the workers, peasants and soldiers of Poland, that only in the struggle under the banners of the Social Revolution and of Communism, only by the defence of the U. S. S. R. against Poland, only by an armed uprising to transform Fascist Poland into a Soviet Poland, can the country be freed from the shackles of slavery which Pilsudski and the possessing classes of Poland have forged. Only by the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government of Poland can the working class assure its country a real independence.

Comrades, when I speak here of the possessing classes of Poland, of the war preparations of the dictator Pilsudski, I cannot pass over in silence the role of the P. P. S. in these war preparations against the U. S. S. R. The P. P. S. is a part of the II. International, and its leaders may rival the worst enemies of the working class, the bitterest enemies of the Soviet Union in their service to the imperialists, in their hatred against the U. S. S. R.

Just like the Georgian Mensheviks, the P. P. S. leaders are working directly in the general staff that is preparing an attack on the U. S. S. R.

The P. P. S. is paving the way, it is breaking the ground for Pilsudski. Its agents, the Goluvkos and Czapskis, travel to the Baltic countries and to Lithuania and prepare there either a war alliance of these States with Poland against the U. S. S. R., or else the immediate occupation of Lithuania by Fascist Poland. The P. P. S. is fighting not only against the working class by helping the Polish bourgeoisie to exploit the workers, it not only assassinated revolutionary workers on their way to work or in demonstrations, as was the case in the May Day demonstration this year, but it also sets itself the task, under the mask of a false pseudo-opposition against the Pilsudski government, actually working for it among the workers, peasantry and soldiers, of calumniating the U. S. S. R., in order to make cannon-fodder of the workers and peasants of Poland in the easiest possible way in case of a war against the U. S. S. R., in the interest of the Polish landlords and capitalists, in the interests of international capital.

While declaring our agreement with the Theses of Comrade Bell, in the name of the delegation of the C. P. P., I must, however, point out that the role of the peasantry in the war, and the importance of work among the peasantry is given extremely inadequate attention in the Theses. Yet this question is one of greatest importance, for war is not only a source of great sacrifice, terrible suffering, and the worst poverty for the peasantry, but it also means that they will shed their blood, give up their lives, solely for the interests of another class, against their own interests. The interests of the peasantry demands a joint struggle with the proletariat against all still prevailing remnants of feudalism, it demands in practically all states a joint struggle with the working class against the landlords, for the confiscation of the landed estates, for their uncompensated transfer to the peasantry. The vital interests of the peasantry demand that state power shall be taken into the hands of the workers and peasants, for only such a power can assure the peasant masses economic well-being and cultural development. Work among the peasantry is of greatest importance in connection with the growing war danger, for the parties of France, Italy, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, etc.

Likewise inadequate, in my opinion, is the treatment of the national question in the mother countries. It must be pointed out what tremendous forces can be won for the revolution if, e. g., the Communist Party of Great Britain fights for the right of self-determination to the point of separation for Ireland, and when also the Communist Parties of Italy, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc. fight for similar aims.

Our Parties are confronted by tremendous tasks. History has placed the C. P. P. in a responsible revolutionary post. Ideologically and politically our Party is equal to this great historical task. But in order to be able to fulfil it, our Party requires a consolidated leadership, that has the necessary authority, that gives the Party a correct political line, that solidifies, heals and broadens the Party, and that will lead with it the working class, the revolutionary peasantry and the soldiers in

the struggle for the defence of our Fatherland, the U. S. S. R., for the proletarian dictatorship in Poland, for a Polish Socialist Soviet Republic. (Applause.)

Comrade CARNEY (Ireland).

At the outset let us not overlook the main fact in regard to the vital problem of war, and that is, that the masses are not opposed to war. In our discussions let us not forget this vital factor in our campaign to prevent world war.

In the event of a war between America and England, which is more imminent than we think, fully 75% of the workers of the Irish Free State will be **pro-American**. The penetration of the Irish Free State by means of finance capital will pave the way for an unofficial understanding between Southern Ireland and America. On the other hand we will witness a strengthening of the British garrison in the North. It is not for nought that the American Navy visits the South of Ireland and that the British Navy follows with a visit to the North. The position of the Party in Ireland will be a difficult one, but it will be met.

The question of the Irish working class in Britain has been mentioned for the first time by Comrade Murpny. Let us examine this class in Britain. They form the basic elements among the unskilled workers of the chemical industry. In Silvertown, London, Newcastle-on-Tyne and Widnes, in Liverpool, all great centres of the chemical industry, are owned by the Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd. This is a position of strategic importance. In the next war it is a position that must demand our attention. On the docks you will find in such ports as Liverpool and London a very high percentage of the Irish working class. On the docks you will find a similar high percentage of the stokers and seamen. Owing to the personnel of the army let us not forget that the first revolt within the British army took place in India, when in 1916 the Connaught Rangers revolted against the execution of their fellow countrymen in Dublin, Ireland. The position of the Irish working class in Great Britain is one that requires immediate attention — **organisation not declamation** must be our slogan. We have recently had wholesale attacks upon the Irish working class in Britain. We have had a deputation to Joynson Hicks demanding the enactment of immigration legislation against the Irish. The British Party could have utilised this situation to bring the Irish workers nearer to the Party. This is mentioned in a friendly spirit in order to direct the attention of the Party to the possibilities of organising work. **If our work is to be successful it must depend upon our success in reaching them.**

The delegates are aware of the part the Irish played in the **anti-conscription campaign** of Australia; the work with the French-Canadians in Canada, and similarly in other parts of the Empire. The sections in the Colonies must be reminded of these events so that they can be drawn upon for support in a campaign against war. The limited time at my disposal of necessity compels me to omit many phases of our propaganda against war. We must not repeat the mistakes of the world war. We must not again permit comrades to fight their own battle when by an organised resistance they can be more effective. **We will have to approach our fight against the next war with the feeling that it is a fight for power, that is, approach it with the responsibility of men and women taking over control.**

In conclusion, I trust this Congress will devote a little more attention to the work of the Irish working class, whether in Ireland or elsewhere.

Comrade MEHRING (Y. C. I.):

On the question of combating the war danger, the Y. C. I. has considerable experience and we have also done serious work. Last year we organised an **International Propaganda Week** from March 10—18. We issued a mass of literature, especially Lenin's writings on the question of war. In our press we have directed special attention to the combating of war. Our Leagues have organised various actions: e. g. the Y. C. L. of France against the French war on Morocco and Syria; the Y. C. L. of Great Britain against the intervention in China; the Y. C. L. of United States against the attack on Nicaragua; the Y. C. L. of Holland during the Java uprising; joint actions of the Y. C. L.'s of Great Britain and the U. S. S. R., of Yugo-Slavia and Italy, of Poland and Lithuania, etc. On the organ-

isational field we have gathered considerable experiences in work among the recruits. In many countries, and also internationally, we have formulated a **programme of soldiers' demands**. In this programme we have brought forward the most acute demands of the soldiers and sailors, and have organised the struggle for the carrying out of these demands. We must state that in general the Parties show little interest for the organisational work in the army and that this work is mostly left to the youth. In **Czecho-Slovakia** and in **Poland** the Party shares in the work to a very slight degree. The work is carried on only by the youth in **America, Sweden, Holland** and in several other countries.

The young generation of the present day did not participate in the first world war. Therefore, the Y. C. L. considers that it is particularly important for us, the Y. C. I., to conduct the most powerful struggle against the imperialist war, and to train the youth in a Leninist spirit for the struggle against the imperialist war.

We must have clarity on questions of principle. The Theses distinguish in principle between our tactics towards the compulsory service armies and the mercenary armies. The rejection of the slogan of **soldiers' councils** in mercenary armies show that the Theses do not take into consideration that e. g. many unemployed proletarians are forced to sell their labour power to the professional armies; for this reason the rejection of the slogan of **soldiers' councils**, as contained in the Theses, is in general incorrect. To this attitude towards the professional armies corresponds also the Theses slogan for the boycott of the mercenary army.

This is wrong because we can carry on revolutionary work in the professional armies just as in a compulsory service army. Lenin gave various indications that we must not fight against militarisation and against the bourgeois army with the boycott slogans. Lenin was against the boycott, not only with respect to the army, but also the militarisation of the people. He was for the revolutionary disintegration of the armed forces of the bourgeois state.

The Theses differentiate in principle between compulsory service and hired armies, but such difference in principle do not exist. In the hired armies also there are proletarians who were forced to enter the ranks, first due to the bourgeois influence upon them through the whole bourgeois state apparatus, the press, literature, etc., and secondly, due to the economic situation of the proletariat. These facts explain the phenomenon that the workers enter the professional army not only in times of peace but also during the war. If we were to apply the boycott slogan to the hired armies, as the Theses propose, then among the workers the illusion would arise that by this measure it would be possible to prevent the war. This is wrong, Lenin said:

"The boycott of war is a stupid phrase. The Communist must take part in every reactionary war."

The Theses cite these words of Lenin in another connection. It is also stated in the theses that we must avoid having the illusion arise among the proletariat that it would be possible to prevent the war through the boycott, but nevertheless the boycott slogan is raised. We find written: "The Communists cannot meet such movements with a call to join the army. In this case they must rather accept the boycott slogan." This might be correct, but only in the case the national element enters. For example at the VIII. Plenum we discussed a concrete case, a possible war between **Italy and Yugo-Slavia**, or a Balkan War. We stated that in such a war a boycott sentiment might rise e. g. in Macedonia, on a national basis, bound up with the national liberation war. In the face of these nationalist sentiments we cannot come forward with the slogan of joining, let us say for example, the Yugo-Slavian army. Furthermore, our slogan is not for the joining of the bourgeois army, but against the boycott, for revolutionary work in the bourgeois armies; but only in this case might we favour non-entrance into the bourgeois army, and the launching of the national liberation struggle. Mass phenomena by themselves cannot be decisive for our principles. Surely we cannot give up our principle position on the basis of a mass phenomenon. Lenin always told us we must go against the stream. In the theses it states: "We repudiate the slogan of boycott." We must state openly that we are **against** the slogan of boycott, and for revolutionary work in the army. Of course we must not fight the boycottist masses, but the boycottist ideology. Furthermore, I should like to state

that in certain Parties there is also lack of clarity on the question of the boycott of war, e. g. the **Swedish Communists** signed a joint manifesto with the syndicalist which states:

"Our organised power, in the form of boycotts, blockades and general strike must be applied in order to smash the war."

The Congress must establish clarity on this — we are against the boycott of war, for the revolutionary work in the army.

The Theses of the VIII Plenum put forth the slogan of the **Toilers' Militia** as a propaganda slogan against the bourgeois armies in the capitalist countries. Without any sort of reason being given, this slogan has been changed in the present theses to that of a **Proletarian Militia**. The slogan for the **Toilers' Militia** we recognised as correct. We tie up this slogan with the arming of the proletariat. It is our task to mobilise broad strata for the fight against the bourgeois armies. We must also mobilise the poor peasants and other semi-proletarian strata. For this reason it is necessary to apply, in these theses, the formulations of the VIII Plenum on the **Toilers' Militia**.

The Proletarian militia is also confused in some places in the theses with the **Red Guard**. The **Red Guard** and the **Toilers' Militia** are two different things. In the capitalist society we cannot propagate the **Red Guards**. This is our practical task during the preparation, during and after the revolution. But **Toilers' Militia** — this is our general propaganda slogan against the bourgeois army in the capitalist social order in the present situation.

We should also like to say that it is necessary that the Executive of the Communist International, after this Congress will strengthen the work on the question of war and the instructions to the Parties on anti-war work, and that this activity be given more attention.

Comrade FERRAT (France):

The delegation of the Y. C. I. is of the opinion that there is not sufficient clarity on the question of **pacifism**. The **League of Nations** is characterised as an organisation which was powerless to prevent war. Such an attitude leads logically to the Social Democratic position: for if the League of Nations is today still impotent, it may later become a real factor for peace. The League of Nations should, on the contrary, be characterised as one of the most important imperialist instruments for preparation for war.

Furthermore, it is stated that despite the League of Nations the bourgeoisie will resort to force. Such a statement likewise cannot be put forth. The bourgeoisie will not resort to force despite the League of Nations, but in part as a result of the activity of the League of Nations, since it is an instrument in preparation for war.

Furthermore, there is talk about **imperialist treaties** which are aptly characterised as rest-periods between two wars. The definition is correct but incomplete. They are not only rest-periods, but simultaneously indispensable means of war preparation. It is impossible to conceive of any war now-a-days without preparations by means of treaties between imperialist powers. Therefore, the international imperialist treaties cannot be designated only as rest periods but also as a period for preparation for war.

The **arbitration courts** are characterised as "soap bubbles", which will burst in the face of the smallest events. We believe that when the bourgeoisie establishes arbitration courts, it is only for the purpose of framing the weaker states, particularly the colonial countries, and not to worship "soap bubbles". The bourgeoisie has long since gone beyond this age.

Finally, we may read in the draft theses:

"The slogan of peace attains increased importance against the imperialist war, and in connection with a call for revolutionary mass actions may, in certain moments and certain countries, become the central slogan. On an international scale, however, the central slogan remains: 'Defend the Soviet Union!'"

Comrades, the unclarity of this paragraph demands that it be made more precise. Of course we can conceive of such a slogan in situations such as that of Russia in the revolution of 1917, where the triple slogan: Peace, Land and Bread was put forth. In such a situation the peace slogan may be of

greatest revolutionary value, it may become the central slogan. But in the Theses the peace slogan is put into the same plan as the immediate slogan for the defence of the Soviet Union. This is a sign of extreme confusion of concepts, and is in contradiction to the preceding statements concerning the danger involved in the issuance of a peace slogan in the present situation.

The Theses must contain a more precise designation of **Pacifism** as an instrument of war preparation. Without this pacifism, and without its main instrument, the League of Nations, the preparation of war would be impossible under present conditions. Imperialist pacifism is developing with the League of Nations, this is a striking proof of the inevitability of wars in the immediate future.

Also with respect to our work prior to the declaration of the imperialist war, the theses must be more definite. This is spoken of in the Theses, the necessity of fighting it also prior to its outbreak "in the interests of the masses". But there is no indication of the possibility that we have, of forcing the imperialists to refrain from declaring war by a mass action of the working class. If one does not show this possibility to the masses, which we call upon for a struggle against the war, a fatalistic conception of war will result, the conception of an inevitable war against which we can do nothing, and which we cannot prevent the imperialists from launching.

This — one might say — fatalistic conception of war we also find further on, where it states that the masses shall be rallied together wherever possible before the war. What is the meaning of this "wherever possible"? What must be done, what we must do, if we do not want to confess that we are not leaders of the proletariat, is an **unconditional** organisation of the masses prior to the declaration of war, and not "wherever possible".

Further on we read: "In the event of an imperialist war a great majority of the masses and of the army will inevitably follow the call of the governments".

Here also we have the same fatalistic conception. We must fight for this very thing, that the proletarian masses drawn into army service shall not unconditionally obey the call of the governments. If we take the position that it is inevitable that the masses will heed the mobilisation appeal, it means a considerable under-estimation of the work of the Communist Party prior to the declaration of war. It is stated: "The struggle against the war must be viewed as a part of the class struggle". But this fundamental sentence is not developed further. It is not explained that prior to the outbreak of war we can fight, mainly by mobilising the masses for their partial demands, by utilising the internal contradictions of capitalist economy. By such a struggle under ever-clearer political slogans the masses are gradually brought to a consciousness of the necessity for a methodical, systematic preparation of the general strike prior to the declaration of war.

The possibility of working for the **general strike** prior to the outbreak of war is not raised in the Theses. The general strike is considered only as a means for the transformation of the imperialist war into the civil war, a means that is applied after and not before the declaration of war.

The third question is that of **fraternisation**. We believe that the Theses contain a certain distortion of this slogan. Above all we must note an effort to push fraternisation, like the boycott, to the rear. One looks upon fraternisation as an isolated fact, not as a rather long-drawn process. The fraternisation is looked upon as an act that takes place only at the front, whereas in reality it begins with collective demonstrations of the soldiers, and only reaches its apex at the front. The combination of the soldiers' partial demands and the final act of fraternisation must be shown. All partial demands only have the one purpose of leading the soldiers towards fraternisation. Therefore we must reject those partial demands which come into contradiction with the slogan of fraternisation.

As an example, one may cite the question of the **reduction of the service period**. This demand can be looked upon by us as a partial demand only to the extent that it contributes to the disintegration of the army, and moves the soldiers towards fraternisation. But if this demand is raised without any connection with fraternisation, one performs a service to the bourgeoisie which is interested in shortening the service period, as has been shown in France in the execution of the new military laws.

In the Theses an attempt is also made to narrow down the Communist mode of conceiving fraternisation, in favour of the obsolete demand for **desertion**. The slogan of "desertion" is wrong. If the word "desertion" is used in the Theses it merely cloaks the inadequacy of a concrete analysis of the conditions for the disorganisation of the bourgeois armies. We are told that we must support "desertion" if it bears an organised character. But this can be obtained only if that which is designated in the Theses as "desertion" in reality means the going over of troops to the Red Army, or the formation of partisan groups. What is organised in this case is not desertion but the going over of imperialist troops to the Red Army. This "desertion" may also mean the formation of groups of Red soldiers. In this case also it is no longer desertion but the beginnings of a workers' militia. Consequently we must not use the word "desertion" in our Theses, even if we try to alleviate this mistake by a series of adjectives.

In the Theses we repeatedly find anarchistic tendencies, e. g. the slogan "Not a man and not a penny". In France this slogan is anarchistic, a slogan for boycotting the army. It must therefore unquestionably be struck out of the Theses.

On the fraternisation question we must say furthermore that in the Theses we see repeated efforts to confine the fraternisation to armies that are neither professional armies nor colonial armies. But in case of war the professional armies are an important factor of fraternisation for us. We must neither boycott nor disdain the professional armies. It is also declared that the slogan for soldiers' councils is not applicable to professional armies. This is an obvious underestimation of the modern professional armies and a lack of understanding of their present conditions of origin. In fact, at present one may say that the professional army arises in connection with the growing unemployment in capitalist countries. The more that unemployment grows, the greater the industrial reserve army, the greater are the opportunities that capitalism, with the aid of the economic pressure upon the youth strata of the proletariat, will be able to recruit the professional soldiers needed for its army. Consequently we must look upon the professional army as a fraternisation factor. The best concrete proof of the correctness of this statement is the fact that an indisputably professional army, which calls itself the "Foreign Legion", has more than once engaged in fraternisation. We must therefore raise objection to the way in which the professional armies are dealt with in the Theses.

In respect to the **colonial troops** we find the same mistake. There is talk about the isolation of the colonial army, or about its destruction from the outside. We cannot make this conception our own. We must work in the colonial troops in the same manner as in the troops of the mother country, but with other partial demands, and with the setting forth of the national revolution, of the independence of the colonies, as our aim. The proof that we must work for fraternisation in the colonial troops, and that we must not under-estimate the partial demands of the colonial troops, as is done in the Theses, is found in the fact that in the **Moroccan war** and in numerous other colonial wars, it was precisely the coloured troops that fraternised with the insurgents.

These shortcomings and theoretical errors in the question of fraternisation must be energetically eliminated. Particularly, the concept of fraternisation must be broadened, it is not a spontaneous phenomenon, but depends, to a considerable extent, upon the organisation work of the Communist Parties.

The critical study of these few points — the question of pacifism, of mass actions prior to the declaration of war, the question of fraternisation and the colonial question generally, might be broadened by a considerable number of other important questions. This shows us that the Theses presented here must be subjected to an earnest re-working, that the sentences which contradict one another, and also the repetitions, must be eliminated in order to cut down the length of the Theses.

Comrade RAZA (India):

Comrades, war is the necessary outcome of the economic contradictions inherent in the capitalist social order.

These antagonisms which exist among the various capitalist countries will continue to exist till war sounds the death knell

over this moribund system of society. But let us not forget the fact that the political victory of the Russian proletariat, as an outcome of the world war of 1914, and the intensification of the class struggle, has its direct effect upon the world bourgeoisie by making them, although temporarily, forget their mutual differences and unite all their forces — on the one hand to try to coerce and annihilate **Soviet Russia**, and on the other, to solve the unemployment and other acute **labour problems** in their respective countries by sending millions of proletarian masses to the battlefields and proclaiming martial law and various other repressive measures against the workers at home. The task of the Communist International is to concentrate, for the present, all its efforts round these two main factors which are shaking the construction of the whole bourgeois world.

The imperialist bloody tyrants have not forgotten that the last World War was the main cause of the triumph of the Russian proletariat. So, in the face of a stabilised U. S. S. R., as it is today, backed by millions of armed workers and peasants, these imperialists will not dare to declare war amongst themselves until they have come to a conclusion as to the struggle against the first proletarian state. It is therefore, the first and foremost duty of the world proletariat to do their utmost, to shed their last drop of blood in order to save their home — the U. S. S. R. The Communist International should not wait until the enemy begins the offensive, but, on the contrary, we must prepare for the offensive ourselves. We must utilise the short time at our disposal by directly organising and declaring war in the very heart of the capitalist countries, by intensifying the class struggle to its utmost degree. The Communist International must declare with all the force at its disposal that before an offensive can be organised against the U. S. S. R., the bourgeoisie, as a ruling class, will cease to exist.

Comrades, the bloody imperialists are talking about the **outlawry of war**. Look at the mean roguery of the whole affair. The proposition has not yet been put before the Soviet Government, the only state which openly condemns all wars for the purpose of exploitation. Is it then not clear that this new slogan of the outlawry of war has been adopted by the international bourgeoisie to put off the settlement of their mutual differences for the ultimate object of declaring war against the U. S. S. R.? And then — "War is to be outlawed", — but Great Britain's right to rule over the seas and the colonies must not be tampered with. The same is the case with all the imperialists. Then how can war be outlawed when the very germs of war are not destroyed? And further, what explanation is given for the blockade which is being organised by Britain against the U. S. S. R.? The States, bordering on the Western frontier of the U. S. S. R. may be considered as the very first base of military operations against the Soviet Union.

Why are these huge military preparations going on all along the northwestern frontier of **India**? **Afghanistan** with all her poor military forces cannot hold out against the British armies for more than a week. **Persia** is yet too young and weak. But still the preparations are multiplying — new aerodromes, extension of railways, roads to new military stations, increase in the military strength all along the frontier, enormous mechanisation of the army, and, above all, the frantic efforts of the British Government as regards **recruitment**. The northwestern frontier provinces of His Majesty's Indian Empire looks like a war zone. All these facts demonstrate that British imperialism is certainly aiming at some bigger game, which in plain words, is the colonisation of **Soviet Turkestan**. The attack will begin, it is apparent, from the northwestern frontier of India, Afghanistan will have to surrender to the onslaught of the imperialist armies, or the latter will cut their way through that country, which will be treated as the second and the most important base for military operations against the U. S. S. R.

Let us not forget the defeat of the **Chinese Revolution**, the treachery of the Kuomintang and the part played by the British troops in China. Just before we left India, in the **Meerut** Division alone fifty thousand men were recruited within the course of one fortnight. Landlords and the feudal chiefs were approached by the government to help in the recruiting propaganda just as they did in the previous World War. Can you now understand the velocity with which Bri-

tish imperialism is preparing for war and the keen interest it is taking in helping the Chinese counter-revolution as well as its flirting with Japanese Imperialism? The Chinese front is, therefore, the third base of military operations against the U. S. S. R.

Then India, — this oppressed India — the focus of the British Imperialists which, as Lord Birkenhead said at the end of 1926 at a conference of the Dominion Premiers, "is not only the biggest market for British capitalist exploitation, but a vast military reserve for British Imperialism". Industry is being hampered on the one hand, but on the other factories for the production of war material are being established on a large scale. This means that the British Government is going to make the Indian frontier its chief base for war operations.

Therefore I particularly wish to draw the attention of the Congress to this front i. e. the northwestern frontier of India and to emphasise again and again that this front will prove the most formidable one if no energetic counter steps are adopted.

But there is hope and a strong hope too. The British Government is obliged to meet the military budget by enhancing the land taxes and various other direct and indirect taxations which are greatly pressing upon the peasant masses in particular. This is the main cause which is driving the peasantry more and more into the folds of revolution and which is going to be one of the most important factors in the history of the Indian Revolution. Then there is the highly oppressed but militant army of factory workers. The main task of the Communist International must therefore be to concentrate all its efforts on the work of organisation in this very focus of British Imperialism — India, and it is doubtlessly there that British Imperialism will be paralysed and receive a death blow.

The task of the Communist International is to give a tremendous impulse to the existing revolutionary mass movements, organise the workers and peasants, capture the trade unions, organise and conduct military agitation under the leadership of a strong, centralised Communist Party of India, so that if the enemy dares to advance he can be cut off in the rear. The Communist International must, in an open manifesto, declare that all organs of the Communist International unitedly stand and work for the **complete independence of India**; that free India shall be given an equal partnership in the union of the **World Soviet Republics**. Moreover, the dispatch of troops from England and her other colonies must be discouraged and steps taken to prevent it once and for all.

Comrade BELIEVSKI (Poland):

Comrades, in his report Comrade Bell gave us a valuable analysis of a whole series of existing and developing contradictions between imperialist countries.

The Polish bourgeoisie, whose rule is based upon the subjugation of **West Ukraine** and **West White Russia**, but which clearly realises the danger of the growing revolutionary movement, sees in the bare fact of the existence of the U. S. S. R. a constant menace to its own existence and in the destruction of the U. S. S. R. a necessary precondition for its further rule.

The Polish bourgeoisie is interested in the conquest of **Lithuania**, first of all for strategical and political reasons, the creation of the Baltic bloc and the assurance of its rear in the war against the U. S. S. R.

Of greatest importance for Poland is also the question of an additional access to the sea, aside from **Danzig**.

If Polish big industry, allied with the feudal agrarians, declares itself in agreement with the establishment and support of the Fascist regime, headed by the notorious military adventurer, Pilsudski, this proves that it will be ready also for further Fascist adventures, and unquestionably for a war against the U. S. S. R.

In short, as a result of its geographical situation between the U. S. S. R. on the one side, and highly industrial Germany and Czechoslovakia on the other, Poland cannot count on any

sort of markets towards the West. After the Fascist coup d'état (May 1926) there was an improvement in business conditions as a result of a new distribution of super-profits on the home markets. These super-profits were in turn the result of the financial aid for which Poland had to thank the unexpected increase in its coal market as a result of the British Miners Strike in 1926. Now, however, this favourable conjuncture is approaching its end. The military treaties which Poland has recently concluded or renewed are, therefore, quite comprehensible. Equally comprehensible are the trips of Polish Generals, the feverish building of the State war industry, the partial militarisation of private industry. Military expenditures amount to about 44.5% of the total budget. Compared to the military expenditures of recent years we see last year an increase of 23% in comparison to the previous year.

On the basis of partial capitalist stabilisation, in connection with the collapse of the hopes for a peaceable conquest of the U. S. S. R. by capitalism, the bourgeoisie, kulaks, and upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie of West Ukraine and West White Russia are being drawn into a united front with the Polish bourgeoisie and the Polish landlords, under the leadership of the Fascist government, against the toiling masses of Poland and simultaneously against the U. S. S. R. Towards the population of these border territories, the Polish Fascist government is conducting a cunning policy, by making certain concessions to the big and middle bourgeoisie with respect to language, church and also in respect to certain granting of credit to rich peasant strata and to local industry, the employment of individual representatives of the local petty bourgeoisie in the service of the State, etc. Hand in hand with these political and economic measures there also proceed, however, measures of police terror which led to the destruction of the big peasant organisation, "**Gromada**" in West White Russia.

The **national policy** of Pilsudski in West Ukraine has also shaken the ranks of the Communist organisation, and has resulted even in a split in the C. P. of West Ukraine and in the Peasant organisation "**Selrob**", although here a part of the blame must be placed upon the insufficiently consistent and firm political line of the leadership of the C. P. of Poland. In connection with this the Party is confronted with the extraordinarily important task of consolidating the proletarian corps of the Communist Parties of West Ukraine and West White Russia.

The Fascist Government is also resorting to the introduction of Fascist methods in the factories; it is introducing a **fascisation of the trade unions** as well as compulsory arbitration procedure. In this of course it is energetically supported by the P. P. S., which is being more and more integrated with the Fascist State apparatus and which is losing its influence in the big industrial centres to our Party, as was shown in the recent municipal and Sejm elections.

Comrades, aside from the already mentioned measures, the Pilsudski government has launched upon the mass militarisation of the **youth**, the drawing in of the adult population into military societies of various kinds. At the present time there are in Poland 23 **military societies**, headed by the "**Streletz**". The total membership of these military societies runs to over a million. These organisations have a united leadership, which is under the control of the government. Their military and political training, as well as their sport activity, follows a uniform programme. The instructors are officers of the Polish army. Among other organisations attention must be given to the Women's League, the Rural Workers League and the Railwaymen's Union, which have been founded only a relatively short time ago. Their task is propaganda for the necessity of military and sport training of the population, support for the rationalisation of the factories in which they work, and assurance of a regular course of production in case strikes.

The struggle of the C. P. P. against the war danger during the past two years consisted in an ideological and propaganda campaign in the broad proletarian masses which has the aim of enlightening the working class of Poland on the significance of the U. S. S. R. for the international proletariat and for the further development of the international revolution. Aside from this campaign which is carried on in

all enterprises and which found expression in big mass actions, manifestoes were also published to enlighten the masses of workers on the war danger resulting from the imperialist conquest tendencies of Poland against the weaker Lithuania.

It must, however, be admitted that the Party did not devote the requisite attention to the Polish attack upon Lithuania, which is now being prepared, and even still less to the imperialist intervention in China.

In an equally insufficient degree the Party directed the attention of the masses to the militarisation of industry and of the population. It undertook no big campaigns for the unmasking of this militarisation, no propaganda inside the militarist organisations. Something along this line was done by our Y. C. L.

As far as propaganda in the army is concerned, the Party strove to link up the questions immediately interesting the soldiers, the so-called partial demands such as, e. g., raising of pay, granting of leave for holidays or farm work, service in army units in the place of residence of the recruit, etc., with the general questions of the working class in the respective town, or with the political and economic campaigns of the Party.

In this work, however, the Party devoted but insufficient attention to the **national minorities** in the army, although they constitute about 30% of the men, and in some units even the majority. Nevertheless, we may state that the general direction of the work in the army is correct.

The only answer that the urban and rural proletariat, allied with the poor peasantry, can and must give to the imperialists in the approaching armed assault upon the U. S. S. R., is the transformation of this assault into a civil war for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and for the erection of the proletarian dictatorship. The bourgeoisie knows of this readiness of the proletariat and therefore still postpones the moment for the attack, organises the elements of the population that are loyal to it, tries to delude certain strata of the workers and peasantry as to its true intentions, and makes alliances with other bourgeois states. But the decision draws ever nearer as a result of the rapid and menacing development of the market and raw materials' crises. The radicalisation of the proletariat and peasant masses, the national liberation movement of the colonial peoples is constantly increasing. Therefore the Comintern and its Sections are confronted anew with the task of devoting increased attention to the ideological and organisational readiness for the coming battles, for the armed uprising, which will be the decisive battle.

The transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war is not an easy task. It demands an all-sided preparation in an ideological, propagandist, and organisational-technical direction, for the road to the civil war leads through all the stages of the class struggle — demonstrations, strikes, general strikes and partial uprisings to the general armed uprising. These stages cannot be successfully passed through without a prior theoretical and practical preparation of all Comintern Sections, without firm organisational and technical measures, without a painstaking study of the enemy and his weakest points, without the drawing in of the masses of workers and peasants in co-ordinated, active campaigns, without linking up the proletarian revolution with the national liberation movement of the oppressed masses.

Of special importance in this connection is an energetic, ideological and organisational activity of the Party among the railwaymen, and among the workers in the chemical and war industries. The Parties have thus far not devoted the necessary attention to these questions.

Of equal importance is also the co-ordination of the anti-war preparations in the coal districts of Poland, Germany and Czechoslovakia.

Our Party will be able to cope with the tasks confronting it only provided that an end is made to the internal factional struggle which today paralyses the Party's capacity for work.

The Comintern must do everything possible to overcome the present situation in our Party. This is possible only if our Party gets a leadership equal to the political situation, which can consolidate the Party, instead of splitting it in such a responsible moment. The Congress must raise this question and solve it.

Comrade COHEN (Great Britain):

Comrades: I want to deal chiefly with the question of the **volunteer army**. In the theses there is a great deal of confusion between the volunteer army and the mercenary army or the armies of the so-called civil war troops. I believe that we must make a proper distinction between the volunteer armies, the so-called mercenary troops and the civil war troops. For example, in England we have a so-called volunteer army. It is true we have no conscription in England, nevertheless the British army is not a voluntary one, but an army of **economic conscripts**.

You will understand that the **unemployment problem** in Great Britain is a very great one and that it affects most of all the large masses of young workers. The consequence is, that these young unemployed workers are driven into the army because they have no other possibility of getting food, clothing, shelter, etc.

In the struggles that took place in Great Britain 1926, particularly in the great miners' struggle and the betrayal of this struggle by the reformists, we find that one of the first consequences was a driving of the young unemployed miners and the young victimised miners into the capitalist army.

Therefore, comrades, we cannot look upon such an army recruited from the ranks of the working class, recruited from the ranks of the unemployed, as a cadre of civil war troops or as a mercenary army — an anti-working class army in any shape or form.

The overwhelmingly proletarian basis of the army in Great Britain, the very methods of recruiting this army, by means of starvation and attacks upon the working class and working class youth, are convincing proof that this so-called voluntary army is not a voluntary army at all. It is an army of economic conscripts, and above all, it is not an anti-working class army or any army of the civil war troops. Nevertheless we must understand that in spite of the composition of this army, the ruling class in Great Britain very cleverly knows how to utilise all these young proletarians in the army against the working class in industrial disputes, etc. Therefore, we must make this distinction between the voluntary army as in Great Britain and the mercenary armies or the armies of the civil war troops.

An indication of the mistakes to which we will be led if we do not make this distinction is given in the second paragraph point 65, in the theses dealing with the question of the slogan of "Soldiers Councils" in which it is said:

"With respect to mercenary armies in most cases the slogan of Soldiers' councils will not be applicable. The form of struggle, which, in the people's armies, are applicable only against the officers' corps, must be extended more or less to the entire body of troops in the case of mercenary armies or special civil war troops."

Here you have an example of how this volunteer army is confused with the mercenary army and the armies of civil war troops. I maintain that this slogan of soldiers' councils is applicable to the volunteer army of Great Britain, not at the moment, of course, but in a revolutionary situation.

Regarding our attitude towards the different kinds of armies, I think we must combat the armies of the civil war troops absolutely but we cannot act likewise against the volunteer army of the type existing in Great Britain. During the General Strike in Great Britain in 1926, the Baldwin Government brought out the troops, but we found that large numbers of the soldiers were not prepared to be utilised against the working class in a General Strike, and we found that the Baldwin Government realised this too, as it did not attempt to use these troops because it could not rely upon them for effective action against the striking workers.

We are also convinced that in future industrial struggles with good proper work carried out by the Communist Party and the Young Communist League, troops of the so-called volunteer army in Great Britain will also refuse to be utilised in the interests of capitalism, against striking workers and the masses in general. Real effective work must be done inside the volunteer army on our part, and above all, we must understand that more work must be done inside the ranks of the **unemployed workers**, and we must win the largest possible mass of unemployed workers for the Unemployed

Workers Committee Movement, so that we can develop our anti-militarist work in the army on a proper basis.

So far as the Party and the Young Communist League in Great Britain are concerned, we can say that we have some achievements in work in the army. The British Party and Y. C. L., have issued two separate programmes, one for soldiers and one for sailors, and a special programme for airmen is in preparation. These particular programmes have been distributed on a very large scale. As a consequence of the distribution of these programmes and the agitation carried on in the army, certain measures have been granted to the troops. We must also mention that when the troops were being sent out to China for intervention, there was a good and systematic work carried out both by the Communist Party and youth by means of distributing leaflets and making propaganda against the sending of soldiers to China. During the recent period also, systematic distribution of agitational material to the soldiers has been carried out in Great Britain. But we must admit that this work is only in its beginning, and we must strengthen this activity in every direction so that we can carry out anti-militarist work in a real effective way. Above all, we must make our average Party members of Great Britain understand the urgent necessity for this particular kind of work. We must not allow this antimilitarist work to be considered as something outside the daily work of our Party and youth movement, but we must develop the idea of regular daily activity to be undertaken by every member of our Party and youth organisation in this connection.

In the theses importance is given to the supplementary organisations of the various capitalist states for militarising the youth and generally preparing them for war. In Great Britain we have an organisation called the **Territorial Army**, a very important army which brings large numbers, particularly of young workers, under the influence of the War Office and of the military organisations. No mention is made at all in the theses of the important work of the British Communists inside this organisation. Young workers are recruited into this army by the prospect of camps and a bounty — a yearly amount of money is the bribe given to the young workers who join this army. The consequence is that a large number of young workers who get very low wages and have very few opportunities for engaging in camping or going on holiday, rally in large numbers to this so-called territorial organisation. This organisation is linked up with the War Office, which regards the activities and development of this organisation as one of its most important tasks, and appoints very high military officials to work in this territorial force. This organisation, it is true, is training large numbers of young workers in the use of arms. In so far as it does that, it is good, but it brings them also under the influence of the capitalist military organisations and prepares them for war, when and how the imperialist government shall see fit to declare it. Therefore, comrades, the question of work in the territorial organisation is of the utmost importance. We must send our comrades into the territorial forces. We must come forward with demands for them and we must endeavour, as far as possible, to bring them over to the side of the Communist Party and Young Communist League.

The Communist Party and Youth of Great Britain must also develop their attractive features, such as camping, military instruction etc., and by that means win them away from the territorial organisation and get them to the workers' army.

Another point is the struggle against the **war danger**. The English reserves are only called up when there is a world crisis. For example, when the British Tory Government decided upon military intervention in China then the reserves were called up, and the same happened on the outbreak of war in 1914. The reserves were then sent to the front right away. In view of the increasing imminence of war and the fact that the first people to be drafted into the regular army will be these reserves, the British comrades are faced with the necessity of conducting work amongst the reservists. We had a situation that when the British imperialists decided upon intervention in China, no general activity was undertaken by the British Party so far as the reserves were concerned. A large number of these reservists who have returned

from China have now lost their jobs. Eighty per-cent of them are now unemployed and the British Communist Party has done very little work amongst them to win them over for the revolutionary movement and for the fight against war. This is a most important question in connection with our struggle against war.

A few words about the pacifist role which the **British Independent Labour Party** plays in deluding the masses of the workers with regard to the possibilities of peace under capitalism. The sentiment of the large masses of British workers is undoubtedly for peace. The I. L. P. exploits this sentiment and comes forward with so-called opposition to war, developing a propaganda against war, picturing the horrors of war, etc. While it does that its members are participating actively in the imperialist oppression of the colonial workers. Its members defend the use of war, intervention in China, etc., by the capitalist governments. The British Communists are faced with the necessity of conducting a sharper struggle against pacifism not only exposing it in the sense that it is worthless and useless for the working class, but we must do more in the future in the direction of popularising the Leninist attitude to war. Here I must say that while we have conducted a clarification in the ranks of our Party with regard to the Leninist Bolshevik fight against war, enlightenment of the working class, regarding the Leninist attitude to war and against pacifism, is still one of the most important tasks that face the English Communist Party.

Finally, with regard to the navy, England's main power in the sphere of war is its sea power and we must say that the Communist Party has not conducted very great work amongst the sailors and that in connection with the fight against war: we must intensify our work in the navy, and do everything in our power to build up Communist groups there, carrying on systematic agitation amongst the sailors to develop a real ferment so that in the event of war we can look to the navy as well for definite fighting action against the attempts of the capitalist class to plunge the British workers into another capitalist war.

Comrade PRUSCHANSKI (Poland):

I beg your permission to enter the following **declaration** in the name of the majority of the Polish Delegation: In view of the statements of Comrade **Herwik**, formally directed against the representative of the delegation of the Ukrainian Communist Party Comrade **Mikolos**, the majority of the Polish Delegation declares the following:

1. We protest most emphatically against the invectives — outrageous in form and essence — levelled by Comrade Herwik against Comrade Mikolos, which in reality are directed against the line followed by the C. P. (b) of the Ukraine in question of the C. P. of West Ukraine. We declare that the responsibility for these attacks falls upon the Minority of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Poland, in whose name Comrade Herwik spoke.

2. The attempt of Comrade Herwik to paint the minority of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Poland as advocates and champions of the line of the E. C. C. I. and of the C. P. U. (b) is obviously untenable, and has been repudiated from the tribune of the VI. Congress by the declarations of representatives of the C. P. U., as well as by Comrade **Mitzkevitch**. The attacks of Comrade Herwik are in reality directed against the decisions of the E. C. C. I. and of the C. C. of the C. P. U. on the question of the C. P. of West Ukraine, as well as against the unanimous decisions of the recently held Party Congress of West Ukraine in which the correctness of the line of the C. C. of the C. P. P. was recognised in general and especially in the Ukrainian question.

3. The attempts of the **Lenski-Herwik group**, to exploit the treason of the **Vassilkov group** in order to blacken the past of the C. P. of West Ukraine in the eyes of the Polish workers as nationalism and opportunism, signalise the danger of a relapse into the anti-Leninist, Nihilist position on the struggle for national liberation of the peoples oppressed by Poland, a relapse into the conception that was still very recently held by the leaders of the Minority and which opens wide the door to the menace of a Pan-Polish chauvinism. The majority of the Polish Delegation condemns these attempts as extremely dangerous and as politically harmful. (Applause).

Twenty-first Session.

Moscow, August 4, 1928.

Continuation of the Discussion on the Question of War Danger.

Chairman: Comrade KILBOOM:

Comrade STANISLAVSKY (Poland):

Comrades, there are two gaps in the Theses presented, which must be filled in.

The first gap consists in the quite insufficient treatment of the peasant question both in respect to the struggle against the war danger as well as with respect to the struggle to transform an already raging imperialist war into a civil war. On this gap Comrade Krulikowski has already spoken.

The second gap consists in the failure to give consideration to the question of the oppressed national minorities.

A whole series of European countries, as they are constituted on the basis of the Versailles Treaty, contain within their borders strong national minorities who are fighting for their freedom. This applies not only to the classical countries which oppress national minorities, such as Poland, Roumania and Czechoslovakia, nor only to the Balkan States, but it includes also West European countries such as Italy and France, Spain and Belgium, and finally also Great Britain with respect to Ireland.

Our work in the armies must devote itself quite particularly to the soldiers belonging to the national minorities, and in the formulation of partial demands their special strivings and interests must be taken into consideration. This is all the more important because the imperialist governments themselves seek to corrupt the national liberation struggle by all sorts of fictitious concessions, a process in which they find willing instruments of this policy among the bourgeois strata of the oppressed nations. Most crassly does this phenomenon appear in Fascist Poland.

In order to prepare the war against the Soviet Union, Pilsudski attempted already last year to wipe out the national revolutionary organisations, especially those of the peasants in the Eastern countries of Poland. It is sufficient to mention the gigantic trial of the White Russian Gromada, the most vicious terrorism that is being applied there. Simultaneously, he bribed the White Russian and Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist elements.

One of the most important questions which must engage us already now, is the question of the attitude of the Communist Parties in the period immediately preceding the outbreak of war, which has also great importance for the first period immediately after military action begins. This period will be the period of raging terror against our organisations. It is being most painstakingly prepared for by the governments. This terror constitutes an important part of the plans of the capitalist governments. In Poland, for example, we know that the government, through its local organs, has drawn up proscription lists which contain the names of more than a 100,000 political suspects. On the order of the government they are to be thrown into prisons and concentration camps within 24 hours. In other countries it will be no different. It will be much worse than in 1914 because not only we, but also the bourgeoisie learned from the experiences of the war and the revolution. It will not suffice to tell the legal parties that they must establish in advance an illegal apparatus to meet such and similar situations. This can be seen from the fact that the Communist Party of Poland, which is entirely underground, must reckon with an attempt to smash its entire organisational apparatus. It must therefore do in advance what is necessary to maintain as much as possible of its organisation, and to re-establish as quickly as possible the ripped connections in the hell of the beginning war.

A few words on the balance sheet of the activity of the Communist Party of Poland in recent times in the struggle against the war danger which now approaches. The struggle against the war danger was in the centre of all agitation and all actions of the Party throughout the whole period. Every strike

and every meeting; every street meeting was utilised for anti-war agitation. Millions of illegal leaflets which were distributed among the workers and peasants of all the districts of Poland, enlightened the masses on the character of the war that is being prepared by Pilsudski, called upon them to protest against the war and to show active solidarity with the Soviet Union.

The whole struggle for the overthrow of the Fascist Regime in Poland, for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship on the path of the revolution, is most closely bound up with the struggle against the war on the Soviet Union. Just a few days ago our Party arranged a mass meeting against the war on a public square in Warsaw, despite the terrorism of the government and its social-Fascist henchmen. At this meeting, which was attended by thousands of workers from the big industrial enterprises, the protest note of the Polish Government against the speech of Comrade Bukharin was answered with an announcement of solidarity with this VI World Congress, and with the Communist International.

Despite all that has already been done by our Party under the most difficult conditions, there can be no doubt that the whole Party, and particularly its leadership, must double and treble its activity against the war. This applies particularly to direct organisational work in the ranks of the army itself.

In conclusion I must mention the important role which falls upon our youth organisation in the domain of struggle against the war and of the preparation of revolutionary action for the event of the outbreak of war. In recent times it has worked vigorously throughout the whole country. I must express my conviction that, in closest connection with the whole Party, and under its united leadership, the Y.C.L. will do its duty also in the approaching moments of special danger.

Comrade KOLAROV (Bulgaria):

I take the position that all Parties of the Communist International must put the question of the struggle against the war absolutely concretely. Not all of them have done this so far, and therefore it is one of their highest tasks.

The imperialist war has quite decidedly changed the situation in the Balkans from the point of view of the war danger. The Versailles Treaty has augmented the danger of new wars in the Balkans.

First, the Versailles Treaty, after the final break-up of the Ottoman Empire, divided up the Balkans in such a way that national oppression and national subjugation appeared in new forms, thereby creating new premises for national wars.

Second, development after the imperialist war took such a direction that the influence of international imperialism upon the Balkans is today stronger than in the past, that the Balkan countries are drawn into its sphere of influence to a greater degree. Consequently, all occasions for international war are reflected accordingly also in the Balkans, and instigate the danger of the Balkan war.

Third, the appearance on the scene of such a neighbour as the Soviet Union, against whom international imperialism will organise a new crusade, likewise constitutes a cause of the war danger in the Balkans.

Comrades, in what consists the war danger in the Balkans? It is certain that first of all there is the menace of a war against the Soviet Union. The Balkans will be of strategic importance in this war and will play a role also as a source of reserve man-power against the Soviet Union.

But in addition there is also a direct connection with this war. Roumania, that has seized Bessarabia, is today an advanced post in the war against the Soviet Union. In preparation for this war, international imperialism, with Britain at its head, has taken a series of measures in the Balkans and is also working further in this direction. In first rank it supports the

policy of throttling the revolutionary movement, of Bolshevism, of the pro-Soviet sentiment of the Balkan peoples.

Everyone knows that **White Terror** in the Balkans is supported by international imperialism, that the Balkan countries, despite the fact that they are pushed toward this by serious economic and other interests, do not dare to resume their relations with the Soviet Union due to the influence of international imperialism, above all the British. Only **Greece** has done so, yet we see how today the most powerful pressure is being exerted on the Greek bourgeoisie in order to make it break off relations.

England is endeavouring to create a **Balkan bloc**, by seeking to conciliate or alleviate the inner contradictions in the Balkan in order to draw the Balkans into the anti-Soviet Bloc. This British policy can already record considerable success. **Greece** is dominated by British influence — England rules it with the aid of the heavy guns of its Mediterranean fleet. **Bulgaria**, likewise, belongs in the sphere of influence of British imperialism. At the present moment British imperialism is advancing on Yugoslavia. The recent loan, so urgently needed by the Serbian bourgeoisie for the consolidation of its hegemony and its general situation, is granted by the British banks; this expresses the powerful pressure of British capital on Yugoslavian politics. **Roumania** also is to a great extent under the influence of British finance capital.

It would, however, be a fatal error to believe that this is the only danger that threatens in the Balkans. The danger of an imperialist war in the Balkans is also extremely grave and acute.

Although the rivalry between Britain and France in the Balkans has hitherto taken on sharp forms, one may say definitely that at the present moment there is no immediate danger of war threatening the Balkans in connection with the Anglo-French rivalry.

Quite different are matters with respect to the **Franco-Italian** rivalry, which is sharpening uninterruptedly in connection with the whole problem of the Adriatic and Mediterranean seas. It is expressed first of all in the irreconcilable conflict between Italy and Yugoslavia, which increases in severity from year to year, from day to day, sometimes taking on menacing forms and always remaining one of the greatest and most immediate dangers not only of a Balkan war, but of a European imperialist war.

There is in the Balkans the so-called **Little Entente**, which allegedly is intended to prevent a war in the Balkans. But it is directed only against Hungary and Bulgaria, viz., it is a preventative instrument only against the nations defeated in the world war. The Little Entente is entirely without meaning, however, with respect to the war against the Soviet Union or a war between Italy and Yugoslavia.

Italian imperialism, which is vitally in need of adventurist offensives, is directing all its strength and all its attention to the Balkans, it is conducting a sharp aggressive policy there and incessantly instigating acute dangerous military crises.

In his remarks on Anglo-Italian relations, Comrade **Garlandi** declared that Italian foreign policy was entirely dependent upon British imperialism, and that the latter would never permit Italy to launch a conflict in the Balkans, nor to permit matters to come to war between Italy and Yugoslavia. It is true, comrades, that British pressure is very strong in Italy, and that British imperialism strives in every way (and to a considerable extent it will also succeed), to hold back Italian imperialism. Nevertheless, it is possible that Italian imperialism will risk an adventure regardless of British pressure. The Italian C.P. and the Communist Parties of the Balkan countries must therefore keep this possibility in mind. They must tell the masses that despite all retarding factors such a danger exists in an acute form, and that one must be prepared for a struggle against the imperialist war between Italy and Yugoslavia.

Italy is carrying on a policy of isolating and encircling Yugoslavia, and it has also been able to surround Yugoslavia by enemies on all sides. One must realise clearly what Italian Fascism is figuring on. It can find a concrete satisfaction of its interests now only in the Balkans. Italian imperialism will unquestionably demand certain compensation for its participation in an anti-Soviet campaign. In this sense a conflict between Italy and Yugoslavia also means a conflict between Italy and France, which plays a decisive role for Italian imperialism, and which thus far still dictates its policy.

Thirdly, there are in the Balkans a whole series of causes for **local wars**. **Macedonia** is divided between Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece, and constitutes the apple of discord between these states. Macedonia is the basis of inner domination for the Serbian bourgeoisie. Macedonia must be Serbian in order that the Serbian bourgeoisie may rule in Yugoslavia and play a leading role in the internal policy of the Yugoslavian state. On the other hand, however, the Serbian bourgeoisie, which in the Balkans, is part of the heritage of the Austrian Empire, has taken over the imperialistic urge towards the Aegean Sea and Saloniki, and for these plans of conquest it must have Macedonia as an indispensable base for its offensive towards the Aegean.

The importance of Macedonia for the **Greek** bourgeoisie is very great because of economic reasons. The chief export of Greece is tobacco (60%). Tobacco, however, is grown precisely in Macedonia and Thrace. The Greek bourgeoisie can only exist if it retains Macedonia and Western Thrace.

The **Bulgarian** bourgeoisie is in a blind alley, it sees no possibility for its development. It must therefore seek a way out through territorial expansion, above all at the expense of Macedonia, which it looks upon as part of its own territory, at the expense of the Macedonian people which it looks upon as a part of the Bulgarian people.

This is the "Macedonian tangle" which incessantly creates a chronic feverish situation between these three states, calling forth conflicts and possibly leading to a new Balkan war as it has already done on two previous occasions.

Similar is the importance of the **Transylvanian question** for the relations between Roumania and Hungary, of the **Dobruja** question for the relations between Bulgaria and Roumania.

However, comrades, we must state openly here that the danger of local wars in the Balkans exists only to the extent that the interests of the Balkan states or of the Balkan bourgeoisie, coincide with the interests of international imperialism. The Balkan States by themselves are too small, and the influence of international imperialism upon them is too powerful, to permit them to declare war without the consent of their creditors. The course of the **Greco-Bulgarian** conflict in 1925 and the latest **Bulgarian-Yugoslavian** conflicts is a proof of this.

But we must not forget that both the causes of local conflicts in the Balkans, as well as the conflicts themselves, are exploited by the imperialists, and that precisely in this lies the danger. From this grows out the duty of the Communist Parties to follow attentively these conflicts, and to devote the greatest attention both to their causes and to their connections with the conflicting interests of the imperialist states in the Balkans.

Above all I should like to indicate the slogans under which the bourgeoisie is conducting its war preparations and under which it will also wage a war in the Balkans. In this respect the Balkan countries are divided into two categories: victors and vanquished.

The victors — **Yugoslavia, Roumania** and in part **Greece** — have already attained a condition of national and territorial satiety. They have received more territory and population than they dared hope for. The bourgeoisie in these countries is arming for a war under the slogan of "defence", of "resistance" to the "aggressive intentions of the Soviet Union", of Italian imperialism, or of a reawakening Hungarian and Bulgarian nationalism. This circumstance is the source of considerable difficulties for the Communist Parties of these countries. But they must get clear on these questions and be able to enlighten the masses on the character of this "defence", to show these masses that this war is in reality an imperialist war, even when, from the point of view of the bourgeoisie, it is a "war of defence". They must point out to the masses that the war is called forth by the fact that the Roumanian, Serbian and Greek bourgeoisies have seized foreign territories, have subjugated other peoples to their rule, that the bourgeoisie of the Balkan states is a tool in the hands of the international imperialists, that the war in the Balkans is closely bound up with the imperialist war, with the war against the U. S. S. R., of which it is an integral part.

The war preparations of the defeated nations on the other hand, viz., **Hungary and Bulgaria**, are under the sign of a reawakening nationalism.

In these two countries the work of the Communist Parties is made easier by this aggressive character of nationalism.

Hungary and Bulgaria (for the realisation of their nationalist plans), Yugoslavia, Roumania and Greece (for the "defence" of their imperialist conquests), are seeking inter-

national support, and they find it at the expense of being transformed into tools of international imperialism. The military treaties between Roumania and France are well-known; they are directed against the Soviet Union. Likewise, the agreements between Hungary and Italy, between Yugoslavia and France, between Italy and Bulgaria are open secrets.

Military preparations go hand in hand with this. The Soviet Union, which is being accused of militarism, has upon its vast territory, with a population of one hundred fifty millions, an army of only 600,000 men. But what should we say of Yugoslavia, a little state with 13,000,000 inhabitants, that has an army of 200,000 men (including the military gendarmes)? We have a similar phenomenon in Roumania. The Balkan countries which emerged from the war of 1914—1918 as victors, have transformed themselves into army camps, they are arming incessantly for war. In Hungary and in Bulgaria this should really be an impossibility since under the international treaties they are supposed to be disarmed and kept under strict observation by their armed neighbours. Yet, comrades, the **St. Gotthard incident** shows that the work of arming Hungary is under way. The same thing may also be definitely stated of Bulgaria. There are imperialist states that are interested in arming both of these countries. Military training takes place outside the barracks — in Hungary as well as in Bulgaria. The bourgeoisie is creating a "black Reichswehr" just as in Germany.

The oppression regime that is applied against the national minorities is also a means of war preparation. The ruling bourgeois class everywhere resorts to the most brutal measures for the forcible de-nationalisation of the national minorities. The Balkan countries are now filled with fugitives who were driven from their homeland as a result of the imperialist war and the preparation of new wars. The fugitive question has a particularly sharp form in Greece and Bulgaria and is one of the most burning problems of the Balkan states. In Macedonia we see an intensified de-nationalisation of the Macedonian population, their transformation into Serbs. We see in Bessarabia, in Western Thrace, etc. the same thing — in all of the conquered provinces of the Balkan states.

The fascist regime in all Balkan states, its intensification, is likewise a means of war preparation.

Comrades, this constantly sharpening situation, which makes war not only inevitable but a matter of the near future, confronts the Communist Parties of the Balkans with the task of fighting the war danger to the fullest extent. Therefore, we must regret that some of the Communist Parties of the Balkans have not yet given serious discussion to this problem, and have failed to take concrete decisions on it. Thus for example the Roumanian oligarchy is making its preparations for war without encountering any resistance whatever from the C. P. of Roumania.

The weapons of the struggle against the war danger are primarily of an ideological nature. We must first of all expose before the masses the character of the imperialist policy of the big powers, both on an international scale as well as on a Balkan scale; we must expose the driving springs and the aim of their Balkan policy, the masses must be shown that the bankers of London, Paris and other towns are "concerned" with the fate of the Balkan peoples, with their economic and political well-being, only for the purpose of using them later as cannon-fodder against the Soviet Union or in an imperialist war. The Balkan countries are semi-colonial countries. This fact is of greatest importance and the Communist Parties of the Balkans must direct their attention primarily towards the struggle against international imperialism, which is intriguing incessantly, in the Balkans.

At the same time, however, the disputable character of the "national" policy of the vanquished States, and of the "national defence policy" of the bourgeoisie in Yugoslavia, Greece and Roumania, must be exposed. Here very little has been done thus far. There are even cases in which the Communist Parties seem to reckon with the "defence point of view" of the bourgeoisie. On the Macedonian question recently a few comrades in the Yugoslavian C. P. revealed a tendency to credit the alleged "defence" positions of the Yugoslavian bourgeoisie against Italian Fascism. Thus, Comrade Markovitch in his defence speech before his judges, stated that the Communists also were against the Macedonian partisans, who are tools of Italian imperialism, and who are engaged in terroristic attacks and murders on Yugoslavian territory. In this question, a distinction must be drawn between the agents of Italian imperialism and the masses

of the Macedonian organisation. There are some agents, and they must be exposed. But the Macedonian mass, even those which follow these agents, are something quite different. They are striving for national liberation from the yoke of the Serbian bourgeoisie. The struggle of these masses is to be supported, and their demands must be defended. The Yugoslavian Party has on the whole a correct policy in the Macedonian question. But thus far it is only theoretically correct. We have not yet seen any practical execution of this line and the Balkan comrades have still to temper the correctness of their ideological position in actual practice.

But side by side with the ideological struggle there must also be a struggle bound up with the concrete tasks of domestic and foreign politics. We must mobilise the masses of the population against every advance of British and international imperialism against the U.S.S.R., or against the Chinese Revolution, against the oppressed nations of Northern Africa, India, etc. We must mobilise the masses in defence of the Soviet Union — not abstractly, however, not only on the ground that the Soviet Union is a workers' State — but concretely, in connection with definite facts that are themselves closely connected with the vital interests of the masses of the population.

Since the conflicts between the various Balkan countries are important for the whole of the Balkans, the actions of the Balkan Communist Parties must be coordinated. I must admit here quite frankly that in this respect the Balkan Parties are very weak. To our great regret I must state that in recent years, notwithstanding the sharpest conflicts in the Balkans, there has been no collaboration whatever between the Communist Parties in the Balkan countries. The Parties were isolated. Each thought only of itself, of its own affairs; the general Balkan point of view was left out of consideration. Life itself gives us a multitude of occasions for the mobilisation of the masses in connection with national oppression in the Balkans, with the de-nationalisation policy of the Balkan bourgeoisie. Every day masses of the people are being violated, robbed of their property, their land divided among the agents of the Roumanian, Yugoslavian and other oligarchies, and the most elementary rights of the oppressed nations are crushed underfoot.

How shall the Communist Parties of the Balkans behave in case of war? In solving this question the Balkan Communist Parties must first of all take council in their own experiences. During the last imperialist Balkan war, these Parties on the whole had a correct revolutionary attitude, in that they conducted a bitter struggle against the war. This wealth of experience gathered by the Balkan Parties in two wars, must be reckoned with by them. I must, however, point out that while at that time the Balkan Parties were revolutionary Parties, they were nevertheless still Social Democratic. They still lacked the perspective of the international revolution, they still lacked a proper organisation for revolutionary mass struggle.

In determining their tactics, the Balkan Parties must also take into consideration certain peculiarities, above all, the general weakness of the Balkan bourgeoisie, the decay of their economic, political and military mechanism, the compromise of the Balkan bourgeoisie in the eyes of the masses of the population, the sinking of their prestige. Secondly, we must take into consideration the powerful "pacifist", anti-imperialist and anti-militarist tendencies and moods of the masses of workers and of the toiling peasantry. Furthermore, we must take into consideration the deep sympathy of the masses towards the Soviet Union, which cannot be destroyed by all the lies, calumnies or violence on the part of Government, Fascists, and Social Democrats. The national liberation movement of the subjugated peoples, which is developing without interruption despite the terror, and which is taking on revolutionary forms, and finally also the sharpness of the peasant question, the strong peasant movement and the weakness of the Social Democracy, must all be considered.

These facts mean that a Balkan war can give the signal for a not distant, immediate civil war. We also know the strength of Fascism in the Balkans. We know that military mobilisation will bring with it a white terror of unprecedentedly horrible forms. Nevertheless, a war in the Balkans will very quickly, perhaps from the very beginning, result in a revolutionary situation. It is also possible, however, that the revolutionary movement will come somewhat later.

As a result of the economic backwardness of the Balkan countries, and the numerical weakness of the proletariat, the peasantry will play the decisive role in the struggle against the war there. During the mobilisation a part of the peasantry will not report, will not appear for the mobilisation, in brief, a mass desertion will immediately set in. This also happened in 1914—1918. It will happen this time to an even greater extent. Furthermore, desertion from the front will also grow constantly in volume. Finally, however, the deserters who flee from the army, the masses who are persecuted by the Government, will launch a guerilla war. The Balkan peoples, thanks to centuries of practice, are virtually born to guerilla warfare. Of course, the Communist Parties will not issue the slogan of refusal of military service. Yet should this refusal, this desertion, take on large dimensions, it is a proof that a revolutionary situation has arrived.

A further important factor in the Balkans is the circumstance that the civil war there will go hand in hand with the national liberation war. These two wars will run parallel, and it will be the task of the Communist Parties to establish close relationship between these two wars.

Comrades, I must point out that while the theses contain certain suggestions along this line, the character of the national liberation wars in capitalist countries has not been sufficiently clearly worked out. When these masses, i. e. their best armed sections, are torn away from their own districts, when it is made possible for the bourgeoisie to mobilise the soldiers of the oppressed nations and to scatter them over the whole country, this paralyses the national revolutionary movement for a long time. Insofar as this involves Macedonia, Montenegro, Albania, Bessarabia, the Dobrujda and similar territories, the Communist Parties must, immediately at the time of mobilisation, even though the general situation is not yet openly revolutionary, issue the following slogans for the oppressed nations! "Do not go into the barracks, but take to the mountains! Organise yourselves and start the national guerilla war in the rear of the army!"

Simultaneously, a united leadership must be established in the form of the Communist Party. Only if the Communist Parties keep contact with all of the forces of the revolutionary movement, will they be able to organise mighty forces against the bourgeoisie, to develop the revolutionary and civil war in all its forms, to smash the bourgeoisie, finish the revolution and establish the workers' and peasants' Government. (Applause.)

Comrade MARJORIE POLLITT (Great Britain):

Comrades! In reviewing the factors militating for and against the development of our fight against war, many Parties are inclined to underestimate very seriously the importance of the role of working women in the struggle against war. To ignore the tremendous and fundamental hatred which women feel for war, is to throw them into the arms of the bourgeois, pacifist and religious organisations.

In Great Britain, to take one example, the propagandising of the work of the League of Nations, the polarising of non-conscription movements, the propaganda work that is done by the No-More-War Movements, and all forms of pacifist resistance propaganda — are carried on chiefly by working women's organisations.

But of what nature is their support? It merely depends on the fact that these women feel that they must have some means to express their hatred of war, and because we do not sufficiently harness these feelings, they are captured by these bourgeois and pacifist organisations. It is purely a sentimental, unreasoning, uncomprehending and unthinking support. Therefore it is obvious that one of the biggest fields of our work, and one to which we must devote the most careful consideration, is a thorough and systematic undermining and exposure of the real meaning of these organisations in order to destroy the influence which they wield over vast masses of working women. If we are to do this, if we are to expose them, and show them up for the glib, hollow phrasemongers they are, we can only do it by being most explicit and clear in every way ourselves. We can only do it by having a definite clear-cut attitude towards war, formulated so clearly, that the most simple, uneducated working woman can be in no doubt whatever where our Party stands on this

question. Particularly we must be explicit upon what we are asking the workers actually to do at the outbreak of war. It is not an easy question to formulate in any country, but in Great Britain, where there is a voluntary army system, it is a question which requires particular explicitness and careful formulation.

Obviously, in peace time, the task of the Communist Party is to discourage recruiting into such a voluntary army. It is the task of the Communist Party to expose it, to hold it up to contempt and hatred on the part of the workers as widely as possible. That this work is being done with some measure of success is shown first of all by the big drop in the recruiting figures into the British army which followed immediately upon the Shanghai expedition. It is also tacitly admitted by representatives of the British Government itself, who, speaking in the British House of Commons on the introduction of the Blanesborough Report, made it pretty obvious that one of the main reasons for lowering the unemployed benefits of young workers was in order that recruiting might be stimulated and hastened by economic pressure.

Such facts make it quite clear that, when war actually does break out, neither the British Government nor any other capitalist government placed in a similar position, is going to rely upon a voluntary army. One of the first measures it is going to undertake is a conscription measure. What then is the retort of the Communist Party to the introduction of conscription? The theses point out quite plainly that the immediate task of our Party is to rally together the workers of all grades and of both sexes in order to organise great mass demonstrations, great mass protests, partial strikes, local strikes, general strikes, and mass action of every kind, against the introduction of conscription. But what I think the theses do not make clear is that on no occasion can this policy be confused in any way with the policy of the boycott. The policy of strike action against recruiting, mass action, mass demonstration, mass protests, etc., must be most clearly and emphatically differentiated from the policy of the boycott. On no occasion whatever can Communist Parties accept the slogan of the boycott as advocated by the Pacifists. Neither is it enough to tell the workers, where a mass feeling against conscription exists, that the boycott method merely is "not very effective". (N. B. Quotation from War Theses.) Where such mass movements do exist, it is obviously the duty of the Communist Party to turn this feeling against war and against conscription into channels of mass demonstrations; to turn such sentiments and such movements among the masses of workers into strike movements; to rally, not merely the men affected, not only the individuals who receive their calling-up notices, but to draw in all the industrial workers not directly affected, — the young workers, those above military age, those physically unfit, the women workers, the housewives, — to draw them all into this great mass struggle.

Our perpetual aim and objective should be mass strike action, not in the belief that strike action is going to stop the war, but used as an agitational measure to draw in and around the Communist Party masses of workers who, through their strike experiences, will become more and more convinced that the only way to stop war is to overthrow the bourgeoisie which cannot be done without entering the army in order to carry out more effectively the work of disintegrating it and so making possible the turning of the imperialist war into the civil war.

This need for explicitness is not merely confined to the slogan of the boycott, and to the promotion of the general strike; it is necessary in all forms of our anti-war work. I know that propagandists among women have particularly a tendency to separate the question of war from the general question of the class struggle. It is very tempting to play upon the emotions of working women, merely to stir them up into a bitter resentment and a horror of what the next war will produce; and not convince them that the only way to overcome war lies in the disarming of the bourgeoisie and the taking of power by the working class. Especially in the threatment of the Soviet disarmament proposals are there very great pitfalls in this direction. We have seen how pacifist organisations in every country have perverted these proposals in order to make it appear that the Soviet Government had renounced all its historic attitude toward the question of war; to make it appear that the Soviet Government was at long

last following in the wake of the pacifist bodies who were really anxious and desirous to prevent war.

If our Parties are to perform their duty in dealing in the most effective manner possible with the Soviet disarmament proposals, it is essential that they should be treated with the utmost correctness; that the fact should be stressed that these proposals in no way constitute any renunciation of Communist, Leninist principles.

We are far too much inclined to use catchwords and mechanical phrases about which we are quite convinced ourselves but which others do not understand. No Communist doubts the inevitability of war under capitalism. No Communist fails to see the tremendous war preparations going on in every country. But it is not enough merely to reiterate declarations if we are to rally working women to our standard and get them to adopt our point of view.

Undoubtedly, the most important section of the activities of our Parties among working women, lies among **women in industry**. We all remember in 1914, how comparatively easy it was to draw great masses of working women into participation in the war, to fit them into the war machine, to replace men who had been called up, to put the women in the munition factories, on the land, and in the essential services. If it was easy in 1914, what is it going to be in 1928, 29 or 30, when not only a few but great masses of working women have already become industrialised, have already been fitted and prepared to take their place in such work? I want to draw your attention especially to the tremendous army of working women who are employed in the new rationalised industries, in the chemical industry, in the artificial silk industry, all those very industries which do not require a long process of transformation, but which can be transformed almost instantly for the production of war materials.

And what conditions do we find in such industries? We find in the **Mond Chemical Combine**, in the artificial silk industry, that almost invariably non-unionism is a condition of employment. Or, if unions are permitted, they have to be company unions of the Mond Combine type. When we recognise, as I think we do, the importance of strike action in war time, is not the necessity of working among these women who are deprived of trade union organisation brought home most forcibly to every Communist?

Not only are the bourgeoisie preparing women in industry for war, but they are also preparing housewives and petty bourgeois women to participate in the next war, not merely to be kept away from the revolutionary movement, but to be drawn into active struggle against the revolutionary movement. We see it in **France** with the introduction of the **Boncour** legislation, and in **Poland** and **Bulgaria** where laws are in preparation for the mobilisation of the women. We see it in the Fascist women's organisations which exist in practically every country.

I want to enumerate one or two concrete tasks of our Communist Parties not merely in a theoretical way but to cite methods of approach to women which have actually been used by the **British Party**. I do not for one moment imply that the British Party thinks that all the work that is necessary in this direction has been done. We realise only too well that we have only touched the fringe of it but we are convinced that we have started on the right track. We are meeting with success not merely in drawing women into the **anti-war campaign** but the methods which we utilise are being used to recruit women into our Party, to break down pacifist ideology, to extend our Party's influence in the trade unions, co-operative movement and in other mass organisations of working women. What are these methods? First, and most important of all, intensive work in the **trade unions**. A fight in such unions as the Engineering Union which does not yet allow the admission of women members, to include women in the industry on the same terms as men, to fight for inclusion of women in the factory committees, to conduct mass agitation in the factories, and at the factory gates, to sell and distribute copiously our literature and so on. Of almost equal importance is our work amongst housewives through street meetings, courtyard meetings, house meetings in the mining villages, — every measure that will draw even the most backward of the women into this anti-war fight. Then, intensification of our work in the social democratic organisations,

co-operatives organisations, in these **mass organisations** which are at present the backbone of reformism and pacifism. A further important method of approach is through **delegate Conferences**, drawing representation, not only from Labour, Co-operative and Trade Union organisations, but also directly from factories and streets. We must use **mass demonstrations** such as the **British Party** held on July 29th in Trafalgar Square, where not only thousands of London women but women from every part of the country were rallied together in this great demonstration, not merely to protest against war, but to indicate to the British Government that they were prepared to follow the lead of the Communist Party on the question of war. **Delegations of women** should visit the **Soviet Union** in order that they may see things for themselves and be convinced not only of the progress in the direction of social, cultural and economic developments but realise what the Red Army actually is. We must work for the establishment of **women's defence organisations** such as the **Roter Frauen und Mädchen Bund** in **Germany** and the **Women's Unit** of the **Labour League of Ex-Servicemen** in **Great Britain**, in which careful political training must be undertaken.

And finally, I want to stress upon every section of the Communist International that we have not finished with our work among women when we have utilised them for the ideological struggle against war. We must also mobilise the support of working women to take part in the civil war itself. I have not time, nor is there need to enumerate the experiences both of our **Russian Party** and our **Chinese Party** to show the tremendously important role which working women can play and have played with a great measure of success actually in the conduct of the civil war itself. If we do neglect this task (and the attitude of some of our Parties towards "women's work" constitutes a danger that we shall), if we hold that view now that women can only work actively and effectively in certain limited spheres we certainly shall not be able to break it down when the time comes for the definite struggle of the civil war.

Comrades, this question of war is a question upon which we can rally, not only a few, but masses of working women. It is a question upon which we can touch them to the quick and gain their whole-hearted support. Unless we undertake this task as thoroughly as we carry out tasks more commonly recognised as important, we shall neglect forces which will militate most seriously against us in war time. Unless we do this work we are very definitely hindering the recruiting of women into our Party and the building up of a great revolutionary vanguard of the workers' movement.

Comrade JACQUEMOTTE (Belgium):

Comrades, the **Belgian Delegation** would like to submit to Congress a few remarks on the general report delivered by Comrade Bell.

If we leave aside the question of the revolutionary struggle in the colonial and semi-colonial countries in connection with the danger of war, the two essential features of the report are: 1) the war dangers arising from the contradictions among the imperialist powers; Anglo-American rivalry, etc., and 2) the formation of an anti-Soviet front under the lead of Great Britain.

In studying the situation in the capitalist countries, one finds these two essential features in the war policies of the different national bourgeoisies.

In this connection we ought to insist upon the interest which the Communist International should attach to the role of the little European countries in the preparation for the imperialist war. It is quite proper that Comrade Bell's general report dwells upon the military preparations of the neighbouring States of the U. S. S. R. (**Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Finland, Poland, Roumania**); reference is also made in the report, and with perfect reason, to the position taken by **Greece** under **England's** influence. All this evidently bears upon the formation of an **anti-Soviet front** which is the subject of persistent efforts on the part of British imperialism. But we believe that an absolutely complete analysis would show that other little countries have equally their place mapped out upon the chess-board of this struggle against the U. S. S. R. Thus, we find again these two essential features in the military laws submitted and defended by the **Belgian Government** at the present moment. Comrades,

I would like to insist somewhat on the fact that a little country like Belgium, geographically distant from the U. S. S. R., is going to play a role in the formation of the anti-Soviet front which we cannot afford to ignore in regard to its importance.

The Belgian bourgeoisie, as you know, is tied by a secret military treaty to French imperialism. This fact was pointed out by our Comrade Barbé. It might be interesting to go into some details concerning the "independence" of Belgium which is so constantly claimed by the Belgian bourgeoisie and the Social-Democracy to be the chief result of the victory of the Entente in the last imperialist war. The fact is that this Belgian independence does not at all exist, and that the military projects worked out by the general staff of the Belgian army are elaborated under the direction and the direct influence of the French general staff, and consequently, of French imperialism.

There is yet another point which ought to be attentively examined. In order to prepare the study of the new projects of army reorganisation, a mixed commission was formed by the Belgian Government composed of deputies, senators, and members of the General Staff. From the very beginning of this report on the question of the reorganisation of the military apparatus in Belgium, the Chief of the General Staff of the Belgian army pointed out that this reorganisation was closely connected with, and somewhat dominated by the forming of the anti-Soviet front. Thus, at the meeting of the said mixed commission on January 19, 1928, General Gallet, Chief of the General Staff of the Belgian army, expressed himself as follows:

"Two opposite poles have already been formed: London and Moscow repel each other from every point of view."

This is sufficient indication of the fact that the military reorganisation in Belgium equally contains these two essential features: Belgium's participation in the coming war among the imperialist countries or groups of countries, and her participation in a war against the U. S. S. R. Under what form? General Gallet himself, chief of the general staff of the Belgian army, outlined it in the following manner:

"It is to be feared that Germany, if not given the sufficient relaxation, might join in the future the policy of Russia against Poland backed by France, and consequently, against England."

This is the standpoint which underlies the military reorganisation in Belgium, the formation of an army of mercenaries, the establishment of a military nucleus numbering from 20 to 30,000 professional soldiers with very important cadres — a nucleus resembling the German Reichswehr from the standpoint of military organisation; on the other hand, the establishment of fortified positions to extend the Eastern fortifications of France towards the Port of Antwerp, — all this military reorganisation should be considered by us in the light of a means of bringing energetic pressure to bear upon Germany in order to influence the latter when the course of events should lead to the open conflict spoken of by General Gallet, the attack of British imperialism against the U. S. S. R.

At the present moment, the Congress of the Second International is meeting in Brussels. One of the important points on the agenda of that Congress will certainly be the question of the relaxations to be accorded to Germany, notably the anticipated evacuation of occupied territory on the Rhine. It ought to be realised that the imperialisms of France, England and Belgium are preparing to extend these relaxations to Germany against the existing regime, not in order to carry out a "measure of justice", but as definite bargaining between England, France and Belgium on the one hand, and Germany on the other hand, to draw Germany into the anti-Soviet front.

In the discussion on military reorganisation the Belgian Social Democracy quite naturally took up the social-patriotic position which is generally taken by the Social Democratic parties of all countries. Vandervelde declared at the very beginning of the discussion on the military projects that the Social-Democrats were in profound agreement with the Government, but that they differed as to the means and methods to be employed to secure the most efficacious defence of "the Belgian fatherland".

Our Party, after the crisis through which it has gone, has made a big effort to organise and agitate against the utter

militarisation of the country. This has caused the Government to institute measures of persecution against our Party, which are still in progress, and in connection with the parliamentary debate on these persecutions, we had occasion once again to observe the entirely social patriotic and counter-revolutionary position of the Belgian Social Democracy. It was declared by Vandervelde that the campaign waged by the Communist Party of Belgium against the militarisation of the country amounted to treason to the "fatherland", treason to Belgium!

I should like to mention that in this struggle against the military reorganisation projects of the Belgian bourgeoisie, we have achieved certain successes which were expressed in the following: on the one hand, in the persecution started against our Party, and on the other hand, in the closer contact established between the soldiers and the mass of the workers. Thus, our little Party, after having started with the publication of two barrack newspapers edited and distributed by the soldiers themselves, is now able to publish six barrack journals at Brussels, Antwerp, Charleroi, and Namur.

The lesson to be drawn from the discussions which have taken place around the militarist projects of the bourgeoisie is that at the present moment, the Belgian Government is undertaking the military reorganisation with a view to the double purpose of preparing for the coming war: on the one hand, the participation of Belgium in the coming war among the capitalist countries, and on the other hand, the participation of Belgium in the national anti-Soviet front.

Our Party will continue to exert its utmost efforts in the struggle which has already begun.

Comrade LIMANOVSKY (Poland):

With regard to the military and technical preparations which are going on in Poland today, we may distinguish three periods. The first period was the period of the reconstruction of the war industries inherited by present-day Poland from the former Empires of Russia, Germany and Austria. This period lasted from 1919 to 1922. Nevertheless these reconstructed industries do not correspond, both by their scope and quality, to the rapidly growing military tendencies of the Polish bourgeoisie. The second period was the period of the organisation and construction of the new war industries. This period can be described as the period of the Polish five-year plan of 1922—27. In the course of a short period there were constructed 15 new factories for munitions, gun-powder, cartridges, precision instruments, optical instruments, aviation equipment, etc. During the same period, besides these State factories, there are also constructed mixed and private factories for the production of explosives, shells, poison gases and anti-gas appliances, automobiles and aeroplanes. The artificial silk and artificial manure factories are being transformed into war-production plants, e. g., the "Chorzow" works in Upper-Silesia, whilst at the same time similar new plants are to be established at Tarnowo.

The third period commenced towards the close of 1927 and the beginning of 1928, the period of the technical and industrial preparations of the Polish bourgeoisie for the war. The Polish Government and the War Ministry have slackened the pace of preparation in the munition works owned by the State and we see an almost complete transformation of the civil industries, and above all, of the metal industries, to serve the purposes of war. This reorganisation and the transition from the establishment of individual munition factories at the cost of the State to the complete subordination of the essential civil industries to war purposes pursues, in the first place, the purpose of cheapening the manufacturing costs of war munitions, and secondly, in the event of war, the object of facilitating the conversion of the whole of the civil industries to war production purposes. At the same time the Polish bourgeoisie is constantly rebuilding the old strategical railways and directing new ones on the Western, and particularly on the Eastern border. In order to strengthen the military basis, Poland makes use of the territory of the Danzig Free State, building the port of Gdingen in order to increase the loading facilities. This loading capacity amounted in 1926 to 300,000 tons, in 1928 to 1,500,000 tons, and should reach 2,500,000 tons in 1930.

Nevertheless, Polish Fascism does not limit itself to industrial and technical preparations for war. It carries on also an intense **ideological preparation** for the war. The leaders of the Polish army devote particular attention to the physical as well as the political and agitation training of the future soldiers. In the Polish army a systematic peculiar political propaganda is carried on, having for its purpose to weed out from the minds of the soldiers the elements of class consciousness and to imbue them with the spirit of chauvinism.

This problem was taken up by **General Romer**, one of the leaders of the Polish army, in the June number of the Polish military journal "Bellon", and his argument was to the effect that "the masses should get the necessary moral, physical and technical preparation in time of peace", so that "in this respect the nation might co-operate with the government", whilst "this co-operation should take place under the strong influence of the government". Upon the ground of these principles, we find Poland today becoming steadily transformed into a huge armed camp. The whole life of the country is subordinated to the war. All the commanding positions in the State and in the administration are filled by military officers. The War Ministry exercises permanent control over the reserve soldiers and officers. Military mobilisations are carried out with particular frequency in doubtful districts inhabited by national minorities, in order to cast their loyalty to Poland. Military manoeuvres are carried out now and again over the anticipated territory of the future war. The militarisation of the country finds particularly crude expression in the militarisation of the **youth**, as well as in the growth of the organisations for military training, and in the granting of temporary privileges and advantages during the period of army service, by means of which the government fosters the development of these organisations.

The strongest of these organisations in point of number is the "**Defence Alliance**" which has at present 250,000 members, and according to some data, even 500,000 members. The organisation has in its ranks a large percentage of workers and peasants, and is even very strong in some industrial centres, e. g. at **Lodz**. Our Party should devote serious attention to this fact. Second in point of number is the "**Polish Legion**" with 350,000 members composed overwhelmingly of ex-soldiers of the army. There is also a whole number of other big organisations for the military training of the population.

In the summer of 1927 the Polish War Ministry created the big and considerable organisation for the "**military training of railwaymen**".

The purpose of this organisation is to help the government by increasing the defensive ability of the country, to furnish instruction in the art of war, to support all measures calculated to increase the capacity of their railway transport, and so on. This organisation publishes its own pamphlets and posters, as well as a periodical journal, forming its nuclei among the railwaymen and their families.

This large-scale attempt of breaking through the class front of the proletariat upon one of the most essential sectors of the front should force the industrial proletariat to co-operate with Fascism in the preparation for war.

Great attention is devoted by Polish Fascism to the **militarisation of women**, for whom special military and sport instruction courses and stadiums are organised.

In the field of sport we see the increased control of the State over the **sport organisations** which have been virtually subordinated to the Ministry. At the same time there is a tendency to be observed towards rendering the pursuit of sport a monopoly of the bourgeoisie, i. e., no sport organisations are allowed outside of the War Ministry's control.

Towards the beginning of 1928 there were in Poland 24 organisations engaging either exclusively or almost exclusively in the military training of the population. These organisations embraced about 1,200,000 people, or in other words, one out of six able-bodied man of military capacity was a member of some organisation for military training.

All these organisations are under the control of the fascist "**Defence Associations**", enjoying the thorough support of the government.

The tasks of these organisations are perfectly clear. Its members should constitute in the event of war the qualified and politically absolutely reliable rear guard of the army, as well as a reserve for replenishing the cadres of sub-officers. On the other hand, their task is to hold in check the proletarian masses rebelling against war. Thus, they now constitute a reliable mainstay of the Fascist government within the country.

The **Polish social-fascists** in the P.P.S. and in the other social-reformist parties, as well as their youth organisations, take a most active part in the organisation of the whole of this military apparatus, whilst using pacifist phrases to conceal in every way their participation in the preparations for war.

What has the **Polish Communist Party** done to counter-act the imminent danger of war? A good deal was done by the Party by way of **propaganda**. A number of political campaigns, particularly the Sejm elections, were closely connected with the propaganda against the war danger. As against this, there was very little done organisationally. What was done by the Party did not in any way correspond to the magnitude of the danger which confronts us. The anti-war activity in the army is rather meagre. There is not a single faction in the organisations for military training which have a membership of 1,200,000 people. No initiative is being taken to win the sport movement under our influence. With few exceptions, there was no initiative shown by the Central Committee of the Party through the whole of this period. If we have done anything at all, it was due to the fact that this lack of initiative was criticised by the IV. Conference of our Party, by the Comintern, and by a section of the Party.

The point has been debated here whether the Polish Party underestimated the danger to the U.S.S.R. from the side of Polish imperialism, and who was responsible for this under-estimation. Comrade **Brandt** tried to show that in his pamphlet he did not under-estimate the war danger and the war preparations carried on by the Polish bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union, and that the group of Comrade **Kostrzewa** was alive to this danger.

Nevertheless the facts tell a different story. The fact that the group of Comrade **Kostrzewa** and Comrade **Brandt**, who are at the head of the Central Committee, has practically done nothing as regards organising the struggle against the war, speaks louder than any beautiful words.

The **Y.C.L. in Poland** has acted differently, nevertheless, it has equally failed to display sufficient energy in a number of campaigns. Its constant activity to undermine the "Defence Associations" has not been without results. Lately in **Warsaw**, in connection with the Pacifist Congress held in that city, an anti-war conference was organised. Certain activity is carried on among recruits, etc., but all this is far from sufficient. I must say that the latest measures of the Central Committee of the Party in regard to the Y.C.L. — the dissolution of the Secretariat of the C.C. of the Y.C.L. — have had a most adverse effect upon the current activity as well as upon the anti-war activity.

If the Polish Party can show some success in the anti-war propaganda and in linking up the daily slogans of the working class with the struggle against the war danger, it has made almost no progress in regard to the **organisational preparation** of its ranks, the education of its members, and the activity in the army and in the organisations for military training.

We run the risk of finding ourselves in the event of war in the same situation again in which the Polish Party repeatedly found itself. Such was the case, for instance, during the **Cracow insurrection** in 1923, over which the C.C. of our Party, in which Comrade **Kostrzewa** played the leading role, did not gain any influence either by agitation or through a single nucleus in the army.

This was particularly revealed during the **fascist coup d'etat** in **May 1926**, in the total impotency and helplessness of the C.C. of our Party in the face of the march of events.

When the bourgeoisie, having at its command a mighty apparatus for influencing the masses and the whole machinery of the State, is preparing so carefully for the future war, it

requires ever so much greater efforts on the part of our Party to counter-act the war by preparing the large masses of the workers and peasants for that moment. No expression of carelessness, neglect and inactivity should be tolerated in this respect.

The Polish Party is confronted at the present moment with the task of the accelerated execution of a series of practical measures for ideological, propagandist and technico-organisational preparation for the event of war and for the struggle against war, not only in our own ranks, but also among the non-Party masses of workers and peasants.

These measures are:

1. By popularising the teaching of Lenin on the subject of war and the Communist attitude towards it, by educational work concerning the importance of the Party as the organising element in the struggle against war as well as in the struggle for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war; the Party should impart this doctrine not only to each of its members and to each member of the Y. C. L. but also to the large masses of the proletariat and of revolutionary peasantry.

2. By special publications the large masses of the workers and peasants in White Russia, Western Ukraine and Poland should be educated as to the attitude of the Party on the question of transforming the imperialist war into civil war.

3. By means of special publications the Party should popularise armed revolutionary actions among the proletariat and the peasantry. It is necessary to deepen and widen the traditions of such actions, and to prepare the masses by pointing out the need for the armed conflict with the bourgeoisie as long as the circumstances are ripe.

4. The Party should carry on more intense anti-war activity also in the organisations for military training and in the sport organisations. Steps must be taken in every way to increase the formation of factions in the different organisations for military training.

5. Particular attention must be devoted to organisational activity in the metal industry, in the chemical industry and on the transport.

6. It is necessary to increase the activity in the centres of the war industry.

7. It is necessary to organise the anti-war activity of the factory nuclei, to clarify their tasks, and to link up the (industrial) struggle of the workers and peasants with the struggle of the soldiers.

8. It is necessary to increase the activity among the women.

9. The support given to the Y. C. L. must be increased in every way. The Y. C. L. must be more strongly attracted to the work.

Congress will help us create the fitting Party leadership, thereby furnishing the postulates under which the C. P. of Poland will be able to fulfil its duty to the last.

Comrade KILBOOM (Sweden):

The Swedish Delegation welcomes the fact that the question of the struggle against war has been made a special item upon the agenda of this Congress. It is not a day too early for our Parties to take up more completely the discussion and preparation of measures to combat the war danger. The draft theses contain a good deal of exceedingly good material which should be very useful to the Parties in clearing up various questions. At the same time there are certain points which should be more thoroughly worked out in the commission and more clearly formulated. For instance, the question of the general strike against war, and the conditions under which it should be proclaimed. Further, the question of the activity in the standing armies, the anti-militarist activity in the colonial armies, and finally, the question of the proletarian militia.

In the opinion of our delegation, there is altogether too little attention given to the role of Scandinavia in the war preparations and in the coming war against the Soviet Union.

Yet, British imperialism attaches great importance to Scandinavia in this respect, making big efforts to enlist these countries to serve its interests. Large amounts of British capital are being invested in the industries of these countries.

But there are also other ways in which British imperialism tries to attach to its influence the Scandinavian countries, and particularly Sweden as the "leading" capitalist State in North Europe, as it was recently referred to by an English financial review. The annual visits of the British navy to important localities are another means of demonstrating to the countries of the Baltic Sea on which side they should range themselves in the coming test of strength. At the same time these naval trips constitute quite an obvious demonstration against the Soviet Union.

The British imperialists are endeavouring to round up the Baltic States into a bloc for the fight against the Soviet Union.

The Baltic States, as well as Sweden, Denmark and Finland, should keep the Baltic Sea open for the British fleet. Thus, they are actually drawn into the coming war against the Worker's and Peasants' Republic. It is the task of the fraternal parties in their respective countries to explain these things to the workers. It is particularly important in Sweden where it is generally believed that Sweden would remain neutral in the event of war against the Soviet Union.

That these British efforts are supported by the bourgeois class in Scandinavia, is evident from a variety of facts. Swedish capitalism, particularly the part which is connected with British interests, has been deliberately working in the course of several years to gain influence in Finland and in the Baltic States. This constitutes also a link in the policy of encircling the Soviet Union.

Vigorous activity is carried on by the British interests also in other respects in order to draw the Baltic and the Scandinavian countries closely together. Among these facts should be mentioned the nearly annual exchanges of naval visits between the Scandinavian and the Baltic countries; the mutual visits of the heads of the States accompanied by their Social Democratic ministers and envoys, and all the different mutual delegations, including even the White Guards.

Another link in the chain is the campaign of calumny against the Soviet Union which is still carried on in the Scandinavian countries upon a large scale. Nearly every capitalist and Social Democratic newspaper is spreading the basest lies about the situation and the politics of the Soviet Government.

The object of this activity is the ideological preparation for the war, as well as to facilitate the war preparations in the respective countries. Characteristic in this respect is a recent event in Sweden. The policy of the Soviet Union, so we were told, was the essential reason for the modernisation of the army and navy, for the building of a powerful airfleet, for the adoption of a law for industrial preparedness for war upon the same principles as in France, and so forth. In this light it can easily be seen that the recently passed Anti-Trade Union Laws constitute no doubt a link in the war preparations of the bourgeoisie, as has been repeatedly pointed out by our Party.

Naturally, the Social Democratic leaders in Scandinavia are also supporting the above-described policy of the bourgeoisie and are taking an active part in it. They have even directly expressed themselves in favour of Sweden's participation in the war against the Soviet Union. A few years ago it was declared by Herr Hanssen, the chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, that in the event of a war between the Baltic countries and Finland on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other hand, Sweden will take part on the side of the former. Furthermore, the Foreign Minister in the last Social Democratic government, Herr Unden, had joined a Northern Locarno on behalf of his Government which implied a junction of the States situated to the West of the Finnish-Russian Border into a solid bloc against the Soviet Union.

In the work of the Communist movement against the war preparations, we must admit big defects in so far as Sweden is concerned. Nevertheless, these defects should be considered in connection with the Swedish circumstances. There are strong pacifist currents among the population. Sweden has not taken part in war for over a century. These currents are manifested

also in the labour movement and reflected, even if to a vanishing extent, in our own Party. Quite considerable difficulties had to be overcome before the party was brought to a revolutionary line. Already in 1915 Comrade Lenin, in an extensive letter to the then leadership of the **Youth International**, pointed out quite clearly our improper attitude. This was imperatively necessary. Only in late years the activity of our Party on the military question has received a revolutionary content. Nevertheless our Party committed a tactical blunder last year when they signed jointly with some trade union and political organisations an incorrect manifesto. Nevertheless it is not right to say that such a manifesto and appeal for the general strike against war betrays the lack of clearness in our party on this question, as it was asserted here by Comrade **Mehring**. This assertion would be right if the Swedish Party had no clear idea as to the consequences of the slogan of a general strike against war. Such, however, is not the case. At any rate, the leading comrades in Sweden fully appreciate the character of the general strike slogan given by Lenin in the instructions to the delegates who went to the Hague Conference. This standpoint we have defended in numerous public addresses, newspaper articles, etc., chiefly against the anarcho-syndicalists.

The most successful campaign conducted by our party in order to popularise the revolutionary view among the working masses on the military problem were connected with the **naval building programmes** of the social democracy and with their incitement against the Soviet Union. The Party has succeeded in a splendid manner to rally the masses of the workers to the fight against the demands for naval preparedness, and at the same time to arouse the workers to the need for preparing against the bourgeois class. Within the army and navy the work is carried on chiefly by the **Youth League**, and it has achieved some splendid results on various occasions. Thus, for instance, in connection with the army manoeuvres the Youth League organised the so-called Red Field manoeuvres in the course of which there were mobilised large bodies of militant comrades for literature distribution and for verbal propaganda. Furthermore, fairly extensive propaganda was also carried out in **parliament**, where a motion was made in support of the demands made by the soldiers of the army. The result of these activities is that the workers are becoming increasingly convinced of the fact that it is their duty to defend the Soviet Union, and that they should prepare against the bourgeoisie. The class consciousness is also growing among the soldiers and the army.

With all this, there are big defects in our activity, and a good many omissions could be mentioned. We did too little to prepare the movement for the eventual period of illegality; too little work was done in the army and navy, as well as in the industries working on war materials. We have in Sweden artillery factories which turn out supplies for a number of states, including the Baltic countries and Finland, in preparation for the war against the Soviet Union. There are also numerous defects in the activity among the transport workers, although lately the transport workers have been brought more and more under communist influence, which is particularly true as regards the seamen.

The Swedish Delegation fully agrees with the theses and it believes that the sections should immediately proceed to take steps to carry out the aforesaid tasks. We also fully concur in the exhortation to increase the activity among the poor population in the rural districts.

Nevertheless there is no mention in the theses about need for closer co-operation between the Communist Parties of the Baltic countries and those of other countries in which the imperialists are especially concentrating their preparations for the war against the Soviet Union. Indeed, the imperialists have shown the way. Their attempt at forming a counter-revolutionary Baltic bloc points out our need to bring about closer co-operation among our forces.

Closer co-operation would no doubt facilitate the anti-war activity of the **Baltic parties**. Therefore the future E. C. should devote the utmost attention to this question and organise such co-operation in the proper manner. In the struggle against the war preparations not a single measure should be neglected which might lead towards the goal: the efficient defence of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic, the transformation of the imperialist war into a war for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

Comrade GRUBE (Germany):

Comrades, for some time the E. C. has drawn our attention to the imminence of the war danger. Yet what was the work of the sections, in what way did they act upon the exhortations of the E. C. Even during the period when the official diplomatic relations were broken between the British Government and the Soviet Union, there was practically no change in our general political activity. **We persistently under-estimated the imminent danger of war.**

Let us examine the work done by Communists in the **mass organisations** of the proletariat. Mostly in the trade unions no attention is drawn by the Opposition to the imminence of the war danger. Our comrades have not yet learned to link up the question of the hard conditions of the workers, i. e. the drop in the real wages and the general deterioration of the conditions of labour in the capitalist countries, with the question of the imperialist preparations for war. It should be quite obvious that the burden of the expenditure on the imperialist preparations in the different countries is being shifted to the shoulders of the workers, thus being directly connected with the struggles and wage movements of the workers. Nevertheless our comrades allow neutrality in the trade unions, undertaking no serious steps against the false idea advanced by the reformist trade union bureaucracy. Furthermore, we who have gone through the war can well recollect the attitude of the trade unions during the war. It was frequently boasted by the German trade union press that the educational activity of the trade unions had enabled the German war chiefs to carry the gigantic operations over the tremendous fronts. **Politically the trade unions were not at all neutral during the war.** They preach to the workers the idea of civil peace, whilst lending every support to the plans of the imperialists. The political neutrality of the trade unions is a phrase. We must learn to arouse the workers in the trade unions to combat the danger of war.

Also in the **sport organisations**, in which mostly is to be found the human material used by the imperialists in the event of the outbreak of war, we attach too little importance to political educational work. Only lately there has been some improvement in Germany in this respect. What do we see as a result of this earnest and really good revolutionary work? We find that in the sport organisations the policy of expulsion of Communists has been adopted in the same way as in the trade unions. In the interest of the bourgeoisie, the reformists are splitting the labour organisations, and this we ought to point out quite clearly to the workers. The reformists, who are standing ideologically upon the ground of national defence, and practically upon the reconstruction of the capitalist order of society and the capitalist methods of production, are supporting in every respect the imperialist policies of the bourgeoisie and their offensive against the workers in the different countries.

The Fascists, organisations, such as the **Steel Helmet in Germany** and the nationalist organisations in the other countries, equally constitute a tremendous danger for the proletariat in the event of the outbreak of war, and of the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war. Nevertheless our comrades mostly refrain from debating with the workers in the nationalist organisations and in the Fascist corporations. This is wrong. We have some examples in Germany where by means of successful undermining activity we have succeeded in breaking up considerable portions of the Steel Helmet organisation to the extent that they were made up of proletarian elements. Thanks to this activity the Steel Helmet organisation has considerably lost in its membership in late years.

We have yet another military organisation in Germany which is both politically and organisationally under-estimated by some sections of our Party, namely, the **Reichsbanner organisation**. In the Reichsbanner organisation they are also preaching chauvinism, even if not in the same form as in the Swastika and Steel Helmet organisations. I merely wish to refer to the speech made by the Social Democratic leader **Hörsing** shortly after the Reichstag elections. His saying: "Turn towards the Left, against Bolshevism, against the Red

Front Bund" had the ideological meaning of fighting against the Soviet Union, against the revolutionary citadel of the world proletariat, and we must therefore realise today this danger which is contained in the Reichsbanner leadership. The leaders of the Reichsbanner urged the defence of the Republic, which they consider as their Republic, in an hour of danger. This means that the Reichsbanner wants to defend the Republic against the assault of the revolutionary proletariat. Therefore, there should be the greatest emphasis made in our Theses that our comrades should take an attitude towards the aforesaid defence organisations.

Furthermore, we find even greater neglect in all our sections as regards our tasks in carrying on the work among the women. It is a firmly established fact that the women constitute a majority of the population. Let us consider the state of the women's organisations in the different countries. What women's organisations have we which carry on real revolutionary political education work among the women of the working class? Almost none. In Germany we have started to organise in connection with the Red Front League the **Red Women's and Girls League**. As the Delegation of the German Section, we must declare that the activity of the Red Women's and Girls Bund has not been sufficiently backed by the Party. The neglect of the activity among the women will be bound to tell against the proletariat in the event of an outbreak of war. The sections in the different countries should be urged to give their utmost attention to the work amongst the women.

The rural activity of most of the sections presents a deplorable picture. In all countries there are millions of small and middle peasants, which are called upon to bear the burdens of war to the same extent as the workers. Do we find any strong political educational activity going on today in the rural districts to combat the war menace? Absolutely none. Our comrades do not even tell the peasants that in the event of war their last horse will be stolen, that their women and children will have to be harnessed, and so on. Our comrades do not draw the attention of the peasants to the fact that just now the small peasants and the workers are made to bear all the burdens of the imperialist war preparations. The policy of protective tariffs, carried on nearly in all countries, constitutes a heavy burden upon the small peasants too. We have seen in Germany how the small farmers of the **Rhineland**, exasperated by the heavy burdens, stormed the local treasuries. Similar scenes were witnessed also in some localities in **Prussia**. It is to be regretted that these revolts were led by the reactionary Landbund.

The fact that the millions of small peasants are not fighting under the leadership of the proletariat, but under the leadership of reaction, goes to show that the majority of the sections have not yet realised the need for working among the small peasants.

In conclusion, I should like to say a few words here in connection with the speech made by our French Comrade Ferrat. He said that the thesis "not a single man and not a single farthing to the capitalist system" is anarchistic. I believe Comrade Ferrat's idea to be wrong. When for instance, in Germany, the slogan of "not one man and not one farthing to the capitalist system" would have been realised by the Social Democracy at the outbreak of war, in 1914 i. e. had it declined to vote for the war credits and organised in this connection a mass action outside of Parliament, the German bourgeoisie would not have succeeded in carrying on the world butchery for four years.

In conclusion, I should also like to emphasise that the purpose of our suggestions to the War Commission is to get the theses amplified, so that the individual sections might be given the proper instructions not only to talk about the war danger, but also to be able indeed, in the event of an outbreak of the imperialist war, to turn the war into civil war, to overthrow the bourgeoisie in all countries, and to establish the proletarian dictatorship. (Applause.)

Comrade SULTAN SADE (Persia):

Comrades, there is no doubt whatever that the chief instigator in the war will be **England**: whichever the shock troop, it will always be London pulling the strings behind the scenes. All the preparations carried on by England whether openly or secretly in the whole of the Near East are indication of the undeniable fact that England has been busily preparing during the last few years for the coming clash of arms. I am firmly convinced that in the next war the **Middle and Near East** will serve as the chief starting ground for the attack on the Soviet Union. Starting with **Egypt** and passing on through **Palestine, Trans-Jordania, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Persia, and India**, there is a whole variety of countries either entirely or partly subjugated by England. Lately it was declared by the British Colonial Secretary Emery:

"In order to secure our influence in the Near East and to consolidate the **Suez Canal**, we must increase our forces in all these countries, particularly in **Egypt**, and win the friendship of all the peoples that are adjacent to the Canal."

This military programme of the British War Office is being pursued just now by the British High Commissioner in Egypt where the supreme command of the army has been seized by England, where parliament has been dissolved and the full freedom has been given to the British supreme military command to carry out calmly all the necessary preparations. Furthermore, an important role in the future war will also be played by **Palestine**. Palestine, that little and insignificant country, is being now extended by the will of the supreme commissioner, even more than any ardent Zionist would ever have dreamed of. Just now the military harbour is being constructed at **Haifa**, and one and a half million pounds sterling has already been assigned for this purpose. Military barracks are being built, and other premises, for the accommodation of tens of thousands of soldiers.

Furthermore, preparations are in progress for the establishment of the future air line from **Cairo to Karatchi**, which is to run over **Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia, on to India**. A number of up-to-date aviation bases has already been established in Palestine. Furthermore, a net of strategical highways is being built. The highway across the desert from **Jerusalem to Bagdad** has already been completed. Finally, the line from **Kantara to Haifa** has already been completed, forming a section of the future trunk line of **Cairo—Bagdad—Calcutta**.

Close to Palestine is the region of **Trans-Jordania**, constituting an "independent" kingdom. This "independent" kingdom has signed a treaty with England three months ago, in virtue of which the king of England has the right to mobilise any number of troops in that country for purposes of defence and the "maintenance of law and order", whilst the funds for the maintenance of the troops have to be furnished by **Trans-Jordania** out of its budget. In short, that "independent" country which was already given in 1925 the port of **Akaba** on the Red Sea, is being prepared more and more for the role which it is to play for the British War Office in the future war.

Next place in the war preparations is taken by **Iraq and Mesopotamia**. You know what difficulties England had to overcome to wrest that country from the German imperialists. The **Bagdad railway** was always a thorn in the eyes of British imperialism. This railway, constructed by Germany, constituted a constant menace to the British possessions. Today the territory is an "independent" country over which England has a mandate from the League of Nations. Here again there are extraordinary military measures carried out by the British authorities. First of all, gigantic aerodromes are being erected upon the territory of that country. The railway line from **Basra to Bagdad**, running along the Persian border, constitutes an exceedingly convenient strategic railway, offering the shortest cut for an offensive against the Soviet Union via **Turkestan**.

The course of the river **Shat-el-Arab** has been widened and deepened so that ocean steamers can sail directly into **Basra**.

Lately the military fort of **Fao** was built up and equipped so that it now dominates the whole region. British agitation is working with particular intensity in this region. An agitation is now carried on for the formation of a **Kurdistan** state from

Persian and Turkish Kurdistan, under the protectorate of England. If this plan will be carried out it will mean that the military line will be extended directly to the border of the Soviet Union by way of Kurdistan.

The Gulf of Persia has long since become a British lake, whilst England is deliberately striving to capture possession of the Bahrein Islands.

The policy of the British supreme command in Persia consisted lately in stubbornly insisting before the Persian government on obtaining the right of aviation over Persian territory into India. Under pressure from the masses of the people the Persian government hesitated until quite recently to accept these conditions. Lately, however, owing to a number of revolts which occurred throughout the country, the Persian government thought it necessary to comply with Britain's request and allow the erection of several aviation points on Persian territory. Comrades, in all these countries not only technical preparations are made for war, but England is also politically active. Wherever necessary, she installs her own monarchs and little Tsars. Wherever parliament can be dissolved and representative governments be abolished, this is done by England, and a government is installed which serves as a tool of British imperialism. This has happened in Egypt, and the same we find in Palestine and Mesopotamia, and finally also in Persia, where the new dynasty has been placed upon the throne directly by England. This new dynasty, which has taken the place of the old Katchara dynasty, slowly but systematically yields to the British supreme command on nearly all points. A railway line is being now constructed by the Persian government which will lead from Bagdad to the Caspian Sea. A port is being built at the terminal point of this line, at Bendersgas. This port will serve as a submarine base which will enable operations against Baku, so as to cut off the sources of raw materials from the industrial centres of the Soviet Union.

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

Comrades, I believe in the speeches of some of our comrades we could hear the re-echoing of the old social democratic, helpless talk about the criminal designs of the ruling classes about the submissiveness of the reformists etc. There was little of the militant spirit, however, felt in those speeches. There were almost no reports made on practical work, on preparatory work by the Parties in connection with the war danger. Most of the speakers limited themselves to the exposure of the bourgeoisie, of the reformists and of the social democrats of their respective countries. All this is quite necessary, of course, and the activities of the parties in this direction are far from adequate. Nevertheless it is quite clear that we should not limit ourselves to this activity alone. As the comrades know quite well, the question of the war danger was discussed already by the Eighth Plenum more than a twelvemonth ago. The Eighth Plenum dealt exhaustively with the principles of our attitude upon this question and instructed all the parties to start immediate practical activity. Nevertheless the majority of the speakers, the representatives of the different parties who have spoken here, as the comrades might have observed, have devoted the whole of their time to drawing an analysis of the general and political situation of the respective countries, as if this was the subject under consideration, so that they had practically no time left to report on what the party has done in this matter. It is for this reason that I said in the Presidium that the speakers, in my opinion, should "start from the end", i. e. they should begin from describing the practical work of their party. It is particularly important for this Congress to learn from the speeches made by responsible representatives of the Parties as to what they have done to carry out the decisions of the VIII. Plenum, to what extent these decisions have been carried out, what practical difficulties they had encountered, what new tasks they have met, tasks that should be studied upon an international scale, and after the proper discussion and examination should be taken up in the shape of resolutions.

Comrades, I believe, that at this point it was particularly important to criticise one of the weak points in the Communist Parties, which is due largely to the survivals of the Social Democratic traditions. On the ground of what we have heard here from our comrades, I believe, it may be assumed that this

criticism is not yet sufficiently practised in our Parties. Hence the danger if things are allowed to continue in this way, that the Comintern might not be able to put up the proper resistance to the coming war danger to the extent that would be possible if we should carry on real revolutionary, Bolshevik criticism.

Comrade Ferrat drew attention in his speech to a number of inaccuracies in the Theses, and among other things, that the Theses were so drafted for the most part as though the author underestimated the existing revolutionary possibilities for the struggle against the war danger. This seems to me to be both right and wrong. It is right in the sense that if the Communist Parties begin to work with the whole of their energy, in truly Bolshevik and revolutionary fashion, we shall be able to utilise the possibilities contained in the objective circumstances of the present situation to deal heavy blows to our class enemies. On the other hand, if our Communist Parties will prove unable to shake off the old Social Democratic traditions and the old habits of waging wordy battles against the war danger, we shall indeed miss the favourable opportunity for real Communist propaganda.

Which are the important practical tasks to which we should devote particularly serious attention?

Above all, it is the question of the factory nuclei. No doubt the working class, the workers in the big factories, are going to have the final say upon the preparations now made by the capitalist world for the coming war. If the Communist Parties will have strong and influential nuclei in the factories relying upon the masses, they will thus be able to put up energetic resistance to the war danger. On the other hand, if in all the Parties, as we have lately seen, the factory nuclei will continue to decline, whilst the attention towards them is weakened, if the activity in the big factories will further be neglected (thus, for instance, the Berlin-Brandenburg District Committee gave the order during elections to relax the activity in the nuclei), this will be contradictory to the real interests of our struggle against the menace of war. The American Party has spoken here a good deal about the danger from the Right Wing which jeopardises the struggle against the war menace. Allow me in this connection to deal briefly with a few reports received on the conditions in some of the rank and file organisations of the American Party, so that we might get the real basis for a sober judgement as to the forces on which the C. P. of America can rely in the struggle against the war danger. Thus it is reported from the Springfield organisation, where there are tens of thousands of industrial workers:

"Some time ago the Party organisation had 36 members, including three in the Westinghouse works, three in metal works, and three in a rubber factory. There were never any factory nuclei and nobody bothered about this question. At present (July 1928) there are only 16 members left. The Secretary could not explain what became of the other 20 members. The social composition of the organisation is as follows: 4 petty artisans, 3 cabdrivers, 1 housewife, 2 metal workers, and 1 factory worker. The make up of the Youth organisation is as follows: out of 12 members there are 7 high school pupils. In reality there is no Communist Youth organisation but a club."

I ask you, when a Party organisation has such a basis, can the war meet with any appreciable resistance? Of course not. Both factions may accuse each other of Right Wing deviations, but both of them will be equally unable to resist the war danger, if the Party relies upon such a basis.

Shortly after the VIII. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. an extremely interesting enquiry among the factory nuclei was organised by the C. P. of Germany. A whole series of political questions was put to the leaders of the factory nuclei, including also the question of the attitude towards war on the part of the workers of the factory in question, as well as the question of the measures taken by the factory nuclei to prepare the workers for the struggle against the war danger. The Party collected several hundreds of such question sheets, of which many were circulated among large factories in the chemical, electrical, metallurgical, and engineering industries. In the majority of the replies it was stated that the workers did not at all think of the possibility of war, whilst those who did think about it believed that the League of Nations possessed enough influence and power to

avert the danger of war. The overwhelming majority of the social democratic workers, of whom there are still many in the German industries, believe that there can be no talk of a war danger, that it has been invented by Communists, that it is "inspired from Moscow", etc. To the question as to what was undertaken by the factory nuclei to educate the working class on the real situation, nearly all the comrades replied that nothing could be done, that the organisations were exceedingly weak, that they had very few, at most a dozen members. The leadership of the masses is weak, there is a lack of ideologically trained leaders, and so forth. Comrades, this is one of the essential questions which should be practically discussed and dealt with.

In comparison with the other parties, the French Party has great achievements to record in regard to the struggle against the war danger. Nevertheless I should like to ask our French comrades: tell me honestly, in Bolshevik manner, are these achievements really the result of systematic, persistent, planned activity of the C. P. of France, or are they largely the result of an exceptionally favourable situation under which even small activity and slight efforts may yield big results? I believe every French comrade will have to answer that in the French C. P. the last was rather the case, and that the Party has to take up the task of organising extensive, systematic activity.

But if we were to ask the French comrades: how is the work going on in the factories, how is the influence of the C. P. there, they will have to answer: according to official statistics, we had in 1924, at the time of the V. Congress, 2,500 factory nuclei; today we have less than 1,000, and only about 30% of the workers are organised in them. Besides, they admit it themselves that the nuclei do not form the basis of the Party and that they are weak.

If we were to ask further from our French comrades: what is the strength of the C. P. in the chemical industry which is to play such a big role in war, they will have to tell us that not only is the organisation of factory nuclei in poor shape, but that the regular trade union activity is much behind in the chemical industry.

The apparatus for activity in the army is very weak in all the Parties. If we should go on neglecting this work we shall be unable to carry out the instructions of the VIII. Plenum or of this Congress, and to fulfil our Bolshevik, Communist duty before the international proletariat and humanity at large.

This Congress should give us a clear cut, firm, proper, Bolshevik, Leninist line on the question of the struggle against the war danger. The most important task to be taken up just now is the practical and actual carrying out of this line. To this end we must mobilise all the forces of the Party from the top to the bottom, all the Party organisations beginning with the factory nuclei and individual members. The rank and file organisations must systematically control the work of the leading organs in this direction, and vice versa, the leading organs must systematically test the practical work of the bottom organs. The Party members must demand from their leading Party organs regular reports on the anti-war activity. The Party must know how the Communist influence is penetrating into the big factories which are going to play a leading role in the preparations for war, particularly in the factories engaged in war industry. This can be done even under a condition of semi-legality or even of total illegality. Thus, for instance, the real success of this activity will be shown by the appearance of newspapers in such factories. Naturally there can be no detailed discussion here of the concrete measures and the practical steps to be carried out in each country in connection with the struggle against the war danger. These questions will be discussed in the commissions and in the special sub-commissions. What must be thoroughly thrashed out at this Congress is this: it is essential to mobilise in reality all the forces of the Parties for the struggle against the war danger, and we must practise the most unsparing Leninist self-criticism in regard to the least digressions and deviations towards the social democratic methods of mere word battles against the war danger. All our Parties must employ the whole of their Bolshevik courage and the whole of their revolutionary energy and persistence to overcome all the difficulties as regards penetrating into the big factories and the army at all costs, in order to transform the army and the factories from the strong supports of the counter-revolution, as is desired by the bourgeoisie, into the reliable support of the revolution. (Cheers.)

Comrade SIROLA (Finland):

Comrades, little Finland is of considerable importance in the war preparations of the imperialists against the Soviet Union. Its frontier is only 40 kilometres distant from Leningrad. Strategic railways lead to the Karelian border and to the Eastern frontier of Finland, where the little Karelian Soviet Republic is situated — a Finnish "irredenta" along the important Murmansk Railway. The Finnish ports, not distant from Leningrad, have already served as supporting points for British naval operations against Kronstadt.

Finland's orientation upon England is well known. Considerable sums of British capital are invested in Finland. England has taken a direct part in the reorganisation of Finland's army and navy. And during this summer an Anglo-Finnish "businessmen's conference" was held in Finland. The relations with the Baltic countries have grown ever more intimate. Systematic steps were taken to eliminate the mutual suspicions and antipathies between England and Scandinavia and between Finland and the Baltic countries by means of royal and naval visits, and the like.

Finland's attitude to the Soviet Union may be described as one of animosity thinly disguised by outward "friendship". Finland provides an asylum for the Russian white guard emigrants to carry on their espionage and murder activities across the Soviet border. Bandit raids were made from Finland into Karelia and Ingermanland (in the province of Leningrad). A vicious press campaign goes on uninterruptedly. Politically, Finland has shown her attitude by breaking up the negotiations with the Soviet Union for a non-aggression pact, and particularly by her initiative in the League of Nations on the question of financial guarantees. The mandate obtained by Finland last winter in the League of Nations was a distinct anti-Soviet act.

Finland's social democracy has its own peculiar role in the preparations for war. The anti-Soviet campaign in the social-democratic newspapers is frequently worse than in the bourgeois press. They talk about the "red imperialism" and "militarism" of the Soviet Union, and on the other hand, the assurances about the "peace-loving" policy of Finland are repeated over and over again. It has been frequently declared by the Social Democrats that whenever necessary, they will be prepared to rush to the "frontier". They vote military credits for the white army and they have voted against reducing the period of military service to six months. They have taken part in working out the plans for the organisation of the army. When they formed the government in 1927, they continued the policies of their predecessors, carrying out the dictates of the world imperialists. The social-democratic government supported the military budget and took part in building up the navy, as well as in economic preparations for war. It was the social-democratic government which broke the negotiations with the Soviet Union on the non-aggression pact and which secured a place in the League of Nations upon secret conditions which aroused suspicion even among the petty bourgeoisie. The activity of the Communists in the army, is described by the social democrats — or the Noskeides, as they are commonly called — as "espionage for a foreign power" and is subjected to rigorous penalties.

Under such circumstances it is the task of the proletariat to unmask the war policies of the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats. This must particularly be carried on in the army. Highly essential in this respect is the activity among the peasants. There is not sufficient consideration of these circumstances in the Theses which have been submitted, and it is proposed by the Finnish Delegation that the Theses be amplified in this respect. There is also insufficient stress laid upon the activity among the women. Highly important in our country is to combat the spirit of national hatred, particularly among the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie, as well as among the backward elements of the village poor. Important in this connection is the educational activity concerning the solution of the peasant question in Soviet Russia. We believe there should be more attention given in the Theses to the national question. For instance, in Finland we have a national Swedish minority whose right to self-determination is not recognised by the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats.

A great role is played in Finland by the class guards of the bourgeoisie. There are also special military organisations for women. We believe the Theses should contain a more thoroughgoing analysis of the bourgeois class armies. Attention ought to be given to the social composition of such forces, since they contain also working class elements, small peasants, and even agricultural labourers, and it is essential to take up the proper attitude towards such elements. It is clear that a determined attitude must be taken against these class guards of the bourgeoisie, but the question is how it would be best to influence the working class elements contained in them.

A few words on the experiences of the **Communist Party of Finland** as regards anti-war activity. The Finnish workers have on numerous occasions developed mass actions against the war. When in 1921—22 there were raids made by Finland on Soviet Karelia, the workers replied by a strong movement under the slogan of "fight for Soviet Russia!" In the newspapers the movement of the troops was exposed and collections were taken up for the benefit of Karelia. Application was made here of the united front with the Social Democratic masses against the wishes of their leaders. In connection with this activity there were many workers sentenced to penal servitude or imprisonment. A group of forest workers in North Finland revolted and made their way towards Soviet Karelia with arms in their hands. The mighty demonstrations contributed no doubt to the prevention of a declaration of war, although matters had gone so far that troops were being dispatched to the frontier and the rolling stock of the railways have been mobilised, armoured trains have been set in motion, and so forth.

In the years 1918—20, before the signing of the peace treaty with Soviet Russia, successful work was carried on by our Party among the white troops on the frontier. Numerous detachments had to be withdrawn from the front. Upon numerous occasions, such as Mayday demonstrations, election campaigns, etc., the anti-war slogans were powerfully backed by the Finnish workers. In the course of the **naval visit** there were leaflets distributed amongst the American and British sailors, explaining the real aims of the visits. Frequent exposures have been made concerning the conditions in the barracks, and demands were made on behalf of the soldiers. In the army we have the opportunity for bringing together the young workers and peasants. The result of this activity has been that peasants' sons in the whiteguard army have become converted to different views, and the officers have every reason to complain about the unreliable condition of entire regiments. They endeavoured then to isolate the red elements, to keep them apart from the sub-officers, and so on. Our Party has been opposed to the evasion of military service and has propagated the idea that it is essential for the Youth of the working classes to learn the use of arms to be able to fight for emancipation.

Our Party has shown certain faults and shortcomings in its work. The struggle against pacifist illusions has not always been carried on with sufficient deliberation. The war danger is frequently represented too abstractly. The activity in the village has been weak, which has led to weakness in the political activity among the young recruits. The real meaning of the royal visits as showing the propaganda for war preparedness has not always been properly pointed out. Furthermore, the narrow horizon of a small country frequently finds its expression in the activity of the comrades: for instance, the necessity of protecting the Chinese revolution by the Finnish workers was not sufficiently concretised.

The immediate tasks of the Party are: to intensify the anti-war activity in every respect, and particularly the work in the army. It is necessary more than ever before to point out concretely the danger of war and the role played by Finland in the war preparations of the imperialists. The activity must take on more and more the form of mass activity.

In Finland, too, under an acute situation, the slogan of action will be: the imperialist war must be transformed into civil war. And in this direction we must carry on our present activity.

Comrade TANAKA (Japan):

Comrades! At the present time, when the danger of a great imperialist war is imminent and when all the imperialists and their followers are trying to blind the eyes of the masses to this fact, it is the task of the world proletariat to place the war question on the agenda of the day, in order to decide its tactics, and to organise the revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war, rallying the forces of the revolutionary masses under the Communist banner. The draft theses on the war question, which were submitted to the present Congress, give clearly, in my opinion, the fundamental line of the struggle which stands before the world proletariat as its important task. First, they make clear that in the present war danger imperialist wars, national revolutionary wars and class wars are closely bound up with each other; secondly, they establish the principle of the genuine proletariat, that is, the Marxist Leninist struggle against imperialist war — its transformation into a civil war, its development into the world proletarian revolution, and the tactical basis for this aim. The world proletariat must find one of its powerful weapons in these theses.

In the name of the **Japanese delegation**, I want to express our agreement to these theses, and pledge ourselves to carry them out.

Comrades, you all know, the military division of **China** by the British, American and Japanese imperialists is going on before our eyes. This is the reason why one big centre of a new imperialist war lies in China. Open or concealed conflicts among the imperialist powers for the division of China are going on, above all, at the cost of the workers and peasant masses in China, and especially at the cost of innumerable dead corpses of the Chinese revolutionary proletariat. At present the Japanese imperialists have openly invaded Chinese territory. This is the necessary outcome of the struggle of the Japanese bourgeoisie for its existence. Therefore, the bourgeois opposition party, **Minseito**, supports also, in fact, the present government in its China policy.

Capitalist Japan, which developed rapidly since the world war has become one of those Powers which eagerly demand the new division of the globe, being dissatisfied with the spheres of influence, decided by the Versailles Treaty, and the Washington Conference. Especially the lack of resources in the country, the urgent land question, the narrow internal market caused by the impoverishment of the masses, surplus population, etc. — all these stimulate her imperialist desires which drive her into a more aggressive policy. Such circumstances pushed the Japanese exploiters into invasion of China.

Comrades! The Japanese bourgeoisie found an object of merciless exploitation and forceful robbery of resources in **North China** and **Taya mine** (the Hanyupiang Iron Works) in the textile industry of South China and a market for its commodities in the whole of China. For this reason, it turned **Manchuria** and **Mongolia** into its spheres of influence, into its colonies de facto. Japanese investment in China amounts to 2.5 milliard yen. However, the imperialist bourgeoisie of Japan encountered the great Chinese revolution since 1925. It was the far more dangerous enemy to Japan than American and British capital, her rivals in spoliation. Thus imperialist Japan stood at the head of the reactionary war in drowning the Chinese revolution in bloodshed, and utilising this opportunity, invaded China openly with armed forces, and turned Manchuria and Mongolia into her complete colonies.

The invasion of Japanese troops in **Shanghai** in 1926, the intervention in **Shantung** in 1928, the massacre in **Tsinan**, the seizure of the Shantung railway, and custom incomes of **Tsingtao**, the attempt upon **Chang-Tso-lin**, the intrigues to usurp completely the ruling power in Manchuria under the beautiful name of "Manchurian independence", and the capture of four railways in Manchuria and Mongolia, etc. — the whole series of these most barbarous actions revealed completely the plan of Japanese imperialism. Japan has lately sent 50,000 soldiers and 55 warships to China.

This open invasion in China was accelerated by the betrayal of the Kuomintang to the cause of the revolution. Japan was, together with Great Britain, the most shameless boss who bought the Kuomintang militarists, in order to have them carry

out the massacre of Chinese workers and peasant masses and to intensify oppression upon them. However, Japan did not show any gratefulness to the Chinese bourgeoisie, who betrayed its own proletariat, but, on the contrary, the "stronger China policy" of Japan found recently its expression in Japan's refusal to negotiate on the revision of the unequal treaty. This proves that the emancipation of the Chinese proletariat depends upon the struggle of the Chinese proletariat against imperialism under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

Comrades! The imperialist oppression of China intensifies the contradictions among the U.S.A., Britain and Japan for the booty in China. I want to recall your attention to the fact that Japan's open invasion in China was followed by Chamberlain's declaration, which denied Japan's "special interests" in Manchuria; this shows that antagonisms among the three powers have become complicated and intensified, and that the military conquest of China by Japan has a great strategical importance for an imperialist war.

The question of American-Japanese war on account of China and the Pacific has for a long time been discussed by the imperialists. The assumption that Japan is not so strongly armed as the U.S.A. and therefore must not venture an open conflict with the U.S.A. must be refuted when we consider Japan's strategical-technical position. It is a fact that Japan definitely prepared to enter a war for the conquest of China, and Japanese militarists are discussing the measures necessary to occupy whole regions of China in one week in order to response to an American-Japanese war.

Antagonism between the U. S. A. Great Britain and Japan do not eliminate the antagonist relationship towards the Soviet Union, the strongest opponent of the entire capitalist world and the stronghold of the world proletarian revolution. The Japanese bourgeoisie, who viewing with greed the vast resources of the Soviet Union, has found that "the Soviet Union will not be destroyed in 50 or 100 years" (the statement by F. Kuhara, the present Minister of Post and Telegraph, who visited the U. S. S. R. last year) and covers itself with the mask of friendship toward the U. S. S. R. It is clear however, that Japan, which once played the role of a leader of the counter-revolutionary war against the country of proletarian dictatorship, holds a strong position in the anti-Soviet front, led by Britain, and is preparing a war against the Soviet Union. Especially in recent times following the Communist raid, the Japanese bourgeoisie started a provocative campaign against the U. S. S. R.

The following facts must be noted: 1. Japan is waging a war in China, and has started for a world war, 2. the imperialist war for the division of China is closely bound up with the revolutionary war of the Chinese workers and peasants, and the war for the defence of the Soviet Union. These two facts prove once more the correctness of the estimation of the situation of war imminence developed in the draft theses.

I will now shortly refer to the war preparations of Japanese imperialists who are to play one of the most important roles in this impending world war.

The war budget has been steadily increased and in 1928 it amounted to 492 million yen which constitutes 27% of the whole amount of expenditure. The big programme of building aeroplanes and warships is hurriedly being carried out.

Like all other imperialist-militarist countries, Japan is preparing very thoroughly the military mobilisation of the whole nation and of all industries; the so-called National mobilisation plan issued by the war authorities, provides for the establishment of far-reaching Research Council for resources, for more extensive militarist and Fascist training of various associations of ex-soldiers, youth, women and students.

The Japanese army and navy is placed under the supreme authority of the Tenno, built upon a hierarchical system of ranks among the soldiers and sailors who are kept in blindness and slavery; this army is now being used by the imperialist-bour-

geoisie as a reactionary weapon, and all the other unofficial military organisations have also become more reactionary.

The ruling classes of Japan have used these official and unofficial military organisations in civil war actions. Apart from the proceedings during the Rice Riot in 1918, they have used all the most brutal means against the workers and Korean brothers in the great earthquake in 1923, and now in China, they are manoeuvring for a new world war and class war, by testing of new armaments and establishing barricades in North China.

I must admit that the Japanese proletariat have been very inadequately and ill-prepared to conduct a revolutionary struggle against Japanese imperialist militarism and against the crisis of a new world war, first, on account of their comparatively small experience of the misery of wars, and particularly of the last imperialist war, and secondly, on account of the fact that the Japanese Party is very young.

One of the most important features of the draft theses on war, I believe, is that they have a most clear and comprehensive tactic of struggle against war on a strict line of revolutionary Marxian-Leninism, i. e. the line to the transformation of imperialist war into civil war, defeatism, disintegration of the bourgeois army and arming of the proletariat, support of the national revolutionary war, and subjugation of all struggles against war to the world proletarian revolution.

The Japanese proletariat and its Party must learn this principle with all efforts and energy. It is true that we have propagated anti-militarism among the masses and since these few years we have succeeded to some extent to organise class struggles against Japanese intervention in revolutionary China, and for the defence of the U. S. S. R. But not only our propaganda work was weak, our organisation activities were not systematically directed to the revolutionary aim of the disintegration of the bourgeois army and the formation of a proletarian militia. The work among the broad masses of the youth has been quite inadequate. It must be carried out in closer connection with the C. P. and the Y. C. L. I think that a short paragraph concerning anti-militarist work among the youth should be inserted in the theses. Lack of anti-military education and training within the trade unions, was also one of our big mistakes.

Since the spring of 1927, when a new epoch of mass struggle of the Japanese working class began, the workers' defence corps have been organised, and our work in the army has been started; the alliance of the workers and poor peasants are more and more strengthened through these anti-military struggles.

Comrades! The attitude of the Japanese Social Democrats to the war question is quite the same as that of their European colleagues. The only difference lies in the fact that they are vassals of Tenno, avowed nationalists, more open enemies of the U. S. S. R., good friends of Chiang Kai-shek and open advocates of the invasion in China.

The recent raid in the C. P. of Japan and on three militant mass organisations is one of the war preparations on the part of Japanese bourgeoisie and landlords.

But we shall not be crushed. On the contrary, we will grow bigger and bigger. And the C. P. of Japan is now facing the most important task: the decisive struggle against the Japanese imperialist war mongers. In order to carry out this task successfully, it is absolutely necessary to concentrate our efforts upon persistent work in the army and navy for the energetic struggle to defend the Soviet Union and support the Chinese Revolution, and for the revolutionary united front of all oppressed peoples in the East, in close and systematic collaboration with the Chinese Communist Party.

We, the Japanese Communists, will test and harden ourselves through this struggle against imperialist wars, and try to carry out successfully the theses of the Congress.

Twenty-second Session.

Moscow, 4th August, 1928 (afternoon).

Continuation of the Discussion on the Question of War Danger.

At today's session the chair is occupied first by Comrade stands the discussion on the danger of war. Kilboom and then by Comrade Humbert-Droz. On the agenda

Comrade RAMIREZ (Mexico):

Comrades: On behalf of the delegation of the Latin-American countries represented at the Congress, I will speak on the economic and political situation of the Latin American countries, which we consider important centres in a possible Anglo-American war.

The political situation of our countries, with the exception of Uruguay and Argentine, have a great deal in common. American imperialism has predominant political influence upon Mexico, Central America and the majority of the countries in the Northern part of South America.

In several countries as Argentine, Brazil, Peru, etc., English and American imperialism rival for hegemony, but it is easy to predict that American imperialism will play the first role in Latin America. The Governments of these countries, as well as of other Latin American countries, are either still semi-feudal, or bourgeois-democratic, whilst some of them are petty bourgeois progressive as in Mexico, Costa Rica, etc., as the political expression of the economic situation of these countries.

The Governments of the majority of the Latin American countries, with the exception of those in the extreme South, are nothing else but representatives of Yankee imperialism. But this situation has led in Central America and the Northern part of South America to a revolutionary situation (Mexico, Nicaragua) or a pre-revolutionary situation (Peru, Venezuela, Colombia, Brazil, Ecuador, etc.). The great labour and peasant masses of these countries understand that the foreign capitalists are working in close alliance with their respective governments, in order to keep the workers in a fearful state of misery and exploitation.

As a result there broke out the rebellion of the Indians of Bolivia and Peru and the bloody struggles in Venezuela, Colombia and Panama. In spite of a lack of clarification with regard to the conceptions of the class struggle in all these countries, the struggle against American imperialism has begun and finds expression in the activities of the Anti-Imperialist League and the consolidation of our Parties in Latin America.

In order to demonstrate the predominating power of the United States in our countries and its role with regard to the danger of war, we state the following: In Mexico, the U. S. A. controls 70% of the oil industry, all transportation, industry and mines. Cuba which produces $\frac{1}{3}$ of the world's sugar production exports almost all its production to the United States besides its production of iron and manganese. The five Central American Republics: Guatemala, Honduras, San Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, are economically and militaristically in the hands of the United States. In Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Chile, it is claimed that the investments of the American capitalists before and after the war control nearly all these countries, which are or will be in the very near future part and parcel of American imperialism. In Latin America, the United (American) Fruit Company is all powerful.

In Venezuela and Colombia there is an acute rivalry at present between British and American imperialism for the possession and domination of the oil resources of this country,

a struggle in which undoubtedly British imperialism will be defeated though it will put up a very hard fight. In Ecuador, the production of raw material is to a great extent in the hands of the United States. In Peru, they control 70% of the oil production. In Bolivia and Chile the production of copper, nitrates, lead, iron and oil, etc., are totally in the hands of American imperialism.

Argentine, Uruguay, Paraguay and Brazil have been penetrated rapidly by big American capital which tends to displace British capital. Where British imperialism still predominates, American capital is endeavouring to gain control of the meat, flour, coffee, and mineral products of these countries including oil.

Panama, Cuba, Santo Domingo, Haiti and Porto Rico are nothing else but actually American possessions in spite of the fact that they call themselves republics. It is our duty to examine geographically the important strategic position that they have in a possible war between the imperialist powers or of world imperialism against the Soviet Union.

We must admit that actually the centre of world capitalism is the United States. The point of contact for mobilising the navies and the concentration point of the Atlantic or Pacific fleet is Panama.

Besides this, American capitalism has had great interest in Nicaragua on account of the possibility to build up another inter-oceanic canal on that land under the flag of the United States. The construction of the Panama Canal and the perspectives for building another in Nicaragua saved Mexico from losing the Tehuantepec Isthmian Zone as Colombia lost Panama. This canal affords to American imperialism the possibility of making one naval unit of the Atlantic and Pacific navies, to reach quickly the stores of war material of the Latin American countries — the canal also represents the most important approach to the Pacific, to the Near East, Asia, etc.

The possessions in the Caribbean Zone both in the hands of the British and American imperialists, are all destined to protect the Panama Canal, as for instance the Guantanamo Bay in Cuba, the naval base and the military stations in Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands. The British possessions will have great importance for a possible blockade, such as Belize on the northern part of South America, on the coast of Yucatan, besides British Guiana and the minor British Antilles; in the North of the Caribbean Sea, Jamaica and off the coast of the United States, the Bahamas.

We must always have in mind the superiority of United States imperialism in that region and also the role that these countries will play as allies of the United States — Cuba, Panama, Central America, etc. Cuba has under construction a central road which will serve for military aims and transport of ammunition, troops, etc., for the United States going by ferry boat from Florida to Cuba across the Florida Canal.

Comrade Eugene Paul is actually right when he says in his article "the problems of the blockade", which appeared lately in the Communist International, that the Panama Canal might be the only point of attack that will be worth while for the British to concentrate themselves. Our Communist Parties will assume a very important role in the future war between England and the United States or the imperialists against the Soviet Union. Therefore it is necessary that the Comintern accord more attention to Latin America and especially to the Caribbean countries, the bones of contention between the American and British imperialists for the control of the Panama Canal Zone.

I would draw the attention of the Congress to the great importance of the Latin American countries and hope that the Commission that will finally elaborate the theses on the war danger will not overlook the great role that the Latin American countries will play in the future war, a war which for our countries will mean the approach of national emancipation from imperialism and possibly will create a base for the Soviet Republics of America.

Comrade GONZALES (Brazil):

Comrades, the war danger at the present moment is a concrete fact. The war of the imperialists against the Chinese Revolution is already a reality, and the occupation of Nicaragua by the troops of American Imperialism proves that a war exists in Latin America. The antagonism between American and British imperialism is becoming especially acute in these countries and might lead to a war between them.

We can say that our parties have done very little to meet this war danger. A few parties in Latin America have dealt with this question, but the others have not even put this question before their members.

Latin America, during the war of 1914—1918, was one of the most important sections to supply raw material and food. The food supplies were mostly exported from Argentine, Brazil and Uruguay. The export of petroleum from Mexico in 1914 was 4,170,972 cubic metres, which increased in 1917 to 8,795,830 cubic metres. The exports of manganese from Brazil in 1914 was 183,630 tons, while in 1917 it was 532,855. Today the capacity for furnishing war material which can be utilised by the imperialists in case of another war is actually much greater. The fields and mines of Latin America will be, if we do not prevent it, largely utilised by the imperialists in a war against the Soviet Union.

In 1925 Argentine exported 167 million gold pesos of food, materials, meats, etc. The American packing houses in Brazil have a capacity of slaughtering 6000 cattle daily, although at the present time it is not so high.

Let us see how war preparations are carried on in Latin America. The Monroe Doctrine was initiated as a defensive measure. Afterwards it provided for the intervention to defend Latin America from imperialist aggression and today it is a doctrine by which Latin America is converted into an American colony. Recently there was held a Pan-American conference in Cuba which clearly showed the aims pursued by the imperialists. The camouflage which Kellogg uses to mask his war preparations is also decorated with Pan-Americanism.

The Latin American labour movement is beginning to be penetrated by the Pan-American Federation of Labour and Amsterdam. The first helps the penetration of American imperialism by endeavouring to corrupt the labour movement by its industrial peace propaganda and complete submission of Latin America to the United States. Amsterdam, with its industrial peace propaganda, endeavours to serve the ends of British imperialism in Latin America, and divert them from the revolutionary path. This effort on the part of Amsterdam took concrete forms with the creation of a Bureau in Buenos Aires. The role of Amsterdam and the Pan-American Federation of Labour is of great significance, because all strikes in Latin America take the character of political strikes against imperialism that controls the most important sections of their economy.

There are also the Y. M. C. A.'s which endeavour to penetrate the youth, Rotary clubs which make propaganda for the Yankees, the national Fascist Leagues, the Argentine Patriotic League, which is used as a strike-breaking organisation. This was clearly illustrated in the recent strike in Rosario, Argentine, in Brazil and many other Latin American countries. Besides this Fascist League, there are also Boy Scouts created by the bourgeoisie for reactionary aims. There are further the foreign naval and military missions in many Latin American countries which endeavour to use the navies and armies of Latin America for their imperialist aims. Social Democracy in Latin America also plays a reactionary role. When the 1914 war started it vacillated, but afterwards when the bourgeoisie increased their profits as a result of the war, it frankly came to their support. In the case of a war against the Soviet Union it will be the best agent that

the imperialists will have in the ranks of the workers, to betray them. The struggle against all these organisations which are so openly on the side of imperialism, is one of the tasks confronting our Parties.

In the theses there is no concrete direction given to our parties to prevent the imperialists from mobilising our large resources of food and raw materials in a war against the Soviet Union. It may be possible in the future war that the imperialists will even endeavour to use Latin American soldiers. We must get to work in order to frustrate such plans. Our work to prevent the export of food and raw material as well as of soldiers must be closely connected with the struggle of the workers in the mines and industries and of the peasantry. Our Parties should prepare themselves to benefit by this war situation by initiating the struggle for independence and the expulsion of the imperialists by the creation of workers and peasants governments.

In case of a war against the Soviet Union the Latin American proletariat will play a very important role. The struggle against imperialism, which already has developed for many years, will come to a climax, when war breaks. This will weaken the imperialists and help the Soviet Union. In this sense our Parties must intensify their work, prepare their cadres so that they will be in a position to lead the workers and peasants against the agents of imperialism.

In such a situation our slogans will be: "No food, no raw materials for imperialist wars", "The expulsion of the imperialists", "Agrarian revolution against the landed classes which are the outstanding allies of imperialism", "For the creation of a workers and peasants government".

Comrade PARIS (Germany):

The preparations for the imperialist war against Soviet Russia must receive the close attention of the Communist International and of its Sections, particularly of the Sections in the frontier territories. An important frontier territory is undoubtedly **Upper Silesia**. In the South-eastern corner of Germany, strongly hemmed in by Poland and Czechoslovakia there is this almost exclusively industrial district. Adjacent to it are the Dombrov coalfield of Poland and the Moravian-Ostrau coalfield of Czechoslovakia.

As a result of the Geneva Treaty of 1922 this industrial area of Upper Silesia was dismembered and the greater part of the industry, 45 pits out of 65 fell to the lot of Poland. The Geneva Treaty was preceded by three bourgeois-Polish national uprisings in this territory which were supported by the Entente with a view to placing the whole of this industrial territory into the hands of Poland. In spite of the plebiscite which resulted in the majority in favour of continued connection with Germany, the dismemberment took place, as already said, to the advantage of the Polish bourgeoisie. The whole purpose of this was to strengthen the Polish military state as a partner in the league against the Soviet Union. The Party, under the slogan of "Boycott the Plebiscite" carried on a bitter struggle against both German and Polish nationalism. Already at that time the Party realised the important role Upper Silesia must play in a war against Soviet Russia. However, the Party succeeded in winning over only a small section of the population for internationalism.

Already in the world war of 1914—1918 Upper Silesia was the platz d'armes and supply base of Germany. The Upper Silesian coal, iron, steel and munition industries represented a very important base of supplies for the war, particularly against the then tsarist Russia. But Upper Silesia will play an even greater role in the war against Soviet Russia. Hence, the German and Polish sections in this territory are confronted by the special tasks of intensifying the struggle against imperialist war. The closest political contacts must be established between the big industries of Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Hitherto only loose contacts have been maintained between the German and Polish districts. Imperialism understands the political and military role of Upper Silesia in a war against the Soviet Union. All over the place it is establishing its industrial bases like steel works, chemical works, etc. Air bases are also being established. The railway system has been reorganised and is now being strengthened. In the Polish district strong concentrations of military forces

are taking place. On the German side, as a result of the Versailles Treaty, the bourgeoisie are creating military defence corps which receive complete State and financial aid, which will guarantee the continuation of transport and the production of war supplies in the event of a war.

Consequently, it is the duty of the Communist Parties to strengthen tenfold their organisational base and political influence in the factories. The struggle in the German as well as in the Polish trade unions against nationalism and for the purpose of strengthening the spirit of internationalism, must be carried on more strenuously than ever before. The German Upper Silesian district has no newspaper of its own. Emphasis must be laid on the necessity for establishing a two-language paper in this district. In German Upper Silesia over 20,000 workers are employed who live in Poland and cross the frontier every day. These are mostly young workers. Among these the Party and also the youth League, have important political work to do. A beginning was made for the political conversion of these workers during the general election in Poland. But this is not enough. The work must be carried on continuously and directed on the lines of the struggle against imperialist war.

In the event of a war against the Soviet Union, the German and Polish Sections in Upper Silesia, as well as the Czech Section, will have very important tasks to fulfil. The task of bringing the iron, coal and chemical industries to a standstill in the event of war is a very important one. The tying up of transport, etc., in Upper Silesia immediately before the outbreak of war against the Soviet Union will be a very important factor. The Party in East Prussia and Danzig also have very important tasks to fulfil. Königsberg in East Prussia as a railway junction and Danzig as a port are important military points for the imperialists in the war against Soviet Russia. Consequently, important work must be carried on among the railwaymen and seamen. The splitting of the railwaymen's Unity League by the reformists in Königsberg was no accident; it is proof that the reformist trade union bureaucracy are helping the imperialists. In Upper Silesia also, dirty tricks are being employed to destroy the influence of the opposition in the railwaymen's Unity League.

The V. Congress gave the German and Polish Sections instructions to devote special attention to Upper Silesia. It is to be regretted that little work has been carried on there.

After the VI. Congress the task must be taken up of strengthening the organisational base in the factories, strengthening the spirit of internationalism among the industrial and land proletariat and struggle against Fascism and the war danger.

Comrade DUNNE (America):

Comrades: The wealth of material submitted here to the Congress relative to the war danger leaves no doubt as to the imminence of another imperialist world conflict. Consequently, the duty devolves upon the representatives of the various Parties of supplementing the theses on the war danger, the prospects and the methods of combating the war danger in their respective countries.

There seems to be a general belief that in the United States of America during the last war no substantial mass resistance arose to the imperialist programme.

It is, however, a fact that in 1917—1918, the war years, there was considerable mass resistance to the war, and this in spite of the fact that the American working class had no responsible leadership for this struggle. It is true that the official leaders of the labour movement became part of the imperialist war machine and that the American Federation of Labour betrayed the entire working class. But it is likewise true that, in spite of this betrayal, in at least two decisive industries, great mass strikes were carried out. In the lumber industry and in the metal mining industry, the workers at that time, under the leadership of the I. W. W. and revolutionary elements inside the A. F. of L. unions, carried on successfully strikes which hampered very substantially the efforts of the militarists and the imperialists to consolidate their war machine in these two industries. And from such instances as this we must draw lessons for the present. More than 250,000 workers illegally evaded the conscription law and

hundreds of thousands more claimed exemption. The enthusiastic support of the world war by the American masses is a myth.

It is entirely possible in the United States, that on the outbreak of war, providing our Party follows a correct line, to carry through very important mass movements and seriously hamper the successful development of the war programme of American imperialism. It is the main task of our Party at the present time to adopt an action programme that will lead to the carrying out of struggles of this sort.

Comrade Bukharin, in his report, quoted Comrade Lenin to the effect that in the next war sections of the Communist press will disgrace itself. Comrade Bukharin amplified this quotation by saying that perhaps some of our Parties, or sections of the leadership, will also disgrace themselves.

I want to point out certain tendencies in this direction in the United States which must be corrected sharply, and which, if continued, will result disastrously for our Party and the working class in the United States.

I have here a copy of a manifesto published in the name of our Party in its official organ dealing with the invasion of Nicaragua. This manifesto is Social Democratic in character, pacifist, and manifests a super-intellectual approach to the war of American imperialism upon Nicaragua. Yet this manifesto stands unrepudiated today as the position of our Party on this question. The introduction says:

"The Coolidge Government by its own reports is criminally responsible for the death of Michael A. Obelski of Roulette, Pa., and of Chas. Sidney Garrison, of Asheville, N. C., American marines killed in battle with Nicaraguan liberal forces in Ocatal, Nicaragua. The Coolidge administration is also responsible for the criminal slaughter of three hundred Nicaraguan troops by machine gun and cannon fire and by bombing them from five aeroplanes of the American navy.

"President Coolidge and the State Department, in cynical violation of the constitution of our country which vests the warmaking power in Congress, opened war on the Nicaraguan people last December and sent 1500 marines to overrun that little country."

"Put an end to the disgraceful invasion of Nicaragua....
"Fight against Wall Street's control of our Government."

The author of this manifesto demands a first-class war that we can support. Then it concludes:

"We must stop the President and State department from committing illegal acts amounting to a declaration of war without consulting Congress."

And this, comrades, is a concrete example of how Communist Parties and the Communist press can disgrace themselves in a war situation.

Then here are some more quotations and more official pronouncements by our Party. We had in New York the other day (in Wall Street) a demonstration against the intervention in Nicaragua, some of our comrades were arrested and the press of our Party has been apologising for this demonstration ever since. In the "Daily Worker" of the 14th of July 1928, is an article called "The Racketeers of Justice", published with an editorial endorsement in which the whole struggle against imperialism is placed on a legal and constitutional basis. Here are some extracts from it:

"I (the writer) happen to be a qualified expert and perhaps New York's most successful expert judging by results. For I have won out the end in every case, either at the station house, or in a dozen cases tried out at the police courts, and in one case of alleged criminal libel tried out before a jury for nine days in the Court of General Sessions, all ending with 'Not Guilty'.

"... In each case I traced the false arrest or interference back to its source. In the beginning I always found the arrest was due to the agents of the crooked judges, the officials and lawyers whom I am exposing for conniving with the Rockefeller group in putting through the courts a series of frauds.

"... While police headquarters admit that I have the legal right to do what I am doing, and the manner in which I am proceeding, it is obvious that the police department heads are woefully inefficient and incompetent, or that they are not acting in Good faith.

"...I note that while Police Commissioner Warren is quick to take action against assemblance and processions of the Ku Klux Klan, he is practically inaccessible when a citizen wishes to end the criminal practices of certain members of his force when operating in collusion with certain "Racketeers of Justice."

The author of the above is a Klansman. For the Communist press such articles are impermissible.

Furthermore, leading comrades of our Party, Comrade Olgin, (member of the C.E.C. and editor of a Party theoretical organ) and others, are writing in our press justifying its legalistic and constitutional approach to the question of the struggles against war. Demonstrations have been changed from struggles against imperialism to a struggle for the right of free speech.

Now, comrades, America is the most powerful imperialist country in the world. Therefore, because of the leading role America will play and is already playing in the war situation, our Party must have the clearest line and the most determined will and consciousness for struggle against the war danger. We cannot content ourselves with an academic analysis of the prospects for war and against war. We must consider of basic importance the work among the American masses. We cannot content ourselves with weighing in the balance only the international factors making for war and making for a postponement of a world conflict. We must say to the American working class that their rulers are about to plunge them into a world conflict to strengthen the hegemony of American imperialism throughout the rest of the world. We must begin now in our factory nuclei, in every unit of the Party, in our trade union work, in all our mass work generally to put forward the struggles against war as the foremost point in our programme. We are convinced that the war danger is imminent. Our task is to mobilise the American masses against the war danger immediately.

Comrade FRACHON (France):

Comrades, in my remarks I will deal with two points.

The first will be a reply to the remarks made here this morning by Comrade Vassiliev.

In the course of his speech Vassiliev made the following statement regarding the work of the French Communist Party:

"There have certainly been demonstrations in France, but one gets the impression that these demonstrations are more due to the general situation, to the workers' movements for their demands and to the general slogans of the Party than to systematic organisation by the Communist Party."

I think that Comrade Vassiliev got his impression by reading in the reports sent by our Party only the self-criticism which we are in the habit of making and leaving aside that part which deals with the practical results achieved recently by our anti-militarist campaign.

Comrade Vassiliev also said

"I think that the French comrades would find it difficult to lay before us a plan of their work."

We declare that we can show without the least difficulty that we have a plan of work. I want to give here some details of our plan of work. For instance the organising work among the young conscripts and soldiers. Directions are also given for systematic work among young factory workers.

As to our work among reservists, our Party has not been idle also in this respect. The demonstrations of the reservists were not only organised under the slogan: payment of wages during training time but also under the slogan of abolition of military training.

It is certainly not a negligible fact that a regional congress of reservists' societies was held lately in Paris and was attended by a considerable number of delegates.

Neither has our Party neglected work in the army and on ships; in this domain, too, it works according to a definite plan. We can say that we have achieved certain results, that mixed commissions of Party and Y. C. L. members are functioning for the realisation of definite tasks, that they have already accomplished good organisational work.

Demonstrations of soldiers and tailors have taken place in prisons, in various barracks and on board ship. One cannot certainly say that these repeated manifestations are only due to the present difficult situation. If such a view were held, one would come to the conclusion that there is no necessity for the existence of a Communist Party.

Other examples which show that we have, after all, done good organisational work are: last May 50 manifestations of young recruits took place in the barracks; they ranged from collective demands addressed to the Colonel to demonstrations in the barracks. There was also a strike in Casablanca: 300 mechanics in the air service refused for 24 hours to do any work as a protest against bad food.

Our work was not perfect, but we work every day for its improvement, we are trying to improve our methods and I think that the domain of our activity which deserves least criticism is the anti-militarist domain, for it is there that we have made our greatest efforts and have obtained our best results. (Applause.)

The second point with which I would like to deal is the role of Social Democracy in regard to war. I will limit myself to laying a little more stress on the role which Social Democracy plays in regard to impeding the organisation of the workers for the anti-war struggle and fostering pacifist illusions.

In the French Socialist Party there has not been up till now a consensus of opinion in regard to Paul Boncour's presence in the League of Nations. In certain Social Democratic circles there was still an inclination to criticise this participation. This was not a demonstration of the "Left" Socialist leaders against the League of Nations. In certain Social-Democratic circles there was still an inclination to criticise this participation. This was not a demonstration of the "Left" Socialist leaders against the League of Nations, but merely a concession they made to the workers who follow the Social Democratic Party. Well, the last meeting of the National Council of the Socialist Party of France has shown us that there is no longer any difference on this point between the fractions of this Party.

In their action for the League of Nations the only concern of the Socialists is — to make workers and peasants believe that it is possible to maintain peace under a capitalist regime; they do their utmost to keep them away from organisations which carry on an anti-war struggle just at the time when they are participating themselves very energetically in the armament of their own country.

Another point which manifested the determination of the Socialists to defend the imperialism of their own country is their attitude to the Kellogg Pact. In speaking of this Pact, Blum declared that "the Kellogg proposal

responds to a simple and strong idea, the necessity of peace and universal disarmament. Whoever refuses to associate himself with this proposal will be inevitably suspected of being against this idea."

I will give you the comments in regard to this Pact which appeared in the official organ of the big French bourgeoisie: "Temps" (July 20).

"The British Government is of the opinion that the proposed treaty does not restrain or incapacitate it in anything, and it shares Mr. Kellogg's view that each State is competent to decide for itself when circumstances are compelling it to have recourse to war for its protection." Such is the Pact which Blum defends. Blum has also declared in the press:

"Kellogg asks us to declare that for us war is not and will never be an instrument at the service of our political aims. Such a declaration cannot incommode France. Whom after all can it incommode in Europe.... except Fascist governments and the government of Soviet Russia?"

Thus the Socialists achieve a double aim: they prevent workers noticing the war preparations, and they help the bourgeoisie to prepare armed intervention against Soviet Russia by spreading the legend of Red imperialism and by making believe that the capitalist States are angels of peace and that the only country which wants war is the U. S. S. R.

Such an attitude is not a monopoly of the French Social Democracy. I have taken these examples from the French Socialist Party, but one could give similar examples from all the Sections of the II International.

When in a few days time the Congress of the II. International will open, everyone of its sections will come to the Congress with the certitude of the imminence of the war dangers. Everyone of them will be mainly concerned in the discussion with being as lenient as possible to the imperialism of its own country and not to interfere with its designs.

But at the same time they will cover their merchandise with the pacifist colours, their chauvinist ideology will be wrapped in grandiloquent peace phraseology.

By keeping alive pacifist illusions, Social democracy is a valuable auxiliary of the bourgeoisie.

Therefore, the Sections of the Communist International must fight relentlessly social democracy in their struggle against imperialist war.

Comrade HAKEN (Czechoslovakia):

Lenin described the present period as the period of war and revolution. Events prove to us more and more that this description is correct.

The world conflicts that are taking place in the spheres of commodity and capital exports, for spheres of investment of capital, the growth of new capitalist economic centres, the uneven development of capitalism: — all these are operating in the direction of undermining the political power of individual capitalist groups and in the direction of war.

In addition to the principal contradiction between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union, which the imperialists are preparing to try to remove by means of a war, there are a number of other contradictions within the capitalist world itself.

Great rivalry exists between the most powerful and aggressive imperialist powers and groups: between the **United States of America and England and Japan**, and between **England and France**. Under the wings of British imperialism **Italy** is intensifying its imperialist strivings in the **Mediterranean**.

In Europe **Germany** is rapidly becoming an imperialist factor, and there is no doubt whatever that in the event of acute war danger she will play a prominent role.

In addition serious antagonisms exist among the minor European states which, as a result of their internal economic and political difficulties, serve as tools in the hands of the imperialist great powers.

Not only are these insoluble conflicts in capitalist society driving towards war, but also the feverish **preparations for war** that are being made by all capitalist states.

The other aspect of the war preparations is the introduction of precautionary political and administrative measures to be applied in the event of war. These precautionary measures are intended to be used against the workers and particularly against the revolutionary labour movement and also against the national minorities.

All this can be observed also in the smaller States, as for example, in **Czechoslovakia**, which is one of the strongest militarist States in Central Europe.

Here are to be observed; enormous unbearable expenditure for armies and armaments, the predominance of mechanical and chemical weapons, the mechanising of the army, the militarising of industry, strict training of the army under the guidance and observation of the **French** military mission which, on the foundation of the State, formed part of the general staff of the Czechoslovak army. In addition to this the growth of **British** influence has been observed recently.

For the purpose of war preparations a special **War Council** was established two years ago composed of the heads of military and parliamentary circles the activities of which are never controlled by Parliament. It is under the leadership of this War Council that armament and militarisation and all the other war preparations are being feverishly advanced.

Simultaneously preparations for war are being made in other spheres. This includes the centralisation and bureaucratization of the State administration which, acting on the Public

Administrations Act, has introduced a number of measures against the working class. These include the Defence of the Republic Act, the Press Act, the Act concerning the employment of arms against the people by the gendarmerie and the police, etc.

The **soldiers** have been deprived of the franchise. Stricter discipline has been introduced in the army and the persecution of political convictions is the order of the day. The system in the army is so devised that notwithstanding the fact that the army consists in the majority of workers, it has become a tool of the bourgeoisie and of imperialism.

Although the growth in armaments and the war preparations are open for all to see, although public expenditure for militarism swallows up a considerable portion of the revenues, the attitude of the majority of the working population in town and country towards these war preparations is a passive one. The majority of the people refuse to believe that there is a war danger and that war may break out any day.

The responsibility for this situation rests mainly upon the Socialist Parties and particularly upon the Social Democratic Party which obscures the war danger by pacifist phrases and obscures militarism by the slogan of Defence of the Fatherland. **Masaryk and Benesch**, these leaders of the Left wing of the bourgeoisie, to which also the social patriots belong, foster these illusions by their personal authority.

The **German Social Democrats** in Czechoslovakia, who are inclined to Austro-Marxism, conceal their opportunism by radical slogans and for that reason are the more dangerous.

In their hatred for and incitement against the Soviet Union, the Social Democrats and the national socialists are in the same camp as the big bourgeoisie. They have not the courage to oppose Italian Fascism, Polish Fascism, the White Terror in the Balkans or British imperialism; but they excel the bourgeoisie in their crusade against the workers' and peasants' government of the Soviet Union and the Red Army.

The fact that the **Communist Party of Czechoslovakia** is a really mass Party and has won considerable sympathy among the masses of the workers in town and country, enables it to carry on a struggle against the imperialist war and for the establishment of a front for the defence of the Soviet Union.

The struggle against imperialism and war as well as the defence of the Soviet Union represent under the present conditions an important part of the class struggle. It is closely linked up with the question of establishing a united front of the toilers on class lines.

The struggle against social patriotism, against Social Democracy, and pacifist illusions is a necessary part of the struggle against imperialist war. In this period of acute war danger all actions and all struggles must be conducted from the standpoint of the war danger. More than ever work in the armies of the capitalist States must be carried on, with the object of disintegrating the capitalist armies on the basis of class antagonisms. The revolutionary front of the toilers must extend to the armies.

In the armies of States consisting of a number of nationalities advantage must be taken of national antagonisms in the revolutionary sense for the purpose of disintegrating these armies not only prior to the outbreak of war but also and particularly on the outbreak and in the course of the war. This applies particularly to Poland, Roumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

There are many possibilities of carrying on legal work in the struggle against imperialism, imperialist wars and armaments. First of all efforts must be made to paralyse the efforts of the bourgeoisie to isolate the armies from the economic and political struggles of the workers. The Social Democrats strenuously advocate the slogan of political neutrality for the armies which simply facilitates the political activity of the bourgeoisie and the Fascists in the armies.

The great task that confronts us is to destroy the bourgeois-political ideology and the bourgeois idea of national defence prevailing among the masses of the workers in and out of the armies, to establish a united militant class front against the bourgeoisie and imperialism and for the defence of the Soviet Union as well as of the revolutionary struggle for liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples and oppressed nationalities generally and to give this front an international character.

In order that this task may be fulfilled the **Bolshevizing** of the Communist Parties must be intensified and their activities increased in order that the Communists shall play the leading role among the workers in the factories as well as in agriculture.

The **fraction work** in the trade unions and in other mass organisations must be intensified and methods of influencing the masses must be improved.

Simultaneously with specific work of agitation and propaganda, systematic work must be carried on in the capitalist armies and in the factories engaged in the production of war supplies.

An important part of the struggle against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union in the struggle against **Fascism**. The danger of Fascism must not be underestimated even in so-called democratic countries, for, under certain conditions that danger may become acute.

Great care must be taken that the frightful weapons that the imperialists will place in the hands of the workers in the struggle against the Soviet Union, against the colonial peoples, and against the revolutionary movement generally shall be turned against the imperialists at the decisive moment. The weapons that were intended for the overthrow of the world revolution will be the weapons of our victory.

Comrade STRAKHOV (China):

In connection with the "third period" of the post-war period in which the war danger is the central point we, the workers and peasants, particularly of China and of the U. S. S. R. are mostly threatened by a **Pacific War**. I want to say that I have never declared that there is no difference between the second and third periods, but I did say that "the third period must nevertheless be mentioned in the theses", — as Comrade **Bukharin** said in his concluding speech. I said that in order to stress the difference between these two periods it was necessary to have a more detailed and clearer analysis of the following points:

1. The effect of the trustification of capital, the tendencies towards State capitalism, the technical revolution, etc., upon agriculture and the peasantry, upon the class differentiation among the peasantry and the regrouping of class forces in connection with the peasant question.

2. The effect of this new period, the period of intensified class struggle in Western Europe and America, the danger of war against the U. S. S. R., etc., upon the colonies and semi-colonies generally, and upon the peasantry in oriental countries particularly.

3. The leading role of the peasantry in the coming severe struggles, etc.

As a matter of fact the war has already commenced — the intervention of **Japan** in **Tsinan**. In addition to Japan, England and America are also supporting one or other of the Chinese militarists for the purpose of expanding their "spheres of influence". Thus Japan support **Tsan Lio-Liang** and **Feng Yuhsiang**; Britain support **Li Ti-sen** and **Wai-Tsun-Oi**, while America support **Chiang Kai-shek**. The imperialists support them and lead them in their struggles against one another, both openly and behind the scenes. Such a situation is not new to China, this has gone on for the last twenty years. To the extent that the centre of gravity of world economy passes from Europe to America, to the extent that the principal antagonisms between Britain and America, — although the main antagonism in the world economic system is the antagonism between world capitalism on the one hand and the U. S. S. R., the Chinese revolution and the rebellious colonies on the other, — the struggle between the imperialists which is carried on partly with the help of the militarists for spheres of influence and domination in China will become more acute and must inevitably lead to a Pacific war, or to speak more correctly to an **Indian Ocean war**, because England will concentrate its troops near **Burma**, in **Singapore**, opposite to **Canton**

Bay, while America will concentrate its forces in the **Philippines**. Japan on the other hand has its war base in the province of **Fukien** in the South and in the **Manchuria** and **Shantung** in the north. Is it not clear that such a situation must inevitably lead to a war such as has never before occurred in the history of humanity, a war which will be ever so much more frightful than the war of 1914—18. Perhaps the war between the imperialists themselves and the war against the U. S. S. R., against the Chinese revolution and the rebellious colonies will become mixed up in a single tangle.

In their struggle among each other in China the imperialists have resorted and resort today to the services of the militarists of various cliques. After the **Kuomintang** betrayed the revolution the imperialists resorted to the services of the **Kuomintang** militarists. This war has imposed enormous sacrifices upon the Chinese workers and peasants as well as upon the soldiers. At the time of the Japanese intervention in **Tsinan** the Japanese cut off the nose and ears of the **Nanking Commissar**. In the course of a few days 5,000—6,000 Chinese soldiers and civilians were killed. During the long militarist feuds thousands and hundred of thousands of Chinese workers and peasants were killed, millions were ruined and deprived of their property and forced into the army as coolies or soldiers. When however, the Pacific war breaks out the international and Chinese counter-revolution will unite and fling their combined forces against the Chinese workers and peasants.

All the Parties of the Comintern: The European Parties, the American Parties, the Parties in the Orient, India, etc., must make serious and systematic preparation for this catastrophe and similar catastrophes in other countries.

In China already an "internal" war is going on which is in fact a rehearsal of the great international war that is coming. During the first revolutionary wave of 1924—27, the Chinese workers in their struggle against the counter-revolutionary war, against **Cheng Chu-ming**, in **Kwantung** and against **San Chuan-feng** and **Wu Pei-fu** in the **Yangtse Valley** represented a tremendous force. Today in various parts of China they are the leaders in the struggle of the peasants and the poor city population against the heavy war burden, against the war taxes that are imposed upon them by the **Kuomintang**. Their organisational weakness prevents them as yet from developing this struggle into a great mass struggle. Recently the soldiers of even the reactionary armies as a result of "Communist influence", that is to say, the influence of the working class and of the guerilla peasant war are coming over to the side of the worker and peasant revolution, although as yet in small numbers. A month ago **Reuter** reported that the sixth corps of the "National Revolutionary Army" of **Chen Chen** had become demoralised and that the majority of the soldiers had gone over to the Communists. During the Japanese intervention we witnessed the fact that after the Japanese provocation, the soldiers and non-commissioned officers of **Chiang Kai-shek's** army gave vent to their anger, fraternised with the people of **Tsinan** notwithstanding the efforts of the Japanese oppressors to prevent it.

As far as the peasants are concerned wherever possible they show their opposition to the war; in the North in the form of the **Red Spear** movement and in the South in the form of guerilla warfare conducted by the peasant leagues. This movement is still a fragmentary one, largely unorganised, the Communist leadership is still weak, it is not yet linked up with the labour movement in the cities. Nevertheless, it can be regarded as a rehearsal of the civil and class war that is inevitable in China. We Chinese Communists and the working class of China generally, must take up a definite attitude regarding this struggle of the Chinese peasants, the guerilla warfare and the war of the militarists.

We Communists must call upon the Chinese peasants and workers to combine their forces and to prepare to transform the war of the **Kuomintang** and the militarists into a class and civil war, into a war of the workers, soldiers and peasants against the landlords, against the bourgeoisie and the militarists. In the event of an imperialist Pacific war breaking out the Communists of the whole world, under the leadership of the **Communist International**, must place themselves at the head of the proletariat and of the oppressed toilers of the colonial countries, who will forcibly throw off the yoke of imperialism

and put an end to the betrayers of the revolution, the Social Democratic and Kuomintang politicians and executioners. (Cheers).

Comrade BITTELMAN (U. S. A.):

Comrades, I wish to discuss briefly the question of the war danger from two angles: 1. the role of American imperialism in the coming war, and 2. the role of the Communist Party of the United States in the struggle against the war danger and the war when it comes.

The chief force in my opinion making for the growing imperialist aggression and war preparations of the **United States Government** is the contradiction between the growth of the forces of production and the contraction of the market. This is true for world capitalism as a whole in this third period, but it is particularly true for the United States in this period of development — the contraction of the home market, the contraction of the world market and the contradiction between this and the growth of the forces of production.

I maintain it is very essential to stress this particular contradiction for the following reasons: 1. because this contradiction as far as the United States is concerned, is due chiefly to the decreasing buying capacity of the toiling masses of the United States which, in its turn, is a result of the capitalist rationalisation drive upon the masses and the continuing agrarian crisis. The second reason is that the realisation of this contradiction takes you straight to the very heart of the mood and condition of life of the American masses, of the Leftward drift, and it shows to the Comintern and to the Communist Party of America the possibilities and favourable opportunities for mobilising real struggles against American imperialism and its war preparations as well as in the coming conflict.

The second force which makes for the sharpening of American imperialist aggression is the strengthening competitive abilities of the European powers due to the temporary stabilisation of capitalism. The first line of growing contradictions of interests are between **America and England**, and **America and Japan**.

The third force is the growing of the colonial movements, chiefly the **revolution in China**; the growing resentment in **Latin America** against the U. S. imperialism as well as the awakening of large masses of workers and peasants in American colonies and semi-colonies. The last force, though by no means the least important, is the **growth of the U. S. S. R.** and in this I want to distinguish first its economic and political growth, and secondly the radicalising effect upon the minds of the American masses that the strength and Socialist upbuilding of the U. S. S. R. has in the United States. Consequently, I believe it to be a serious opportunist error to see the American war danger only as a result of the triumphant march of American imperialism and not as a result of the basic contradictions between the growth of the forces of production and the contraction of the markets — home and world markets.

I also maintain that Comrade Lovestone's analysis makes this serious opportunist error. His analysis shows us the triumphant, unobstructed march of American imperialism, a march before which everything recedes and everybody retreats. He does not show the forces which resist and obstruct the expansion of American imperialism. Hence, by this vital defect of Comrade Lovestone's analysis the real cause of war, its imminence in this period largely disappears from Comrade Lovestone's analysis. The result of this error is twofold: 1. as I said, the war danger remains only a phrase while the real basis which shows its making and coming is not present: 2. this analysis does not show those forces in the working class in America, in the colonial masses outside of America, which can and will be mobilised by the Communist Parties for struggle against war and against American imperialism in general. Particularly in speaking about **Latin America** it is wrong to speak of it only as the "hinterland" of American imperialism, Latin America is something else in addition, it is a **reserve of powerful forces against American imperialism**. These forces are maturing amongst the workers and peasants in Latin America and even among the petty-bourgeoisie, and for us, the Communist Party of America, which must concentrate on its work in Latin America, this is a central point.

Another big stake for which American imperialism is playing today is **China**. In the question of China we must realise several things: 1. that American imperialism today actually participates in the partition of China under the mask of pacifism and the open door and in doing so, American imperialism is trying to utilise the Chinese ex-nationalist bourgeoisie for its purpose. Secondly, we must realise that only in the closest collaboration between the Communist Party of the United States and the Communist Party of China can we develop real resistance and real struggles against American imperialism in China.

The most characteristic feature today is the ever-sharpening conflict in China between **America and England**, and **America and Japan**, leading to war. Notwithstanding this fact, the Central Committee maintained that the most peculiar characteristic of the situation in China is **not the conflict** between America and Japan, but the **co-operation** between America and Japan. As late as the end of May, the Political Committee of our Party, and the Central Committee adopted a resolution stating that this co-operation between America and Japan is the most peculiar characteristic of the present period. In a speech before the Party Central Committee, Comrade **Lovestone** stated that "the United States today is the vigorous ally of Japan". We maintain that this is not true. Just as a year ago, after the famous Nanking incident, our Central Committee adopted the policy that American imperialism is following the lead of England, and is doing England's dirty work in China, we thereupon proceeded to attack England and not America, to fight against British imperialism and not American imperialism. So today, proceeding upon the same false analysis that Japan and America are collaborating in China, the Central Committee is pursuing a wrong line in the struggle against the war danger, and therefore it is no wonder that, in his report the other day, Comrade Lovestone gave China only a couple of sentences to the effect that the "U. S. A. manoeuvres with the Nanking Government in China".

I say, comrades, that in the report of Comrade Lovestone there should have been some self-criticism. Almost every Party delegate speaking here attempted to analyse the weak spots in the Party's anti-war and anti-military work. I have not heard a single word of self-criticism from our Party. By such a policy we will not mobilise our Party for real struggle against the war danger.

This main defect in Comrade Lovestone's report, which I consider an opportunist error, a failure to perceive the real driving forces making for war on the one hand, and to see the forces which we can mobilise against war — this mistake is not an accident but flows logically from the general orientation of Comrade Lovestone and the Central Committee. This mistake must be corrected. The Communist International cannot permit our Party to swim along in this crucial period with such a conception and such an orientation. We must protect our Party against repeating, for instance, statements of this kind. The Agitprop Department issued a draft of a resolution on the attack of the imperialists upon the Chinese following the Nanking incident, and here is what it says:

"Whereas our Government, under the influence of Great Britain, and in contradiction to its declared policy, is virtually waging war against the Chinese people. Furthermore, be it resolved that we demand that our Government refuses to follow Great Britain in its imperialist policy of terrorism, corruption and misuse of armed forces in China, as evidenced in the Nanking bombardment."

As a result of this kind of analysis, we had a struggle against the war danger wherein we did not fight against American imperialism, but fought against British imperialism. As a result of a similar false analysis of the relationships between America and Japan, we have a policy in which we attack Japan, but do not expose and fight the American imperialists, and cannot therefore wage a real struggle against American imperialism.

I conclude, comrades, by saying that the Communist International must take this question seriously. These are not indications of minor factional conflicts. These questions deal with the very essence of Party policy and Party tasks, and only the correction by the Comintern of the Central Committee's line will give our Party a chance to do its duty in the coming conflicts and coming struggles.

Comrade MITSKEVITCH-KAPSUKAS (Lithuania):

I speak in the name of the Communist Parties of **Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia and Finland**. Our Parties operate in countries adjacent to the Soviet Union and which, while playing a negligent role in world economy and world politics, nevertheless play an important role in the encirclement of the Soviet Union and in the preparations for a war against the Soviet Union, because the immediate military operations against the Soviet Union will start out from these countries. Consequently these countries deserve the greatest attention of the Communist International and of the VI. Congress. I have in mind Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania. It is well known that in these countries **British imperialism** exercises enormous influence.

Apart from **Poland**, Britain has succeeded in establishing her influence in **Esthonia**, the bank and industrial capital of which depends to a large degree upon British capital: Esthonia is undertaking the construction of strategic railways. In regard to **Finland**, 40% of Finnish exports go to England. England grants Finland loans; England is reorganising the Finnish army and has a plan for organising the Finnish navy. Britain's influence in Finland is enormous. In connection with the Soviet-Latvian Commercial Treaty, Britain brought enormous pressure to bear upon **Latvia** in order to prevent this treaty from being concluded. British imperialism has established a war base in Latvia where she will build airplanes, hydroplanes and produce other war material for the war against the Soviet Union. Recently a representative of the well-known British firm of **Armstrong** signed an agreement in **Riga** which has this end in view. In connection with this Polish influence is not only growing in Esthonia but also in Latvia and Finland. The Finnish Minister for Foreign Affairs, **Prokope**, who was formerly Finnish Ambassador in Poland, is a well-known friend of Poland.

In the event of a war against the Soviet Union these countries can in addition to their regular armies utilise their bourgeois class armies which are the principal support of the bourgeoisie in the counter-revolution. In **Finland**, in addition to a regular army of 30,000 men there is an army of 100,000 men armed with the latest weapons and military technique, organised in regular military formation. These are the so-called **Schutzcorps**. In addition 40,000 women are organised in a bourgeois white volunteer army. In **Esthonia**, in addition to the regular army of 15,000 men there is the "**Kaiseliit**" (Defence Corps) 30,000 strong organised on the same lines as the Finnish **Schutzcorps**. In **Latvia**, in addition to the regular army of 20,000 men there is the "**Aissargen**", an army of 35,000 men organised on regular military lines but having no artillery. The principal function of these Fascist troops is, in the event of a war against the U. S. S. R., to defend the country at home and to drive the soldiers of the regular army to the front at the muzzle of machine-guns. This is proved by a circular distributed among the **Schutzcorps** in Finland in 1927 that was published by the Swedish Communist Party press.

Simultaneously with the feverish preparations for a war against the Soviet Union in the Baltic countries the government of these countries are making a sweep of discontented elements. With this end in view Poland in 1927 broke up the "**Gromada**", the White Russian peasant organisations, numbering 100,000 members. The Latvian Government broke up seven Left Wing trade unions and suppressed the labour press on the pretext of alleged contact with Moscow. In Esthonia attempts have been made to break up the Left wing trade unions. The Fascist press is demanding their suppression and preparations were made for the arrest of the leaders of these unions. In Finland a mass trial of Communists was staged and prominent Left Wing trade union leaders, — including the General Secretary of the Federation, Comrade **Tuominen** — were charged with high treason although no evidence whatever was forthcoming to support this charge. All these are links in a single chain. The **Social Democrats**, from the Polish Socialist Party to the Latvian and Finnish Social Democrats are all helping their respective governments. The protest uttered by the Latvian Social Democrats against the suppression of the Left Wing trade unions can only be ascribed as a piece of shameless hypocrisy because the representatives of the Social Democrats when they were in power themselves made wholesale arrests and sentenced large number of workers to hard labour. It was the Social Democrats of Latvia who spread the legend

about Moscow gold circulating in the Left Wing trade unions, about Moscow agents, etc. etc.

Now I want to deal with the **Polish-Lithuanian conflict** which is only mentioned in passing in the thesis and which was left out altogether in Comrade **Bell's** report. The Polish-Lithuanian conflict however is becoming more acute everyday. According to the Paris edition of the "**Chicago Tribune**" **Pilsudski** on the 30th of August declared:

"I will march to Kovno in September at the latest. If the Lithuanians set up a government that is ready to forego all claims to Vilna I will perhaps withdraw my troops."

This declaration coincides completely with **Pilsudski's** plan drawn up at the end of November 1927. At that time he wanted to take Kovno within 3 days, establish there a government that would suit his plans and then withdraw his troops. It is a fact that the head of the Lithuanian General Staff and the Minister for War the ex-Czarist officers, **Plekhovitch, Dowkont**, and others, are open adherents of Poland and have nothing at all in common with the Lithuanian National movement. Under these circumstances it would be very easy for **Pilsudski** to carry out his plan. On the other hand **Pilsudski** still subsidises the notorious Lithuanian social democratic emigrants **Pletschkeitis** and Co. whom he wanted at one time to utilise for the formation of a new government in Lithuania. The official Lithuanian social democracy and the official People's Party have not dissociated themselves from this group of emigrants who have sold themselves to Poland; its leaders are for an agreement with Poland and can be also used through **Pilsudski** for the formation of a new pro-Polish government in Lithuania. It is self-evident that this government, created by Polish Fascists, will be a fascist government even if social democrats and the People's Party participate in it. It will make openly an alliance with Poland and will create a united front against the Soviet Union. A preparation for this is probably the fierce campaign which the Lithuanian People's Party has initiated lately against the Soviet Union, the same People's Party which concluded the guarantee agreement with the Soviet Union in 1926.

The role which the Lithuanian fascist government plays in all this is probably puzzling many comrades. Judging from the telegraphic reports they are probably of the opinion that the Lithuanian government has really the intention and ability to offer serious resistance to the Polish imperialists. On the basis of a long and careful study of the policy of the ruling classes of Lithuania, the Lithuanian Communist Party must declare that such a conception is erroneous. Under the pressure of the imperialist bandits, out of fear of the proletarian revolution, and out of hatred for the Soviet Union, the bourgeois governments which were composed of various parties (from the Christian democrats to the social democrats) were repeatedly prepared to accept the conditions of an agreement with Poland dictated by the imperialist powers. However, the working masses of Lithuania which saw in an agreement with Poland still greater oppression and slavery, have been able up to now to frustrate such an agreement. The international antagonisms were, however, so strong that Poland and its masters dared not cut the Lithuanian-Polish knot with the sword. At present this knot has been drawn tighter than ever before. The fascist government of the Lithuanian nationalists does not differ in any way from the other bourgeois governments of Lithuania. It even entered upon the path of an open capitulation before Poland, but as it met with resolute protests on the part of the masses against an alliance and a union between peasant Lithuania and landlord Poland and even with protests on the part of certain fascist elements, it is still delaying the ultimate capitulation before fascist Poland and pretends to be determined to offer serious resistance. But this is nothing but deceit and fraud to mislead the workers and peasants of Lithuania.

A real defender of the independence of Lithuania against the Polish imperialists and at the same time a fighter for the overthrow of the rule of the Lithuanian fascists, is only the **Communist Party of Lithuania** which has issued the slogan "**Defend the Independence of Lithuania against the Polish imperialists and fight at the same time for the overthrow of the Fascist dictatorship in Lithuania**". Its substantiation of this slogan is — that Polish imperialism, which is the

puppet of British and French imperialism, will bring after the conquest of Lithuania to the Lithuanian masses a more ruthless political and economic oppression and will only strengthen world reaction, that the conquest of Lithuania by Poland is merely the first step towards war against the Soviet Union.

The bourgeois German and American press says quite distinctly that for Poland the first step is Lithuania and the second, Soviet Ukraine.

We are of the opinion that the resolution passed by the Polit. Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. on January 27, 1928 concerning the Polish-Lithuanian conflict, is still valid.

I would like to say a few words about the role which the Social Democrats are playing in the Polish-Lithuanian conflict; they are avowed agents of the imperialist bandits. Already at the end of last year the entire Second International took up a definite standpoint in regard to the question of the annexation of Lithuania by Polish imperialism which was tantamount to supporting the policy adopted by the League of Nations and Pilsudski towards Lithuania.

In this respect the Polish Social Democrats support openly Pilsudski's policy and are one of the props and pillars of the Second International. The shameful betrayal of the interests of the working masses of Lithuania by the Lithuanian Social Democratic emigres with Pletchkaitis at their head and their going over into the imperialist camp were so obvious to the masses that even several Social Democratic newspapers (Austrian, Latvian and Esthonian) were compelled at the end of last year to declare that Pilsudski is making use of the Lithuanian Social Democratic emigres to facilitate the annexation of Lithuania, and to disavow them by words. In order to establish a united front in regard to this question, the Second International convened a conference of the North-Eastern Social Democratic Parties in Berlin on Dec. 18 and 19, 1927, to discuss the Polish-Lithuanian conflict. After this Conference all the Social-Democratic Parties and their entire press began to justify Pletchkaitis and Co. and to support openly the decisions made by the League of Nations in regard to Lithuania. At present the entire press of the Second International together with its imperialist masters is attacking little Lithuania which is disturbing the peace, but not "big" Poland.

The attitude of the Second International to Lithuania shows best its attitude to the oppression of small nationalities by the big bandits and to war against the Soviet Union, for the annexation of Lithuania by Poland is merely the first step to war against the Soviet Union.

In conclusion I would like to say a few words about the tactic of our Parties in the question of war against the Soviet Union.

All our Parties declare that they are doing their utmost to be adequately prepared in the event of war against the Soviet Union, and for the purpose of transforming this war into a civil war, an armed insurrection against the entire capitalist system. But one must admit that the preparations of our sections in this direction are in reality very inadequate in many countries. This applies particularly to work in the army. As to the Baltic countries, the best work is done in Finland. Next comes Lithuania, where after the Fascist coup d'etat energetic work was taken up in the army which has produced fairly good results; last come Esthonia and Latvia. Work in the army must be given an impetus everywhere. It should be pointed out that many comrades in Lithuania, White Russia, Finland, and also in other places are rather pro-war. They argue somewhat as follows: war will give us arms and we will then be able to throw off the yoke of the big landlords, big peasants and capitalists. With these high sounding phrases the comrades are merely concealing their passivity because they are at present unfit for any energetic struggle; they avoid partial struggles and are unable to link up such struggles with our ultimate aims; our Parties must combat such symptoms.

Finally I would like to deal with one more question with regard to mobilisation. It seems to us that it would be wrong to issue the slogan of desertion in connection with mobilisation. Under our conditions this would weaken our revolutionary work in the army, at least at the beginning of the war against the Soviet Union when we must do our utmost for the disintegration of the bourgeois army, enlightening the soldiers about the aims of the war, organising them, etc.

Desertion is tantamount to confusion and passivity on the part of the anti-war masses. We cannot, of course, counteract spontaneous desertion, but we must do everything in our power to divert the dissatisfaction of the masses with the war against the Soviet Union into the right channels — struggle against the common enemy; We must call upon all people of military age to take up arms in order to turn them subsequently against the real enemy — the big landlords, big peasants and capitalists, against the whole capitalist system.

Comrade NICOLAOU (Greece).

Comrade Bell's Theses contain a number of things that are right, but also a good many flaws and imperfections. Some of these have been pointed out by preceding speakers, particularly by speakers from the Y. C. I.

In the Theses there are false ideas (for instance, on the question of the boycott).

There are ideas which are incompletely expressed (for instance, the question of illegal work is tackled without dealing with the illegal apparatus); there are big disproportions (certain serious questions are treated in a few words, whilst other less important questions are dealt with at considerable length).

The Theses have an agitational character. They contain a good many details, even of a dogmatic nature. There are also found formulations which strike by their simplicity, and finally, a good many questions are entirely omitted, (for instance, the role of the youth in the struggle against war).

The point in the Theses dealing with the reciprocal relationship between the inter-imperialist contradictions and the contradictions between the imperialist world and the U. S. S. R. should be elaborated more fully and in a manner leaving no room for one-sided and false interpretation. It is necessary to indicate that not only do not the inter-imperialist contradictions hinder the formation of the anti-Soviet bloc, but that they considerably favour the conflict between the capitalist world and the U. S. S. R. On this point, I am entirely in agreement with the analysis made by Comrade Ercoli on the first point of the agenda.

Now, comrades, I will pass on to the work of our Party against war and against militarism.

First of all, a brief survey of the anti-militarist work carried out by the trade unions. The representative of the Communist faction of the R. I. L. U. has dealt with the anti-war activities of the Revolutionary Trade Unions. It is quite right; the revolutionary trade unions are working against war, but it is carried on by sporadic campaigns, and not by persistent work day by day. Even in our own country, where the Red trade unions wield great influence, it was with great difficulty that our Party has succeeded in attracting the trade unions into a very limited amount of work against militarism and against war.

Among our different experiences I should like to mention here the experiment we have made with the "soldier's farthing". We established a special levy of one kopeck a month for each member of the trade unions, forming in this manner a special fund for the soldiers. This initiative has given us considerable results as regards establishing the ties between the soldiers and the trade unions.

The anti-militarist activity of the trade unions has great importance in our country, because on account of her geographical position, Greece is going to play a big role in the event of a war against the U. S. S. R. The whole world knows that in the last intervention there were Greek armies despatched to the Ukraine, whilst the imperialist intervention troops were transported by Greek ships.

We should work above all among the marine transport workers, if we wish to do serious work against the war.

In our country the opportunities for anti-militarist work are far greater than in a number of other countries, and even with very limited efforts we have achieved results which put us in this respect among the foremost Sections of the C. I. It is to be regretted that our experiences and our work are not known. The outstanding experience of our work is to the effect that our Party should take a more serious interest in anti-militarist activity. Our Party used to leave the whole of the anti-militarist work to the youth. Now, thanks to the united efforts of the Party and the youth, we have achieved big results.

I am passing on to the last point, to the question of illegal activity. The exchange of experiences in this respect is quite insufficient.

Comrades, it is necessary to be done with the tactics of words in order to go over to the tactics of daily and persistent work, because from the materials I have received, except the French section, this work is absolutely inadequate in all the sections.

Comrade HEIDER (Palestine):

Comrades, I would like to draw your attention to a trifle about which, as far as I have noticed, nothing has been said here. I do not mean the war danger which can become a reality at any moment, I mean the wars which are going on now and about which not enough is said. I mean the **Arabian East**. Wars have been going on there since the conclusion of the Versailles Peace Treaty. I want to deal here only with the most important of these wars. I remind you of the war with **Feisal** and the other war with **Hussein**, the insurrection of the **Kurdes**, the rather recent insurrection of the **Druses** and the attack on **Iraq** and the **Trans-Jordanian** Region.

Only Socialists of the **MacDonald** type or such like people can say that these are merely local affairs. It is clear beyond any doubt to all of us that this is a continuation of the game and actions indulged in by the European Powers under the leadership of French and British Imperialism. When we speak of wars we must bear in mind that after the lessons of the Imperialist World War the bourgeoisie has not only learned to disguise war preparations but also to disguise war itself and to achieve its aims.

I do not only mean that it has learned to disguise its troops, to send coloured native troops into the struggle, I mean that it has also learned to transfer the field of battle to the country of these coloured troops. There can be no doubt whatever that **Ibn-Saud** is a tool of British Imperialism. Neither can there be any doubt that also the revolutionary insurrections which took place in **Kurdistan** or the recent rebellions in **Syria** enjoyed the benevolent cooperation and neutral loyalty of British Imperialism. It was certainly not due to chance that Great Britain set up **Feisal** next door to North Syria, and in the South **Rykaba-Pasha** who organised openly an attack not only on the Syrian frontier but also on **Damascus**.

These were of course not casual wars. One can say without exaggeration that the Arabian East is that section of the front which will witness the beginning of a new war, an imperialist world war. If we take into consideration the construction of railway lines in this part of the world, and connect all the agreements and intrigues with the completion of the **Bagdad Railway** or the construction of the **Hedjas Line** or the various air lines, we will realise that all this is a sign of rivalry between **Great Britain** and **France** as well as between **France** and **Italy**. These regions have no natural wealth and are thinly populated. They are mostly desert, and there can only be one explanation for this game and these intrigues: preparation of a base for strategical positions in the event of war. The importance of this region in the event of war was already recognised by **Napoleon**, and during the world war **Great Britain** also realised its enormous importance and succeeded in dealing the Turkish-German front a severe blow by organising insurrections in **Arabistan**.

In connection with the preparation of new offensives **Great Britain** takes into consideration the enormous importance of this region, and that is why feverish preparations are being made here for new wars. If we take **Great Britain's** armies, they masquerade as native armies, the **Iraq** army of approximately 80,000 men or the **Trans-Jordanian** frontier army of the **Egyptian** army in **Sudan** which is maintained at the expense of the **Egyptian** people, — all of them are armies of European imperialism. If we take into consideration the construction of new air fleet bases, we realise that it is nothing but preparation for new wars. I refer to an article of an imperialist journalist who deals with the **Mosul question**. . . This **Mosul** conflict was declared to be an oil conflict. However this journalist asserts that this is not so. The question here is not oil but something utterly different. The main task and aim of the British imperialists consisted in securing for themselves the **Mosul** frontier with its natural military positions so as to threaten from here **Persia**, **Turkey**, and above all, the **Russian Caucasus**.

Thus this means preparation of a new bulwark of British imperialism for its offensive against the Soviet Union.

Comrades, much attention was paid to the danger which threatens from **Poland**, from this frontier, but no attention was paid at all to the powerful frontier which I have just mentioned, the extremely important frontier in the East. It must be clear to everyone that preparations are being made over there for an offensive of the British troops, that military units are being concentrated there in order to throw themselves from the Eastern frontier on the Soviet Union in the event of war. Comrade **Bukharin** quoted here **Lenin** who declared that there is the danger of even the Communist press discrediting itself in the event of war. This is very important and particularly clear to us if we consider the attitude of the European Communist press and the European Communist Parties to the wars, the small incidents and guerilla rebellions which are going on at present in that region. A general disarmament of the masses is taking place there. We witness there incitement of one section of the population against another, sanguinary insurrections; we had there a barbarous suppression of Syrian rebellions, brutal shootings of Sudan rebels, etc. etc., a barbarous settlement of accounts with the rebels in **Trans-Jordania** who were dissatisfied with the new agreement.

What has the European Communist press done against this, what have our Parties in the mother countries done, what have they done against these trials and these intrigues? Has the British Communist Party protested against the **Anglo-Iraq** war pact which is to all intents and purposes a war pact against the Soviet Union? Has the Party protested against the upkeep of an army, against the upkeep of the **Egyptian** army in order to utilise it for British imperialism in the event of an offensive? I do not say anything about what is going on in **Palestine**. It is a small desert country. It has been transformed into a war camp of British Imperialism which has there not only a well-equipped army but also very well organised troops in the shape of the **Zionists**, reformists who are closely connected with the British reformists. At the last National Conference the reformists spoke against the independence of **Arabia** and **Palestine**. **Palestine** reformists are preparing to fight shoulder to shoulder with the British Imperialists against the national movement in the event of war.

Whilst in Europe the Fascist bellicose character of reformism is still a thing to be proved, in **Palestine** the reformists act openly and cynically, they show their true bellicose face, they do not make a secret of their connection with the reaction which is directed against all revolutionary forces, from the workers to the national movement. **England** is preparing for war. She has succeeded in constructing a number of roads, railways, motor tracks, and several air bases. **Great Britain** has succeeded in disintegrating the national-revolutionary movement. She is adopting now the policy of compromise, is making agreements with national reformism in **Palestine**, **Trans-Jordania**, **Egypt** and **Iraq**. **Britain** has succeeded in consolidating her positions, and how unpleasant it may seem, we must admit that these positions are much stronger than they were in 1922 when insurrections were taking place in **Iraq**, **Egypt** and **Trans-Jordania**. Compared with the then situation one must say that **Britain's** present situation is much stronger and that she is proceeding to attack her last and most dangerous enemy.

Last year repressive measures against the workers came thick and fast. They were thrown into prison, their press was confiscated, strikers and workers' clubs were persecuted. Not only Communists but any workers who dare oppose British Imperialism are blacklisted.

Comrades, we have not war danger over there, but actual war. Of late the situation there has become very acute. The negotiations with **Ibn-Saud** have come to nothing, Italian aircraft are bombing **Aden**. **Ibn Saud** is attacking **Iraq**. On the other hand **Britain** is hastening to make agreements with all sorts of elements, she is looking for allies, she foments and accentuates the fratricidal struggle between individual tribes, inciting them against each other. All that **Britain** does is mainly directed against the workers and the Communist Parties. The danger of war assumes there the form of real wars or collisions. But this is only one link in a whole chain of events, which constitute a single front stretching from **Cairo** to **Bombay**. We have hitherto paid very little attention to this danger.

I would like to say in conclusion that this imperialist war which will break out in the Arabian East is of an enormous importance. We must not forget that it is the same East from where a decisive blow was struck at Germany and Turkey in 1916. Certain changes have taken place in this East: The Arabs who were at that time Britain's allies will probably become the most important enemy for the rear of the British imperialists in the event of a new war. This will depend greatly on the energy of the Communist Party and the attention which it will pay to the work among Arabs. We must develop our work in this domain. We gathered a certain amount of experience during the Syrian insurrection, when our Party which consisted at that time of a few dozen members, succeeded in disintegrating a considerable section of Algerian soldiers and in persuading them to join the rebels. By the bye, this fact has not been mentioned by a single French comrade or by a single French newspaper. In the Arabian East the ground is favourable for fraternisation; over there the Soviet Union is the symbol of liberation. We must only be more energetic and must pay more attention to this sphere of work, and then we will succeed in transforming this stronghold of British Imperialism, this bridge which connects Britain with India, into a volcano which will blow up all the foundations of British Imperialism. (Applause.)

Comrade LI-KUAN (China):

During the war of 1914—18 the working class and the whole Chinese people thought that this war had nothing to do with China. The Chinese people thought that Germany was friendly to China, it therefore sympathised with Germany and hoped that it would win the war. On the other hand Germany looked upon China as a country which need not be taken notice of. More than that: it took up a remarkable attitude to the Chinese. For instance, when Chinese seamen who worked on enemy ships were taken prisoners, they were immediately set free. Chinese seamen could not of course understand the character of that war. This was due to their total ignorance concerning the international situation and relations between the imperialist states. Therefore struggle against the imperialist war was out of the question then. Capitalists made use of the war situation to enrich themselves. Through the export of various raw material an active trade balance was achieved and this enabled them to develop the native industry. This development however, led to higher prices for food and other necessities of life.

Today, when the world war has led in all countries to very serious consequences and colonial oppression has increased, the situation is utterly different. After the war the Chinese proletariat appeared on the political arena as an independent factor, as the vanguard and leader of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China. The war danger question is of course of enormous importance to the Chinese proletariat. The Communist Party of China has done an enormous piece of work in the domain of the anti-militarist struggle during the last ten years.

I would like to say a few words about the work of the C. P. of China against the intervention troops of the imperialist powers and also on its disintegrative work in the mercenary armies of the Chinese militarists. In 1924 when Sun-Yat-Sen demanded the autonomy of the Chinese customs service, the British imperialists sent warships to Canton (Shamin) for demonstration purposes. In December of the same year Shamin workers employed by foreign firms declared a strike against their unbearable labour conditions. In this connection more warships were sent to Hong Kong for the protection of foreigners. In 1927, during the Northern expedition Hankow was surrounded on all sides and subjected to an economic blockade. The military guards in all foreign concessions were reinforced. Under the pretext of protecting these concessions the imperialists sent many warships. They wanted in reality to intimidate the revolutionary masses and the then revolutionary government. In all these cases the C. P. of China spread among the foreign troops manifestoes, pamphlets, leaflets etc. dealing with the predatory intervention policy of the imperialists and the necessity of solidarity between the soldiers and the revolutionary people. We also sent to the foreign soldiers agitators who knew foreign languages. Although this campaign did not produce big results a certain

amount of sympathy was awakened among the foreign troops for the revolutionary movement in China.

During the strike in Hong Kong and Canton in 1925 we succeeded in doing good work among the Indian soldiers of the British imperialists. Under this influence a section of the soldiers refused to come out against the workers on strike, fraternised openly with them and declared: "We are friends, we are not going to fight each other." When the British commander was told of this he disarmed this section of the Indian troops and replaced them by others. Work among the colonial troops is certainly of considerable importance to us. Experience has shown that this work weakens imperialism. I must say, however, that our Party did not carry on this work on a sufficiently wide scale. The results have been therefore, insignificant.

Just a few words about the work of our Party in connection with the disarmament of the armies of the Chinese militarists. In May 1925 the generals Yan-Sing-ming and La-Tchum wang attempted a coup d'état in Canton. The workers' and especially the railwaymen's reply to this was a general strike. The seamen of the sea and river fleet offered also vigorous resistance to this attempt of the reactionary generals. The two generals tried namely to transfer their troops from the Junan province to Canton via Hong Kong. At the decision of their trade union the seamen refused to transport the troops. The Hong Kong government wanted to compel them by force of arms to transport the troops and threatened to shoot them down. But the workers did not give way and told the military commander that they were only at the service of the peaceful population but not at the service of the troops who want to suppress the revolutionary movement in Canton. Thus the Hong Kong government did not succeed in throwing the troops on Canton and was compelled to send them back.

Later, in 1926, when General Sun-Chuan fan was fighting in the Tchu-Tzan district against the then revolutionary army, he endeavoured to transport his troops by ship with the help of the well known comprador of Shanghai Ho-Ju. The Seamen's Union of Tchu-Tsan decided to refuse the transport of troops. The crews of these ships were informed of this and the proposal was made to declare the strike against Sun-Chuan Fan. The troops were not transported, and a severe defeat was inflicted on Sun-Chuan Fan. I think that these experiences of our struggle against our militarists and the imperialists and the experience gained during our activity among workers who come into contact with military operations, will also be useful in the future. But I must admit that our work was not systematic enough in the struggle against the imperialists and our own militarists. Attention must be drawn to this so that this defect may be remedied in the future.

My concrete proposal is:

1. In connection with the war danger question all the material about the horrors of war must be collected and published in the form of manifestoes and pamphlets for the benefit of the workers of all countries, so as to make them conscious of the war danger and awaken an anti-war feeling among them.

2. Maximum development of work among the imperialist troops and in the imperialist navy in order to give an impetus to systematic agitational and disintegrative work.

3. Special attention to be paid to work among transport workers i. e. railwaymen and seamen who come into close contact with war preparations and war operations. (Applause.)

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.

Comrade **DOMBAL** (Communist Fraction of the Peasant International):

Comrades, I would like to point out that very little space is devoted in the theses to questions connected with work among the peasantry and that the theses do not give practical directions concerning this specific work. This gap must be filled. Here the **Peasant International** and its sections can do good service as non-party organisations. In this the Comintern and all the Communist Parties must give them every possible support.

The tasks of the Peasant International and its sections are different before and during the war; they can be divided into two groups: before the war we must above all carry on wide agit-prop work taking into consideration that the war will be directed against the U. S. S. R. We must refute among the peasant masses of the capitalist countries the slanderous statements spread by the bourgeoisie concerning the position of the peasantry in the U. S. S. R. In order to be able to effect during the war fraternisation between soldiers, we must already consider the advisability of convening **peasant conferences** of adjoining countries, for instance, France and Germany, Yugoslavia and Roumania, etc., so that the question of war danger could be discussed at these conferences. In our broad agitation we must refute all the lies and slanders spread among the peasantry about the U. S. S. R. We must consequently contemplate for the immediate future an **international Peasant Congress** which is to deal mainly with the questions of war danger and struggle against imperialist wars.

After the mobilisation the conditions of work and with it also the methods of work will be different. The legal possibilities for our organisations and our press will be almost reduced to naught. Therefore we will have to adopt new methods of work. Through the concentration of the scattered peasantry in the army, favourable conditions will be to a certain extent created for mass work in its midst, for the penetration of revolutionary ideas, provided a suitable basis is established at the right moment. We must study carefully the experiences of the previous war. For instance we must determine our tactic in regard to certain ideas and slogans popular among the peasantry, as for instance, the slogan of passive resistance, the slogan "stay at home". As a general slogan it is not only erroneous, but fatal. At the same time we must make clear our standpoint in regard to desertion which becomes very frequent during the war and also in regard to the so-called "green cadres".

Moreover, Communist Parties must take a different standpoint in regard to their attitude to the called up peasant soldiers who serve in the rear: in garrisons, in the gendarmerie, in various store houses and in industrial and transport enterprises. Instructions must also be issued concerning the conduct of soldiers in the rear and at the front in regard to their connection with the countryside (through letters, gifts, parcels, etc.) in order to promote disintegration of the army. Peasant rebellions against the requisitioning of corn, horses and carts, against compulsory labour and billeting of soldiers, boycott of depreciated money, taxes and authorities, etc., — all this must be previously considered and our cadre of active workers must be prepared in time for a correct and

timely leadership of the struggle of the peasant masses. We must also consider the question of organising during the war **widows' and orphans' demonstrations**, of establishing contact between workers and peasants. Then there is also the question of making provision for the countryside through workers' co-operatives stocked with goods of urban origin and vice versa, making provision for the supply of agricultural products to the workers. All these questions must be concretely elaborated for every separate country.

The preparation and convocation of an international peasant congress to discuss the war danger question would play at present an important role as far as the mobilisation of the peasant masses against war, against an imperialist attack on the U. S. S. R. is concerned. I think that this must be the main task of the Peasant International in the immediate future.

The attitude of the **Polish** bourgeoisie to Comrade **Bukharin's** speech and the special note of the Fascist Polish government show us that the bourgeoisie is making special preparations for the suppression of the workers and peasants' protest against war. The fascist protest notes which are a cloak for the war preparations against the U. S. S. R., are partly intended to pave the way for the introduction of capital punishment for communist revolutionary workers and peasants. Very characteristic is Pilsudski's following statement:

"During the war workers will be militarised, will work for the war industries. We can even raise their wages slightly as an item of war expenditure, we can also make use of persuasion and, if necessary, also of force. In this manner we will be able to manage them."

Pacifism too must be considered and exposed by us from the standpoint of the peasantry. **Radić**, for instance, based his party programme on pacifist illusions and declared them even a component part of "peasant ideology". We must expose this and must point out that the pacifist **Radić** voted for the Yugoslav military budget. I must also draw attention to the question of the **church** which spreads pacifist ideas among the peasantry. We must not ignore it, especially in the present situation.

We must pay special attention to work among the **peasant youth**. We must not forget that the fascists are developing their organisation in the countryside, that the militarisation of the peasant youth is making progress. In **Poland**, for instance, there are three to four military instructors in every district, and the fascist organisation "Streletz" can be looked upon as a kind of territorial reserve force. We must think it over how we are to work in these organisations. It is not enough to expose their true character, we must also consider the advisability of working in them in a similar way as in the army.

The war which is approaching will be a class war. After the conquest of Lithuania by Poland incursions of Polish gangs into the U. S. S. R. will probably increase. We must be prepared for all eventualities. War is inevitable. We must strengthen our propagandist and organisational work in town and country. The role of the Peasant International and its sections, before as well as during the war is considerable, especially in peasant countries such as Poland, the Balkan and Baltic countries, and the colonies, where the so-called coloured troops of the imperialists come from.

We must strengthen and develop in every possible way work among the peasantry, as this will loosen the chain which the imperialists are preparing for the U. S. S. R. We must do everything to bring about the fraternisation of the soldiers in the various armies, we must make all the necessary preparations for converting the imperialist war into civil war, into the struggle of two worlds, into the war of the workers and peasants. The peasant masses must be prepared for this and systematic work in this direction must be taken up by us without any further delay. Communist Parties must strengthen their work in the army, must support the organisation of the Peasant International in their anti-militarist work.

The theses say hardly anything at all about work among the peasantry, they mention it only casually. This is their great defect. I have drawn your attention to questions which must be considered in connection with work among the peasantry under the conditions created by war. I emphasise

once more the enormous importance of anti-militarist work among the peasantry and also the necessity of carrying out this work through the peasant organisations, the sections of the Peasant International. It is only by being able to prepare not only the workers but also the working peasantry for the coming war that we will be able to transform in a short space of time the imperialist war against the U. S. S. R. into a civil war, a war for the world victory of the workers and peasants. We must already begin to organise this victory by systematic daily work. (Applause.)

Comrade HERMANSEN (Norway):

Norway will have to play a rather important role in the imperialist war preparations and in the event of war. There are four reasons for Norway playing a certain role in the next imperialist war. From a purely strategical viewpoint, the **geographical position of the country** is favourable to the passage of troops and also as a naval base in a war especially against the Soviet Union. A very important point is that the Norwegian industry, which expanded during the world war, is a typical war industry with a relatively big chemical production. There is also another powerful factor: the relatively big merchant fleet and the production of food stuffs by the country. Fisheries and the tinned goods industry work mostly for export and played an important role during the world war, which they will also do in the event of war against the Soviet Union.

For these reasons the imperialist powers have been trying all along to draw Norway into their war plans. The Norwegian bourgeoisie seems very much inclined to comply with the wishes of the imperialists. A sure sign of this is the fact that foreign capital is given every possibility of investment in Norway. As a member of the League of Nations Norway is entirely in the hands of the imperialists. It was therefore no mere chance that Norway took over the diplomatic affairs of Great Britain in the U. S. S. R. after her breaking off relations with the Soviet Union. It is also significant that the Norwegian munition industry which is in the hands of the State has been based in the last three years on export. Intimate co-operation exists between the Norwegian and Finnish bourgeoisie for the purpose of concluding a joint pact. Another significant feature are the numerous visits of the **British fleet to Norwegian harbours**.

During the visit of the British Fleet last summer the Communist Party and Y. C. L. published a joint manifesto appealing to the British sailors not to fight against the Soviet Union in the event of war but to come over to the side of the workers and peasants. This manifesto resulted in a raid on our Party premises. Much material was confiscated and many leading comrades were arrested.

The Communist Party and the Y. C. L. of Norway have carried on an energetic struggle against the war danger. They organised an **Anti-War Week** in the summer of 1927. Through the press and at big mass meetings the Norwegian Party carried on propaganda not only against the war danger but also against the **League of Nations**, and aroused the workers against this institution. That is why the social democrats have not yet dared to advocate officially the continuance of Norway's participation in the League of Nations although the Right elements of the Party keep up connection with and participate in some of the sub-departments of the League of Nations.

The extensive propaganda for the **Soviet Union** which was carried on under the leadership of the Communist Party has created among Norwegian workers an atmosphere favourable to the defence of the Soviet Union.

The struggle for the establishment of relations between the Norwegian and U. S. S. R. trade unions has already had good results and its prospects are satisfactory. The campaign for the defence of the U. S. S. R. has its main support in the **Norwegian trade unions**, which speaks well for the future. The efforts made lately by the **Finnish and Norwegian trade unions** for renewed action for the establishment of international trade union unity will contribute — with the help of an elastic tactic on the part of the Comintern and steady propagandist work — to extend the proletarian defence bloc for the Soviet Union against the predatory imperialism.

The **social democrats** have given loyal support to the bourgeoisie in its campaign against the Soviet Union. Any initiative on the part of the revolutionary workers for the development of a big struggle against the war danger, is combated and scorned by the social democrats. Instead of enlightening the masses on the real aims of the bourgeoisie regarding its campaign against the Soviet Union and for a new war, the social democrats attack fiercely the Communist Party and its press. The bourgeois ideology of the social democrats is particularly evident in their attitude to **militarism**.

This question has always played a decisive role in the Norwegian labour movement, and for 25 years it was a burning question between the Right and Left orientation within the labour movement, which split subsequently into social democracy and communism.

The struggle and the discussion carried on in the war years in other parties and especially among the Bolsheviks in regard to this question were bound to leave their mark also on the Left tendency in Norway which is of a strongly international character. The Russian revolution did also its share, especially owing to the influence of a group of Russian revolutionists who lived then in exile in Norway.

There was a turning point in 1918. Revolutionary workers and soldiers' councils were organised throughout the country. The revolutionary tendency got the upper hand at the party congress with a programme, the main points of which were:

Recognition of workers' and soldiers' councils as proletarian fighting organisations. Recognition of Soviet dictatorship in the transition epoch to communism. Recognition of the Zimmerwald decisions.

But here too the slogan of the military strike was adopted in principle.

It was only after the party congress that the real discussion took place. At the national conference of the soldiers' councils the military strike slogan was abandoned. The revolutionary attitude to militarism was not definitely laid down till the adoption of the theses of the **Second Congress**.

When the Norwegian Labour Party severed its connection with the Comintern in 1923, its attitude to the military question underwent an immediate change, it reinstated the slogan "military strike". In spite of the "revolutionary traditions" on which this slogan rested in Norway and on which the party speculated, the struggle for the military strike was a complete fiasco. In 1925 it changed once more its standpoint deeming it necessary to adopt an elastic tactic which was, however even more reactionary than the tactic of the military strike.

The new tactic consists in the recognition of the slogan of penetration into the army so as to make it useless as a capitalist tool, accompanied by the rejection of the principle of the armament of the proletariat through the acceptance of the disarmament slogan.

The military strike was not rejected in principle, it was on the contrary declared admissible and useful in special situations, for instance, just before the outbreak of war.

In the last years the Norwegian Communists had to combat this standpoint and we therefore consider it wrong in principle to formulate our attitude to the military strike as it is done in these draft theses. A propaganda according to this recipe is likely to weaken the only real revolutionary struggle against war.

Should such a mass boycott partially succeed, its result will be that most of the class-conscious workers will not be in the army, which would make systematic work in the army, one of the most important tasks in the struggle against war, impossible.

Moreover, the theses themselves show the incongruousness of the altered tactic proposed here, in which it is said that "**when the action is over**" the masses are to be invited to do revolutionary work in the army. What does "when the action is over" mean? Is it in fact possible to get such an action over during a war without converting it into its own antithesis? i. e. without combating the conception which participants of the action have and convincing them in this manner of their errors? Moreover, is it possible to convince these masses of their errors by placing oneself at their head and drawing up for them "concrete demands and action slogans"? Only one action slogan can be brought forward for these masses: join the army, down with the anti-revolutionary military strike!

Therefore the question compels us to deal also with another problem: is it after all possible for a mass action in favour of a military strike to take place just before a war? Is it not a main premise of an imperialist war that such "mass mood" and such mass actions do not take place? In the description which the theses give of the development of pacifism and the role of the social democrats immediately before the war, it is asserted that both tendencies will become open war policy tendencies, and that the idea of a mass action for a military strike is impossible, as any attempt to kindle such an action will be crushed in the mighty collision between the attack of the imperialists and the revolutionary struggle of the workers.

The Norwegian Delegation is of the opinion that this point must be deleted from the theses and that it should be pointed out that it is the bounden duty of the Communist Parties in this case and in every situation to take up the standpoint to the military strike slogan which Comrade Lenin expresses when he writes:

"Boycotting war is a silly phrase, Communists must participate in every reactionary war."

Comradi PADI (Indonesia):

Comrades, the Indonesian delegation charged me to point out the role which the coming war will play in the Far East.

Already in 1927 the Indonesian Delegation, while in China, at the Pan Pacific Trade Union Conference pointed to the breach of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and capitalist countries and the antagonism between the Soviet Union and capitalist countries and the antagonism between the decaying British capitalism and the growing American imperialism. The hostility of the capitalist countries towards the U. S. S. R. is gradually growing. One of the reasons is the enormous revolutionary influence which the Soviet Union has upon the colonial countries. All these are factors which make a second World War inevitable.

In connection with the danger which threatens England from the Pacific Ocean (Japan also threatens from the East) England, directly after the war, built a tremendous naval base in Singapore, the central point where all the sea routes — from the East, West, North and South — meet together in the Far East. Besides, England already possesses a war basis in Hongkong where a powerful British fleet can always be stationed.

But the Singapore naval base is much bigger, it has become the central point from where the British fleet can be sent out, can dock for the necessary materials and fuels, etc. In connection therewith the British admiralty has built tremendous tanks in Singapore in which to store stoke-oil and benzine. Tanks with a capacity of 5000 tons, are laying in Singapore.

To-day modern war cannot be carried out without engine-oil. Should war break out between America and England then the oil supply from America as well as that from Mexico would be excluded. England is compelled in this case to obtain oil from other sources. Russia is not able to supply this oil; the only countries being able to do this are Persia, Indonesia and British India. It is of vital interest to England to dispose of the oil stocks of these countries. The Persian and British Indian oil-fields are already in the hands of the British. Indonesia is a Dutch possession and thus England will do all in her power to get control over this oil field.

Rubber, also, is indispensable in a modern war and this is produced to a great deal by Indonesia. This increases England's interest in Indonesia. America has the same interest in the rubber supply and therefore will do everything possible to prohibit the export of rubber to England. Thus the chance is not slight that owing to these facts Indonesia will become the scene of the next war, thus involving the Netherlands also.

The geographical situation of these oil fields also plays an important role. Not far along the East coast of South Borneo, close to the southern border of British Borneo, lies the island of Tarakan. This island produces an abundant supply of heavy oil, which is directly suitable for the stoking of ships' boilers and for Diesel motors. A powerful tank installation has been built here from which steamers can be loaded directly. This, however, makes them vulnerable to an easy bombardment from the sea. Tarakan produces circa 1000 tons of oil per day and is circa four days by direct Steamer from English Hongkong and two days from the American Philippines.

Further on the East coast of Dutch Borneo lies the great factory town of Balikpapan, where daily 300 tons of raw oil are made into benzine, lamp-oil and stoke-oil. All these products are for export. These tank-installations can also be easily bombarded from the sea. The distance to Singapore is circa five days by steamer and to Sourabaya (Java) two days.

In Java there are also oil fields and factories, but these are situated in the rural towns. The products of these fields and factories are used mainly in Java itself and there remains nothing for export. However, Sourabaya exports also benzine and stoke-oil. The distance from Sourabaya to Singapore is circa two and half days by steamer.

Further, in Sumatra there are many important oil centres; in Palembang circa 40 hours from Singapore, in Deli Sumatra circa 24 hours from Singapore. The quantity of raw oil which is made into Benzine daily amounts to circa two thousand tons.

We see now that Singapore is surrounded by Indonesian oil fields.

If we further realise how closely Dutch oil capital is connected with the British, we may take it for granted that Indonesia and Netherland will side with England in the coming war. That means that the proletariat of Holland as well as the Indonesian peoples will be driven into war by the Dutch bourgeoisie. Thus the Dutch rule in Indonesia means not only exploiting land and people, it also means the involving of millions of the inhabitants of Indonesia in the coming world war with all its miseries.

For these reasons we must raise the following immediate demand: "Down with Dutch imperialism and complete Liberation of Indonesia from Holland."

The task of the Communist International is now to carry on anti-war propaganda on a large scale, particularly in the colonial, countries.

In time of war, we, the Indonesian Delegation, demand from the workers of the world — "Energetic Defence of the Soviet Union."

SUPPLEMENT TO 16TH SESSION.

Declaration by Comrade Strakhov:

Since it will not be possible for me to make a verbal declaration after the concluding speech of Comrade Bukharin, I submit herewith a written declaration requesting the same to be placed into the record of the morning session of July 30th, immediately after the declaration made by Comrade Thaelmann:

The whole of the first part of my speech was quite clearly constructed, so that the following fundamental ideas could be gathered from it:

1. In my opinion the "third period" does exist.
2. The difference between it and the "second period" has not been stated sufficiently clearly, so that it could not be understood by Chinese and other comrades possessing no international knowledge and experience (among these I include not only myself).
3. This shows precisely what happens if sufficient elucidations is not made of those questions which I enumerated in my speech.
4. Precisely for this reason, i. e., because these questions have not been sufficiently elucidated, many comrades do not really realise the difference which exists between the third and the second period.
5. I have made the proposal that these questions should be further elucidated after the Congress by means of a series of pamphlets, etc. I never proposed to delete the "third period" from the Theses, neither could I make such a proposal upon the grounds of my political views.

This is the whole of my declaration.

Strakhov.

30. July 1928.