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Theses and Resolutions of the VI. World Congress of the Communist International.

Second Series.

C O N T E N T S

The Struggle against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists.
Resolution on the International Campaign against War.

Statutes of the Communist International.
Resolution on the Communist International Red Aid.

The Struggle against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists.

I. The Menace of Imperialist War.

1. Ten years after the world war, the big imperialist powers solemnly conclude a pact for outlawing war: they talk about disarmament; they seek, with the support of the leaders of international Social Democracy, to delude the workers and toiling masses into the belief that the rule of monopoly capitalism assures peace to the world.

The VI. World Congress of the Communist International condemns all these manoeuvres as vile deception of the working masses. It recalls to the minds of the international proletariat, of the toilers and oppressed peoples of the world, the experiences of recent years, the small wars of plunder continuously waged against the colonial peoples, and the events of last year: intervention against the Chinese revolution, the sharpening conflict between the powers for a new division of China, the mobilisation of troops in Poland, the immediate menace to the independence of Lithuania — and in connection therewith, the constantly growing menace of war against the Soviet Union by

an imperialist bloc under the leadership of Great Britain; it recalls all these facts as illustrating the criminal war policy of the imperialists, which may suddenly burst into a terrible world conflagration.

The VI. World Congress has already analysed the political and economic driving forces of the coming war.

The changes in the world situation since the V. World Congress are characterised by a tremendous intensification of all the contradictions of capitalism, by the great economic and political strengthening of the Soviet Union, by the rapid growth of the national revolutionary movements in the colonies and semi-colonial countries, — above all in China — and by the intensification of the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the capitalist countries.

The antagonisms between the imperialist powers in the struggle for markets are more and more sharply expressed. But still more strongly than the antagonisms between the impe-

rialist powers is growing the principal antagonism that is dividing the world into two camps: on the one hand the whole of the capitalist world, and on the other hand the U. S. S. R., around which the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the colonies are grouping.

The fight for the destruction of the Soviet system and the Chinese revolution, for unrestricted domination over China and for the possession of the enormous reservoirs of raw materials and the markets in these countries, is a matter of extreme importance for international capital and the basis for the imminent danger of a new imperialist war that is threatening at the present time.

2. The coming imperialist world war will not only be a mechanised war with a tremendous use of material, but simultaneously it will be a war that will seize upon vast millions, indeed upon the majority of the population of the warring countries. The boundary between battle-front and rear will tend more and more to become obliterated.

The Congress points to the tremendous increase in armaments, to the great improvements in the field of war technique, and to the measures for the militarisation of the masses and of industry taken in all capitalist countries; the militarisation in Fascist Italy; the military reform in France; the reactionary army laws in Czechoslovakia; the growing military preparations in Poland and Roumania under the direction of the General Staffs of the big imperialist powers; the preparations in Germany for the re-building of the old militarism in new forms; the mass militarisation in America; the military preparations in Great Britain, in the Dominions and particularly in India, etc. The naval rivalry between America and England opens up a new world armament race. A most significant new factor in the present mass militarisation is intensified militarisation of the youth and that this militarisation actually, and in some places even officially, extends to women (France, Poland, Bulgaria, etc.).

3. Side by side with the armaments and war preparations of the imperialists against foreign rivals, there proceeds an intensification of reaction at home. Without a "quiet" hinterland it is impossible for the imperialists to wage war. The bourgeoisie is taking measures to prevent the workers from putting up any kind of organised resistance to their war policy.

This "covering of the rear" by the bourgeoisie is served by such measures as the Trade Union Laws in Great Britain and Norway, the arbitration system in Germany, the Mond plan for collaboration in the chemical enterprises, the "industrial peace" campaigns, the non-political trade unions (Spencerism in Great Britain), the "company unions" in America, the creation of Fascist State unions in Italy and the law militarising the trade unions in case of war in France. These are measures to assure the military suppression of every working class movement immediately war is declared.

On the other hand, the unofficial armies of the type of the "Stahlhelm" in Germany, the "Schutzkorps" in Finland, the "Strelzy" in Poland, and the "Heimwehr" in Austria pursue the aim of strike-breaking and forcible suppression of the workers — not only in time of war, but also in the period of war preparations. In this must be included also the military or semi-military women's organisations established in a number of countries. The big imperialist powers support Fascism in South Eastern Europe and in Poland and Roumania as an important instrument in the preparation for and conduct of the imperialist war especially against the U. S. S. R.

The persecution and measures of suppression against the Communist Parties are being systematically intensified and the Comintern Sections in all imperialist countries are immediately confronted with the danger of being driven "underground", into complete illegality.

4. In this situation of increased armaments and extensive preparations for imperialist wars, the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeois pacifists seek, by means of hypocritical speeches, to deceive the toiling masses as to the real facts of the situation, and under the cloak of pacifism, and "peace" policy, systematically strive to turn them in favour of the struggle against the Soviet Union. The batty-cry of the coming war against the Soviet Union will be: "The war for peace! Down with Bolshevism, the destroyer of civilisation!"

The speeches of the bourgeoisie and their Social Democratic and petty bourgeois pacifist accomplices, about disarmament,

security, arbitration courts, outlawry of war as an instrument of national policy, etc., are examples of the worst hypocrisy.

The League of Nations, founded nine years ago as an imperialist alliance in defence of the robber "peace" of Versailles, and for the suppression of the revolutionary movement of the world, is itself more and more becoming a direct instrument for the preparation and carrying through of war against the Soviet Union. The alliances and pacts created under the protectorate of the League of Nations are direct means for camouflaging war preparations, and are themselves instruments for the preparations for war, especially war against the Soviet Union.

5. The imperialists are only able to carry on their war policy thanks to the active collaboration of international Social Democracy. The reformists were exposed as social patriots and chauvinists already by the world war of 1914—1918. Since then, the policy of Social Democracy has ripened into open social imperialism. In all decisive questions, the leaders of Social Democracy and of the Amsterdam trade unions have not only become the defenders, but the active champions of imperialism. They have developed their greatest activity in support of the imperialist war preparations against the Soviet Union.

The course adopted by the reformist leaders towards deepening the split in the camp of the labour movement by a sharpened offensive against the Communist movement and by their active splitting tactics in the trade unions and proletarian mass organisations (Germany, Great Britain), serves, like their defeatist strategy in big economic struggles, to strengthen the bourgeoisie, to weaken the battle-positions for the proletariat, and, in this way, to prepare the conditions in which the bourgeoisie may embark on a new imperialist war. The proletariat must closely study the methods by which Social Democracy is preparing ideologically for the war against the Soviet Union. Some of these methods are: a) dissemination of lies about "Red imperialism" and "Red militarism", about the "identity of Fascism and Bolshevism", etc.; b) the claim that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the cause of war, or one of the causes of war; c) the hypocritical attitude that "We are for the support of the Soviets, but against the Communists and the Comintern"; d) propagation of defeatism towards the Soviet Government under a "Left" mask. The war danger during the last year has provided several examples of these methods; especially in the work of the German Social Democrats. These examples were no less clearly expressed by the allies of Social Democracy, the Trotskyists, e. g. in their phrases about "Thermidor", "kulakisation", etc.

The so-called Left leaders of Social Democracy were characterised by the VIII. Plenum as the most dangerous enemies in the labour movement. This characterisation has been completely confirmed by their treacherous policy during the past year and by their behaviour at the Brussels Congress of the II. International. It is precisely they who, under "Left" phrases, seek to save both the bourgeoisie and Right reformist leaders in critical situations, by describing the Soviet regime and the Communist world movement as enemies of the proletarian united front, as enemies of "world peace", as "allies of reaction", in order thereby to mislead and confuse the workers and to assist the bourgeoisie in carrying out its war policy.

6. Events of recent years have shown that the main front in the policy of all imperialist powers is directed more and more openly against the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution. But in view of the sharpening antagonisms between the imperialist powers themselves, a clash between the imperialist groups of powers in the struggle for world supremacy is possible even before this war breaks out.

Just as the world war of 1914—1918 led directly to the victorious proletarian revolution in the former Tsarist Empire, to the development of the liberation movement in the colonies and to uprisings and revolutionary mass movements among the European proletariat, so a new war will rouse a mighty revolutionary movement that will embrace the industrial workers of America, the broad masses of peasants in agrarian countries and the millions of oppressed peoples of the colonies. However, the crisis of capitalism — the sharpest expression of which is war — may give rise to broad revolutionary mass movements, even before the open conflict breaks out. In such a movement, as in the daily struggles, the Communists must strive to rally, organise and lead the masses, with the aim of fighting, by means of revolutionary action, for the conquest

of power, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship.

Even if the Communists in the European countries do not succeed in sharpening the daily struggle for the most urgent demands of the workers to the point of an open struggle for power, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie — and only through the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in the **most important countries** can imperialist wars be prevented — nevertheless, the constant combining of this struggle with the fight against imperialism will considerably augment the activity of the workers, and will make it considerably more difficult for the bourgeoisie to prepare for or embark on war. It is clear that a postponement of the imperialist war measures by the

mass actions of the proletariat will create conditions that will considerably facilitate the transformation of this war into civil war and the overthrow of the imperialists. In any case, the growing Leftward development among the proletariat and the toiling masses generally and the powerful development of the national revolutionary movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, provides a broad foundation for the growing influence of the Comintern and for the intensified struggle of the Communists against the **whole** policy of the world bourgeoisie — a policy which leads to increased exploitation and oppression as well as to the greatest sharpening of war conflicts.

II. Attitude of the Proletariat Towards War.

7. War is inseparable from capitalism. The struggle against war, above all, calls for a clear insight into its nature, causes, etc. As against the reactionary excuse that war is a natural phenomenon, and the no less reactionary utopian schemes for its abolition by means of phrases or pacts, the revolutionary proletariat advances the rational theory of Marxism-Leninism, as the only scientific basis for a real struggle against war.

The cause of war as an historic phenomenon is not the "evil nature" of mankind, not the "bad" policies of governments, but the division of society into classes, into exploiters and exploited. Capitalism is the cause of the wars in modern history. These wars are not exceptional phenomena; they do not contradict the principles of capitalism, of private ownership in the means of production, of competition and exploitation, but are rather their direct consequence.

Imperialism, the monopolist stage of capitalism, sharpens all the contradictions of capitalism to such an extent that "peace" becomes but a breathing spell for new wars. The surface of the earth and its economic wealth (with the exception of that part that is ruled by the proletarian dictatorship) is almost completely monopolised by a few big powers. The uneven economic and political development of the various countries, however, again and again creates the necessity for a new division of the world. In the last analysis, this cannot take place except through wars waged by the decisive imperialist countries against one another. At the same time, however, the exploitation of the hundreds of millions of proletarians and colonial slaves can be maintained only by bloody wars of oppression.

War is inseparable from capitalism. From this it follows that the "abolition" of war is possible only through the abolition of capitalism, i. e. through the overthrow of the bourgeois class of exploiters, through the proletarian dictatorship, the building of Socialism, and the elimination of classes. All other theories and proposals, however "realistic" they may claim to be, are nothing but a deception calculated to perpetuate exploitation and war.

For this reason, Leninism combats all pacifist theories concerning the abolition of war and points out to the masses of the workers and to all the exploited people the only way leading to this goal: the overthrow of capitalism.

8. But the overthrow of capitalism is impossible without force, without armed uprising and proletarian wars against the bourgeoisie. In the present epoch of imperialist wars and world revolution, as Lenin has stated, proletarian civil wars against the bourgeoisie, wars of the proletarian dictatorship against bourgeois states and against world capitalism, and national revolutionary wars of the oppressed peoples against imperialism, are inevitable and revolutionary. Therefore, the revolutionary proletariat, precisely because it is fighting for Socialism and for the abolition of war, cannot be against every war.

Every war is but a continuation of the politics of certain classes "by other means". The proletariat therefore, must carefully study the historical and political class meaning of each given war and give special study to the role of the ruling classes in all the countries participating in the war from the viewpoint of the international proletarian revolution.

In the present epoch the following three types of wars are possible: first, wars between imperialist states; second, wars

of imperialist counter-revolution against the proletarian revolution, or against countries in which Socialism is being built; third, national revolutionary wars, especially of colonial countries against imperialism, which are connected with wars of imperialist suppression.

In the first case, of which the world war of 1914—1918 is a classical example, both sides wage a reactionary imperialist war. In the second case, e. g., the wars of intervention against the Soviet Union (1918—1921), only the imperialists wage reactionary war; the proletarian dictatorship, in such a case, wages a revolutionary war for Socialism in the interests of the whole world proletariat. In the third case, e. g. the war of imperialism against the Chinese revolution, again it is only the imperialist powers that wage a revolutionary robber war. The war of an oppressed nation against imperialism, however, is not only just, but revolutionary; it is, in present times, a part of the proletarian world revolution.

This Marxian analysis of wars serves as the basis upon which the proletariat determines its position, in principle and in tactics, towards these various types of wars. The proletariat fights against the wars between imperialist states with a programme of defeatism and the transformation of the war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. The same position, in principle, is taken by the proletariat in imperialist countries in the event of a war of oppression waged by the imperialists against national revolutionary movements, above all against the colonial peoples and in the event of imperialism waging an open-counter-revolutionary war against the land of the proletarian dictatorship. The proletariat however, supports and conducts national revolutionary wars and socialist wars against imperialism, and organises for the defence of national revolutions and of the countries of the proletarian dictatorship.

9. As long as the proletariat has not yet established its dictatorship, it must determine its tactics in regard to wars waged by its country in accordance with the results of a thorough examination of the concrete aspect of the war at each separate stage. National wars may be turned into imperialist wars, and vice versa.

Mere formal tokens, e. g. offensive or defensive war, cannot serve as a substitute for a concrete test of the character of a given war. In an imperialist war like that of 1914 this criterion is generally senseless, and serves only to deceive the masses. However, in wars waged by imperialists against revolutionary powers, it is necessary to view this criterion not in the strategical, but rather in the historico-political sense. The question primarily, is not, who is the aggressor, who is waging an unjust war, but, who represents reaction, the counter-revolution and exploitation; who is on the imperialist side, and against the national proletarian revolution? An example of the wrong application of the argument of the offensive war was furnished by the French Socialists in 1925 when they supported the French war against the insurgents of Morocco, because the latter was supposed to have "started first". A similar attitude was taken by the labour imperialists in England in regard to intervention in China in 1927 ("protection of British life and property").

10. The attitude in principle to a given war determines also the attitude to the question of war. The proletariat has no country until it has captured political power and has taken the means of production from the exploiters. The expression

"national defence" is nothing but a catchword, and mostly a petty-bourgeois catchword to justify war. In wars waged by the proletariat itself, or by a proletarian State against imperialism, the proletariat defends its socialist country. In national-revolutionary wars against imperialism, the proletariat defends its country against imperialism. But in imperialist wars the proletariat absolutely rejects "national defence" as being defence of exploitation and treachery to the cause of Socialism.

A. THE PROLETARIAT FIGHTS AGAINST IMPERIALIST WARS.

1. The Fight Against Imperialist War Before its Outbreak.

11. The fight the Communists wage against imperialist war differs essentially from the "fight against war" waged by pacifists of various shades. The Communists do not regard the struggle against such a war as being separate from the class struggle. On the contrary, they regard it as part of the general proletarian struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. They know that imperialist wars are inevitable as long as the bourgeoisie remain in power. This postulate is sometimes interpreted to mean that it is useless to carry on a specific struggle against imperialist war. Indeed, the Social Democrats deliberately charge the Communists with encouraging imperialist wars in order to accelerate the advent of Revolution. While the first-mentioned attitude is a mistaken one, the second is a silly calumny.

Although convinced that war is inevitable under the rule of the bourgeoisie, the Communists, in the interests of the masses of the workers and of all the toilers who bear the brunt of the sacrifice entailed by war, wage a persistent fight against imperialist war and strive to prevent imperialist war by proletarian revolution. They strive to rally the masses around their standard in this struggle, and if unable to prevent the outbreak of war, they strive to transform it into civil war for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

12. The first duty of Communists in the fight against imperialist war is to tear down the screen by which the bourgeoisie conceal their preparations for war and the real state of affairs from the masses of the workers. This duty implies above all a determined political and ideological fight against pacifism. In this fight the Communists must take careful note of the various shades of pacifism. The most important of these shades are:

a) Official pacifism, behind which the capitalist governments mask their manoeuvres against each other and against the Soviet Union (League of Nations, Locarno, Disarmament Conferences, "outlawry of war", etc.).

b) The pacifism of the Second International (Hilferding, Paul Boncour, MacDonald), which is but a branch of official government pacifism, except that it is embellished with Socialist and even "Marxian" phrases.

c) "Radical" or "revolutionary" pacifism, advocated by certain "Left" Socialists who admit the danger of war, but strive to combat this danger merely by meaningless phrases against war. These pacifists frequently lay excessive stress upon the destructiveness of modern weapons of war in order, either to prove that protracted wars are impossible, or else, to demonstrate that it is impossible to transform imperialist war into civil war.

d) Semi-religious pacifism, which has its basis in the church movement.

In the struggle against pacifism, however, the Communists must draw a distinction between the anti-war sentiments of large masses of the toilers, who are ready to fight against war, but do not as yet understand that the revolutionary way is the only proper way of combating war, and therefore, become a prey to pacifist swindlers, and the swindlers themselves, the pacifists of various shades. The masses must be patiently enlightened as to their error and urged to join the revolutionary united front in the struggle against war. But the pacifist swindlers must be relentlessly exposed and combated.

e) A special role is played by so-called "co-operative pacifism." This type of pacifism is to be observed to-day chiefly in the International Women's Co-operative Guild in London. To these must be added Left bourgeois organisations like the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

13. The closer and more imminent the danger of war becomes, the more dangerous becomes so-called "radical" paci-

fism. This type of pacifism is to be observed to-day chiefly among the Left-wing Social Democrats in Germany, the I. L. P. in England, and the Social-Democrats in the smaller countries like Holland, Norway, etc. The catchwords and phrases advocated by these pacifists like "No more war", "Boycott war", "General strike against the declaration of war", "Military strike", etc., are taken up in the utterances of the reformist leaders for the purpose of deceiving the masses (e. g. the phrases about the general strike uttered by the Amsterdam International). In his instructions to the Russian Trade Union Delegation to the Hague Peace Conference in December 1922, Lenin properly laid special stress upon this type of pacifism. His warning holds good to this day, particularly when we bear in mind that even in the ranks of the Communist Parties there are many members who, unconsciously perhaps, betray inclinations in this direction.

It is therefore necessary:

a) To combat all high-sounding phrases like "we shall never permit another war", "no more wars", etc. The Communists must not be content merely to "correct" these slogans theoretically, but must wage an active fight against this kind of propaganda by unmasking those who conduct it, and denounce this phrasemongering as a screen to conceal the preparations being made for war. The same thing applies in many cases today of the slogan: "War against war" that is advanced by the Social Democrats as a hypocritical means of raising unfounded expectations among the masses.

b) To combat the proposals advanced by the "radical" pacifists for preventing war. Communists cannot content themselves merely with exposing these people as phrasemongers, who would do nothing to carry their radical proposals into effect (general strike, military strike), but they must also point out to the masses that, as framed by these pacifists, these slogans are wrong and childish. They must explain to the masses the real circumstances under which war breaks out, the impossibility of limiting the struggle to certain fixed methods and the need for bringing into action all forms of the class struggle.

c) Energetically to combat and openly criticise all frivolousness in the ranks of the Communist Parties concerning the question of combating war. This is particularly necessary at the present time, in view of the mistakes contained in press articles and parliamentary speeches. Under no circumstances should such mistakes be allowed to pass without criticism.

14. In addition to the task of combating pacifism and frivolous "revolutionary" phrasemongering in the struggle against imperialist war, the Communists are faced with a number of other fundamental agitational and educational tasks. These are:

a) To expose in proper time, the sophistries and catchwords by which the bourgeoisie and Social-Democracy try to justify war. The principal slogan advanced by the latter, even in the present day, is the slogan of "national defence". The war against China in 1927 revealed the true significance of slogans like "Protection of life and property", "protection of trade", "protection of the flag," etc. In the last imperialist war, the Allies made use of the slogan "Fight against Prussian militarism", while the Central Powers used the slogan "Fight against Tsarism"; both sides using the respective slogans to mobilise the masses for the war. In a future war between Italy and France, or Yugo-Slavia, the same purpose will be served by the slogan "Fight against reactionary Fascism", for the bourgeoisie in the latter countries will take advantage of the anti-Fascist sentiments of the masses of the people to justify imperialist war. On the other hand, Fascism justifies its imperialist war policies by the catchwords "overpopulation", "natural necessity for expansion", etc. The Communist Parties have hitherto paid insufficient attention to the duty of refuting these sophistries.

b) "It is essential again and again, and as concretely as possible, to explain to the masses what the situation was at the time of the last war, and why that situation was inevitable."

"It is particularly necessary to explain to the masses the significance of the fact that the question of 'national defence' is becoming an inevitable question, which the enormous majority of the toilers will inevitably decide in favour of their own bourgeoisie." (Lenin).

"In view of recent experiences of war, we must explain that on the morrow of the declaration of war, such an enormous number of theoretical and social questions will arise, that the overwhelming majority of the men called up for service will

find it utterly impossible to examine them with a clear head and with any degree of impartiality." (Lenin).

"We must tell the masses the real facts about the profound secrecy in which the governments make their plans for war and how impotent the ordinary labour organisations, even those that call themselves revolutionary, are in the face of impending war." (Lenin).

The Bolsheviks, having a well set up illegal organisation, were the only Party able to carry on revolutionary work during the war. Yet even they could no more prevent the masses from responding to the bourgeois call for "national defence" than they could prevent the outbreak of war, notwithstanding the fact that the proletarian struggle in Russia was at high tide at that period. In fact, only a few weeks before the outbreak of war, barricades were erected in the streets of St. Petersburg.

Consequently, only by thoroughly explaining to the masses the tremendous difficulties that have to be overcome in a real struggle against war can the foundation be laid for the solution of the tactical problems involved in this struggle.

c) Finally, it is necessary to explain thoroughly to the masses the experiences of the last world war of 1914—1918; the tendencies that prevailed in the labour movement at that time the struggles the Bolsheviks conducted against war, and the fundamental slogan they advanced by transforming the imperialist war into civil war.

15. This agitational and propagandist activity must be closely linked up with the revolutionary work of the Party among the masses.

This is the main task in the struggle against imperialist war before it breaks out. Stated in detail this task includes the following:

a) Factory and trade union activity must be concentrated primarily in the industries which serve the mobilisation for and conduct of war, like the metal industry, the chemical industry, and transport. It is particularly important to apply the tactics of the proletarian united front and to secure the organisational consolidation of its results (establishment of Committees of Action, etc.).

b) In view of the fact that the peasantry constitutes the bulk of the army in most countries, special attention must be paid to anti-war work among the peasants. This work is facilitated by the strong anti-war sentiment prevailing among the peasants in many countries. The bourgeoisie, through the medium of the big landlords and big farmers and through Ex-Service Men's Leagues, the press, Fascism, pacifism, the churches, etc., strive to consolidate their influence in the countryside, and to rouse the "fighting spirit" of the peasantry. Communists must counter-act this activity by their work to sharpen the class-struggle in the countryside. The Communists must conduct anti-war agitation among the peasant masses and in this utilise the experiences of the world war, and link up this agitation with the economic demands of the small peasantry. They must explain to the peasants the proletarian attitude towards war; carry on fraction work in the reactionary peasant leagues; organise anti-war conferences of the small peasantry, and give consideration to the special interests of the peasants in carrying on work in the army.

c) The national-revolutionary movements in the Balkans, Poland, etc., play an extremely important part in the struggle against the imperialist war danger and in transforming imperialist war into civil war. The struggle against the imperialist war danger in these countries must be linked up with the fight against the remnants of feudalism and against national oppression, and must be directed towards the development of the agrarian and national revolutions.

Hence, the establishment and expansion of a revolutionary bloc of the proletariat, the peasantry and the oppressed nations against capitalism and against the imperialist war danger is an exceedingly important task that now confronts the Communist Parties.

d) A matter of decisive importance is the work among the youth, especially among the industrial youth. The greatest efforts must be exerted — not only by the youth organisations, but by all Communists — in combating bourgeois sport organisations, fascist organisations, military schools, etc., through which the bourgeoisie are training the youth for imperialist wars. Furthermore, bourgeois military training of the youth must also be combated. Where the military training of the youth is compulsory, the Communists should urge the young workers to accept it, but they must organise work for the political education

of these young workers and for the disintegration of the bourgeois military organisations. Similar work must be carried on in bourgeois, voluntary military training organisations. For this purpose, the Communist Party and the Young Communist League must send members into these organisations, but they must not urge the young workers to join them. Instead, they must urge the young workers to join, or form, Labour Defence Organisations.

e) Bearing in mind the important part women play in industry, especially in time of war, work must be carried on among the industrial working women and workingmen's wives. To combat the imperialist influence disseminated among working women through petty-bourgeois organisations and to organise the working women in trade unions and other proletarian mass organisations, are extremely important tasks at the present time in view of the threatening war danger. In this connection, special consideration must be given to the plans for the militarisation of women and to the increasing influence which bourgeois pacifist, religious and nationalist organisations are exercising over working class women. Work among the women must no longer be neglected, and the idea that this work is solely the affair of the women Communists must be stamped out.

f) Anti-militarist activity; work in the army and navy; work among the recruits and reservists and in bourgeois defence organisations, in which the proletarian element is strongly represented, must constitute an inseparable part of the general revolutionary mass activity of the Party, and must embrace the whole of the working class.

16. Lenin was of the opinion that "the only possible way of continuing revolutionary work after the outbreak of war is the creation of an illegal organisation." But, an illegal organisation is also necessary in the anti-war struggle before war breaks out. There is still considerable confusion of mind concerning this important task in the struggle against war, and serious neglect in its practical fulfilment. In some Communist Parties the definitely opportunist view prevails that the conduct of anti-war activity is the business only of the youth, or of a special organisation, while activity within the army is regarded as not being absolutely essential. Such views must be vigorously combated, and the work must be taken up immediately, in the spirit of the instructions given by Lenin. In this connection, we must:

1). Enlarge the number of Party factory nuclei which, under given circumstances arising from the persecution of the employers and the police, must go underground. The preparations for the transference to underground conditions when the contingency arises, must be undertaken now.

2). Make preparations for guaranteeing the proper functioning of the leading bodies of the Party, of the communications apparatus and of the Party press, in the event of the necessity arising for going strictly underground.

While never for a moment ceasing to utilise all available legal possibilities, the Communist Parties must already at the present time, devote the greatest energy and attention to these tasks. If they fail to do this the persecution that must set in at the moment of the outbreak of war, — a foretaste of which we have already in a number of countries to-day — will inevitably destroy the Party organisation, and with it, the principal base of the revolutionary struggle against war.

17. The Communist Parties must bend all their work to the central task of preparing, winning over and organising the masses for the struggle against imperialist war. The struggles of the proletariat and of toilers generally against the intensification of exploitation and oppression — in matters of wages, the working day, taxes, rent, social services, political disfranchisement, victimisation and the intensification of the Fascist menace — must not be confined to the demands arising out of these struggles, but must be linked up with the determined struggle against imperialist war policy.

All the important questions of foreign policy, of armaments, of the introduction of new weapons of war, etc., must be brought before the masses of the workers and utilised for the organisation of revolutionary mass action. In this struggle, the Communist Party, giving due and sober consideration to its strength, must march boldly and determinedly at the head of the masses. It must organise demonstrations and strikes against the war policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie and, at the proper moment, put to the masses the question of the general strike and of still sharper methods of struggle.

2. The Struggle During Imperialist War.

18. The political programme of the Communists in an imperialist war is the programme worked out and applied by the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Lenin in its heroic struggle against the last imperialist war. The main points of this programme may be summarised as follows:

a) The rejection of imperialist "national defence" in this war. To enlighten the workers and peasants as to its reactionary character. Strongly to combat all tendencies in the labour movement which openly, or covertly, justify this war.

b) Defeatism, i. e. to work for the defeat of the home imperialist government in this war.

c) Genuine internationalism, i. e. not "international" phrases and formal "agreements", but revolutionary defeatist work to be carried on by the proletariat in all the belligerent countries, for the overthrow of their home bourgeoisie.

d) To transform the war between imperialist States into proletarian civil war against the bourgeoisie, for the purpose of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and Socialism — this transformation to be achieved by means of revolutionary mass action in the rear, and fraternisation at the front.

e) A "democratic" or "just" peace cannot result from an imperialist war without the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the seizure of power by the proletariat in the most important belligerent States. Therefore, "peace" cannot be the central slogan during imperialist war; the central slogan must be "proletarian revolution". It is the bounden duty of Communists strongly to combat all peace phrasemongering; for a certain moment in the war, this can be utilised by the bourgeoisie as an extremely important ideological weapon to prevent the imperialist war from being transformed into civil war.

Communists must not confine themselves merely to conducting propaganda in favour of this programme; they must rouse the masses of the workers to fight for it, by applying the tactics of the united proletarian front from below.

19. "Transform the imperialist war into civil war" means primarily, **revolutionary mass action**. The Communists resolutely repudiate all so-called "means" of combating war that hamper the development of revolutionary mass action. Consequently, they repudiate individual actions that have no connection with revolutionary mass actions or that fail to contribute to their development. Communists combat the propaganda in favour of the "against the war" prescriptions that are recommended by the petty-bourgeois elements in the labour movement. Prescriptions like "refusal to bear arms" "refusal to shoot", etc., are still circulated widely among the masses to-day, and many workers seriously believe in their efficacy. As a matter of fact, these prescriptions are meaningless and harmful. The Communists must tell the workers that the struggle against war is not a single and simultaneous act, and that revolutionary mass action on the part of the workers and poor peasants, in the rear and at the front, for the armed overthrow of the bourgeoisie, is the only proper means of combating war, to which all other means must be directed. While combating the above-mentioned prescriptions for individual action, which can only hinder mass action, the Communists must at the same time rouse the workers to display a spirit of revolutionary heroism in the struggle against imperialist wars.

20. The Communists' attitude towards the question of the **general strike against war** is determined by the same point of view, viz., the transformation of imperialist war into civil war. Already in 1907, Lenin, in opposing Hervé, repudiated the General Strike slogan as a "panacea" to be applied regardless of the concrete situation and divorced from the general class struggle of the proletariat. In 1922, on the basis of experiences in the world war, he formulated his position still more definitely. In his instructions to the delegation to the Hague Peace Congress, he said

"It is impossible to 'reply' to war with a general strike, just as it is impossible to reply to war with 'revolution', in the simple and literal sense of the word".

This holds good to this day. But while Communists repudiate the slogan of "reply to war with a general strike", and warn the workers against harbouring such illusions, which can only injure the real struggle against war, they do not by any means abandon the weapon of the general strike in the struggle against war, and sharply condemn any suggestion to do so as an opportunist deviation. Side by side with other revolutionary mass actions (demonstrations,

strikes in munition works, transport strikes, etc.), the general strike — as the supreme form of the mass strike movement — is an extremely important weapon, and as a transition to the armed uprising it constitutes a stage in the transformation of imperialist war into civil war. This transformation, however, does not depend upon the will of the Party alone. It presupposes the existence of a revolutionary situation, the capacity of the proletariat for mass action, etc. These conditions do not as a rule prevail at the very beginning of the war; they develop in the course of the war. But even in war time the general strike does not come like a bolt from the blues. It comes on the rising tide of revolutionary mass action (demonstrations, partial strikes, etc.) and as a result of the persistent preparation, which the Communists must make, and which may entail heavy sacrifices. Of course, a general strike in war time will lead to revolutionary results much more rapidly than in peace time; but it is by no means easier to prepare for and organise it in war time than in peace time. On the contrary, in war time the bourgeoisie will take determined counter-measures to prevent it. They will call the strikers to the colours, militarise the factories, etc. Communists, therefore, cannot, in war time, confine themselves to abstract general strike propaganda. As in peace time, they must carry on daily revolutionary work in the factories and trade unions. They must champion the economic demands of the workers and link up these demands with anti-war propaganda; organise revolutionary factory councils; capture the subordinate trade union organisations; eliminate the social-patriotic elements from these organisations, and, when they have been captured, elect new executives parallel with the reformist executives, and despite the will of the latter, organise, lead and extend partial strikes, etc. The general strike must not be an abstract watchword. It must be the aim and the outcome of our general practical activity. That being the case, the revolutionary proletariat must be ready, in the event of a general strike, firmly to steer a course towards transforming the strike into an armed rebellion, if conditions are propitious for that.

21. From the same standpoint of the transformation of imperialist war into civil war, the Communists take their stand with regard to the slogan of **refusal of military service** (Boycott of war) advocated by certain "radical" pacifists and Left Social Democrats. The Communists fight against this slogan for the following reasons:

a) The idea that imperialist war can be rendered impossible by a call for the refusal of military service, by calling upon those liable for military service to refuse to answer the call for mobilisation is as illusory as the idea of "replying to war with a general strike". Propaganda in favour of this prescription merely serves to **weaken** the genuine revolutionary struggle against war.

b) Even if a "mass boycott" were at least partially successful, the result would be that the most determined and class-conscious workers would remain outside the army. Systematic revolutionary work in the army, — one of the most vital tasks in the struggle against war, — would then be impossible.

Lenin was absolutely right, therefore, when in 1922, on the basis of experience of the world war, he wrote: "Boycott the war, is a stupid phrase. The Communists must participate in every reactionary war."

But Lenin's instructions regarding the Communists' attitude towards the boycott (the refusal of military service) as a means of combating war, does not mean that the Communists must urge the masses of workers to join the bourgeois armies. It means that the Communists, while strongly combating the harmful and illusory boycott slogan, must agitate for revolutionary work and organisation in the bourgeois army, for the arming of the proletariat and for the transformation of imperialist war into civil war.

Therefore, when the question of joining the bourgeois army or refusal of military service (boycott) is raised, the Communists must advise the workers and poor peasants to reject the refusal of the military service slogan, to avail themselves of the opportunity to learn the use of arms, to carry on revolutionary work in the army and, at the proper moment, to turn their weapons against the bourgeoisie.

In the event of a big mass movement arising at the moment of the outbreak of war in favour of refusing military service, the Communists must join that movement to give it a revolutionary character: they must put forward concrete demands and slogans of action in the direction of revolutionary mass action against imperialist war and utilise the movement as

much as possible for the purpose of revolutionising the masses. But even in such an event, the Communists must combat the boycott ideology and the pacifist boycott slogan. They must speak out quite frankly about the inadequacy of refusal of military service as a means of combating war, and make it clear to the masses that the only correct way of combating the imperialist war is to transform it into civil war. Strenuous propaganda must be conducted urging the necessity for carrying on revolutionary work in the bourgeois armies.

If the general situation is favourable for it, Communists must utilise such mass movements for the formation of guerilla forces, and for the immediate development of civil war. This applies especially to countries where strong national-revolutionary movements exist. In such countries the Communists, on the declaration of war, — especially war against the Soviet Union — or in the course of the war, if the situation is favourable, must issue the slogan of national-revolutionary rebellion against the imperialist and for the immediate formation of national-revolutionary guerilla forces.

22. In countries where the system of compulsory military service does not exist, the government, at the beginning of the war, will launch a wide recruiting campaign for volunteers, and if it deems it necessary, will introduce compulsory military service. In such countries also, the Communist Parties must set themselves the aim of transforming the imperialist war into civil war. But in pursuing this aim the Communists must also fight against the bourgeois recruiting campaign for volunteers and against the introduction of compulsory military service. Under no circumstances, however, must they foster the illusion that the war can be prevented or stopped by refusing to join the army or by opposing the introduction of compulsory military service and that, therefore, revolutionary work in the army is superfluous. It must be made clear to the masses that the struggle against conscription is only of secondary importance compared with the fight against the imperialist war itself. Revolutionary work in the army must be organised and openly advocated.

23. An extremely important point in the matter of transforming imperialist war into civil war is revolutionary work at the front. In this, the Communists must not confine themselves merely to propaganda, but must issue definite slogans of action corresponding to the concrete situation.

a) In connection with the economic demands and complaints of the soldiers, collective refusal, or sabotage of service, and certain forms of soldiers and sailors' strikes should be applied.

b) The most important slogan of action at the front is the slogan of **fraternisation**. The purpose of fraternisation is to unite the worker and peasant soldiers in the opposite lines of trenches against their officers. Experience in the last world war has shown that mass fraternisation inevitably leads to class differentiation in the armies and to armed conflicts between soldiers and officers. The Communists in the army must organise fraternisation and give it a clear political colour, particularly in regard to the question of peace and the organisation of the revolutionary forces in the army.

3. The Proletarian Civil War Against the Bourgeoisie.

24. The imperialist war of 1914—1928 was, in a number of countries in Eastern and Central Europe, transformed into civil war, which, in Russia, ended in the victory of the proletariat. The lessons of the October Revolution are of paramount importance in determining the attitude of the proletariat towards war. They show: 1) that in their imperialist wars the bourgeoisie must place weapons in the hands of the workers, but that in critical military situations, defeats, etc., they lost command over the mass armies; 2) that a real and sustained struggle against this war implies that work must be carried on to revolutionise the masses of the soldiers, i. e. work in preparation for civil war, and 3) that the ground for civil war must be thoroughly prepared by the proletariat and the Party.

The civil wars in Germany in 1920 and 1923, in Bulgaria in 1923, in Estonia in 1924, and in Vienna in July 1927, prove that proletarian civil war may not only break out in times of bourgeois imperialist wars, but also in the present "normal conditions" of capitalism; for present-day capitalism intensifies the class struggle to an acute degree and at any moment may create an immediate revolutionary situation. The proletarian uprisings in Shanghai in March 1927 and in Canton in December 1927 contained important lessons for the proletariat,

especially in the nationally oppressed colonial and semi-colonial countries. Events in Shanghai particularly, show how proletarian uprisings can be utilised as a weapon in a national war against imperialism and its lackeys.

All this makes it incumbent upon the Communists, primarily in connection with struggle against imperialist and counter-revolutionary wars, to put the question of proletarian civil war openly to the masses and to study the lessons of the above-mentioned uprisings.

25. These lessons are:

a) In regard to the necessary **conditions precedent** for rebellion. A revolutionary situation must prevail, i. e. the ruling class must be in a state of crisis, for example, as the result of military defeat. The misery and oppression of the masses must be intensified to an extraordinary degree, and the masses must be active and ready to overthrow the government by revolutionary mass action. A tried and tested Communist Party, having influence over the decisive masses of the proletariat, must exist.

b) In regard to the preparations for rebellion. The rebellion cannot be based solely on the Party; it must be based upon the broad masses of the working class. Of decisive importance is the preparatory work in the proletarian mass organisations, particularly in the trade unions; to secure their active participation in the work of preparing for the rebellion, and the creation of special organisations for rebellion, which shall unite the masses. The question of rebellion must be put openly to the masses.

The rebellion must be based on the rising revolutionary temper of the entire working population, particularly of the semi-proletarians and poor peasantry.

Persistent and intensified work must be conducted for the purpose of disintegrating the bourgeois armies, which work, at the moment of the uprising, will assume the character of a struggle for the army.

Activities for organising rebellion and military preparation must both occupy a prominent place in the work among the proletarian masses and among the toilers in the colonies and semi-colonies.

The time for launching the rebellion will be determined by the state of maturity of the objective and subjective prerequisites for it. The time can be fixed definitely only if the closest contact exists between the Party and the masses of the revolutionary proletariat.

c) In regard to **carrying out the rebellion**. The rule must be: no playing with rebellion. The rebellion once launched must be vigorously prosecuted until the enemy is utterly crushed. Hesitation and lack of determination will cause the utter defeat of the revolutionary armed uprising. The main forces must be thrown against the main forces of the enemy. Efforts must be made to secure the superiority of the proletarian forces at the decisive moment at the decisive place, and without delay the rebellion must be carried over the widest possible territory. There is an art in rebellion; but rebellion is not purely a military problem, it is primarily a political problem. Only a revolutionary Party can lead a rebellion. On the outbreak of the rebellion the Party must subordinate the whole of its activity to the requirements of the armed struggle.

B. THE PROLETARIAT DEFENDS THE SOVIET UNION AGAINST THE IMPERIALISTS.

26. Imperialist war against the Soviet Union is open, bourgeois, counter-revolutionary, class war against the proletariat. Its principal aim is to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship and to introduce a reign of white-guard terror against the working class and the toilers of all countries. The basis for the tactics of the proletariat in capitalist countries in the struggle against such a war is furnished by the Bolshevik programme of struggle against the imperialist war, i. e. transform the war into civil war. The methods and tasks of this struggle, prior to the outbreak of the war and during the war must, however, be adapted to the concrete conditions under which it was prepared for, and to its openly class character. The fact that, in this case, the "enemy" is not an imperialist power, but the proletarian dictatorship, introduces certain important modifications in anti-war tactics.

27. The propaganda tasks in connection with imperialist war and the preparations for war against the Soviet Union, stated concretely, are as follows:

a) Pacifism is being transformed from a mere screen to conceal war preparations into one of the most important instruments for these preparations. Hence, it is necessary to intensify the campaign against pacifism and against its specific slogans; against the Soviet Union in the name of "civilisation", and "peace"; against "realistic pacifism", which regards the Soviet Union and proletarian and colonial revolutions as a menace to peace; against "radical" pacifism, which, under the mask of opposition to "all war", strives to discourage defence of the Soviet Union.

b) Social Democracy is passing to active counter-revolutionary preparation for war against the Soviet Union. Hence, it is necessary to intensify the campaign against the Social Democratic leaders of the Right as well as of the Left, and also against their Trotskyist and anarcho-syndicalist hangers-on. Above all, the slogans with which these will try to justify war against the Soviet Union such as: "Fight for democracy against dictatorship"; "degeneration"; "Kulakisation"; "the Soviet system is approaching the Thermidor stage"; the legends they spread about "Red imperialism"; the slogan of "Neutrality" in the event of war, etc., must be exposed and discredited in the eyes of the masses.

28. The international working class, and the toilers generally, look to the Soviet Union as their champion, and their attitude towards the Soviet Union is one of growing sympathy. Bearing this in mind, and also that the broad masses of the workers will understand much better than in 1917 that the next imperialist war against the Soviet Union will be open class war; that the masses of the toilers are now wiser from the experience they had of the first imperialist war and that the vanguard of the proletariat now has a strong revolutionary organisation in the shape of the Communist International, it may be safely asserted that the opportunities for fighting against war are far greater now than they were in previous times, and consequently that there is every reason for adopting bolder tactics.

a) The possibilities of preventing war against the Soviet Union by intensifying class struggles to the point of revolutionary, mass action against the bourgeois governments are much greater at the present time than the possibilities for such action were in 1914. An example of revolutionary action was given by the British Workers in 1920, when, by forming Councils of Action, they forced their government to abandon their intention of declaring war against the Soviet Union.

b) The conditions favourable for transforming a war against the Soviet Union into civil war against the bourgeoisie will be much more speedily created for the proletariat than in an ordinary imperialist war.

c) Therefore, although the Communists in capitalist countries must reject the phrase "Reply to war by general strike", and have no illusions whatever about the efficacy of such phrases, nevertheless, in the event of war against the Soviet Union becoming imminent, they must take into consideration the increased opportunities for employing the weapon of mass strikes and the general strike, prior to the outbreak of war and during the mobilisation.

d) In the event of an attack upon the Soviet Union the Communists in oppressed nations, as well as those in imperialist countries, must exert all their efforts to rouse rebellion or wars of national liberation among the national minorities in Europe and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries against the imperialist enemies of the Soviet State.

29. In view of the fact that the "enemy" in such a war is the Soviet Union, i. e. the fatherland of the international proletariat, the following changes must be made in tactics as compared with the tactics employed in "purely" imperialist war:

a) The proletariat in the imperialist countries must not only fight for the defeat of their own governments in this war, but must actively strive to secure victory for the Soviet State.

b) Therefore, the tactics and the choice of means of fighting will not only be dictated by the interests of the class struggle at home in each country, but also by considerations for the outcome of the war at the front, which is a bourgeois class war against the proletarian State.

c) The Red Army is not an "enemy" army but the army of the international proletariat. In the event of a war against

the Soviet Union, the workers in capitalist countries must not allow themselves to be scared from supporting the Red Army and from expressing this support by fighting against their own bourgeoisie, by the charges of treason that the bourgeoisie may hurl against them.

30. Although the proletariat in imperialist countries is not bound by the duty of "national defence", in the land of the proletarian dictatorship however, national defence is an un-failing revolutionary duty. Here, the defenders are the armed proletariat supported by the poor peasantry. The victory of the October revolution gave a socialist fatherland to the workers of the world, viz. the Soviet Union. Defence of the Soviet Union is a matter of class interest for the international proletariat as well as a debt of honour. In 1919—1921, the Soviet Government was able to defeat the interventionist forces of fourteen States, among which were the most powerful imperialist States, because the international proletariat intervened on behalf of the proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R. by revolutionary mass action. A renewed imperialist attack on the Soviet Union will prove that, in spite of all the preparations made for this attack and in spite of the counter-revolutionary efforts of the Social Democrats, this international proletarian solidarity still exists.

The proletariat's allies in the defence of the U. S. S. R. are: 1. the rural poor and the mass of the middle peasants and 2. the national revolution and to protect the work of building up semi-colonies.

31. The international policy of the U. S. S. R. is a peace policy, which conforms to the interests of the ruling class in Soviet Russia, viz. the proletariat, and to the interests of the international proletariat. This policy rallies all the allies of the proletarian dictatorship around its banner and provides the best basis for taking advantage of the antagonisms among the imperialist States. The aim of this policy is to guard the international revolution and to protect the work of building up socialism — the progress of which is revolutionising the world. It strives to put off the conflict with imperialism for as long as possible. In regard to the capitalist States, to their mutual relationships and to their relationships with their colonies, this policy implies: opposition to imperialist war, to predatory colonial campaigns, and to pacifism, which camouflages these campaigns.

The peace policy of the proletarian State certainly does not imply that the Soviet State has become reconciled with capitalism, as the Social Democratic and their Trotskyist allies declare in order to discredit the Soviet State in the eyes of the international proletariat. This policy is the Leninist policy of the proletarian dictatorship. It is merely another — and under present conditions — a more advantageous form of fighting capitalism; a form which the U. S. S. R. has consistently employed since the October revolution.

32. The proletariat in the Soviet Union harbours no illusions as to the possibility of a durable peace with the imperialists. The proletariat knows that the imperialist attack against the Soviet Union is inevitable; that in the process of a proletarian world revolution wars between proletarian and bourgeois States, wars for the emancipation of the world from capitalism, will necessarily and inevitably arise. Therefore, the primary duty of the proletariat, as the fighter for socialism, is to make all the necessary political, economic and military preparations for these wars, to strengthen its Red Army — that mighty weapon of the proletariat — and to train the masses of the toilers in the art of war. There is a glaring contradiction between the imperialists' policy of piling up armaments and their hypocritical talk about peace. There is no such contradiction, however, between the Soviet government's preparations for defence and for revolutionary war and a consistent peace policy. Revolutionary war of the proletarian dictatorship is but a continuation of revolutionary peace policy "by other means".

C. THE PROLETARIAT SUPPORTS AND CONDUCTS REVOLUTIONARY WARS OF OPPRESSED PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM.

33. In the course of the last two years national revolutionary wars of the oppressed colonies and semi-colonies, which Lenin predicted in 1916, have changed from a theoretical postulate into a world historical fact. Examples of such wars are: the

war in Morocco against French and Spanish imperialism; the rebellion in Syria; the wars in Mexico and Nicaragua against United States imperialism; the revolutionary Canton war against Hong Kong in 1925 finally, the Chinese Northern Expedition in 1926—27. National revolutionary wars will play an important role in the present epoch of world revolution. The proletariat must therefore devote the closest study to the experiences and lessons of these wars, especially of the Chinese Northern Expedition of 1926—27.

In that campaign the Chinese proletariat rightly supported the South against the Northern militarists and the imperialists who backed them — notwithstanding the fact that the Southern forces were commanded by the bourgeoisie. The Chinese proletariat not only desired and worked for the defeat of the counter-revolutionary government of North China, but also fought against the wavering and hesitation of the bourgeoisie in the South, against the latter's compromising policy and subsequent treachery and fought for a revolutionary leadership of the campaign and for the hegemony of the proletariat in the war. This general line, which was proposed to the Chinese Communists by the Comintern, corresponded to the position taken up by Marx and Engels towards the national wars in the last century and to the teachings of Lenin.

34. Nevertheless, the Chinese Communist Party committed a number of grave mistakes, from which the Communists of all oppressed nations have important lessons to learn. In this war, the duty of the Communist Party of China was to take full advantage of the revolutionary situation prevailing at the time to establish its own proletarian class army, and to extend the military organisation and training of the workers and peasants in order to pave the way for the proletariat's struggle for the leadership of the revolution. Although the objective conditions at the time of the Northern Expedition were favourable for the Communist Party, the latter refrained from utilising the military and political apparatus of the Kuomintang for the purpose of conducting its work in the army, and made no attempt to create its own armed forces. The Communist Party devoted itself entirely to manoeuvring with the higher Kuomintang command and failed to concentrate on the work of propaganda and organisation among the masses of the soldiers, or on mass recruiting of workers and peasants for the army for the purpose of changing its character. It failed to recognise the revolutionary significance of arming the workers and peasants and did not devote sufficient attention to the work of preparing for and leading peasant guerilla warfare.

35. While supporting a national-revolutionary war, the proletariat determines its tactics on the basis of a concrete analysis of each given national war, the role of the various classes in it, etc. Thus, Marx' tactics in 1848, when he issued the slogan of a war against Tsarism, differed from his tactics in 1870, in the Prussian war against Napoleon III. During the Northern campaign, the Chinese Communists rightly entered into a temporary alliance with the national bourgeoisie, as long as they fought against imperialism and as long as the Communists were able to carry on their work of exposure in the national-revolutionary camp. The tactics of the German Communists in 1923, when they were confronted by the problem of national defence against the invasion of French imperialism, were necessarily different. The German Communists had to combine national defence with a struggle for the overthrow of the German bourgeoisie, which was incapable of playing a revolutionary role. This is the attitude the Chinese Communists must now take up towards the national struggle against Japanese intervention. They must combine revolutionary national defence with the struggle to overthrow Chang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang bourgeoisie, and to establish the revolutionary dictatorship of the workers and peasants.

It must be stated, however, that the national wars in which the proletariat in the fight against imperialism may enter into temporary alliance with the bourgeoisie, are becoming more and more rare, because, out of fear of the workers' and peasants' revolution, the bourgeoisie in the oppressed countries is becoming reactionary and is accepting the bribes of the imperialists. A new type of national war, in which the proletariat alone can play the leading role, is coming more and more to the front. This applies also to the national wars of the Latin American countries against United States' imperialism. The tendency for national wars and rebellions to become transformed into proletarian wars and rebellions, or wars and

rebellions led by the proletariat, — a tendency which Lenin predicted already in 1916 — has notably increased.

36. In view of the numerous oppressed nationalities and national minorities existing in a number of the States in Europe, set up by the Versailles Treaty, the question of national revolutionary war will come up prominently also in Europe, particularly in relation to the task of transforming imperialist war into civil war. Poland and Roumania cruelly oppress with a bloody hand the White Russian, Ukrainian and Bessarabian populations in their territories, who look longingly towards their Soviet fatherland. In Czechoslovakia and in the Balkan countries, in Italy, in France, Spain, Belgium, and Great Britain (Ireland) there are also oppressed nationalities. The Communist Parties must support the liberation movement of the oppressed nations and national minorities in all these countries, lead them in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and unreservedly champion their right to self-determination, which must include the right to complete separation. In the event of an imperialist war, or an anti-Soviet war being declared, the Communists, in the course of carrying out this policy, must prepare themselves, and the nationally oppressed masses, for national revolutionary rebellions, or wars, against the imperialist bourgeoisie.

37. The teachings of Marx and Lenin and the experience of national wars in recent years, indicate the following tasks and tactics for the proletariat in wars of national liberation.

a) The support the proletariat renders in these wars and the temporary alliance which — in certain cases — it enters into with the bourgeoisie, must under no circumstances imply the abandonment of the class war. Even when the bourgeoisie, for a time, fights side by side with the proletariat against the imperialists, it still remains the enemy and strives to utilise the proletariat for its own aims.

b) Therefore, the proletariat must not simply accept the policies and slogans of the bourgeoisie, but must act independently, advance its own political programme and slogans and set up its own revolutionary organisations (Party, trade unions, workers' militia, proletarian military movements). The Communists must prepare the masses for the inevitable treachery of the bourgeoisie, take the strongest measures to retain the proletarian positions, do everything possible to hinder the bourgeoisie in its efforts to achieve its own class aims and to prepare for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

c) In national wars in which the bourgeoisie, or the bourgeois government, plays a counter-revolutionary role (as is the case in the struggle which the Chinese workers and peasants are now carrying on to prevent the imperialists' dismemberment of China), the Communists must work for the overthrow of the bourgeois government under the slogan of national defence.

38. The question of national wars in countries where class differentiations are undeveloped, i. e. in Morocco, the Druses, Syria, and Arabia, must be similarly formulated. Among such people, the patriarchal and feudal chiefs and rulers play a role similar to that played by the bourgeoisie in the more advanced colonial countries. Temporary co-operation with these chiefs and rulers is permissible in revolutionary struggles against imperialism, but there is always the danger that they will be bought over by the imperialists, or that they will subordinate the struggle for liberation to their own caste interests. The national wars of these peoples must therefore be linked up with the struggle against feudalism, or against the feudal rulers, and for the overthrow of feudalism.

39. The tasks of the international proletariat in connection with wars of liberation of oppressed peoples, and with imperialist expeditions for the suppression of the national revolutionary movements and revolutions — with a few concrete exceptions — are the same as in imperialist wars against the Soviet Union, viz. a) to fight against wars of oppression by intensifying the class antagonisms with a view to transforming this war into civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie. b) Consistent application of defeatist tactics towards the imperialist country and its armies; to fight for the victory of the oppressed nation and to support its armies. c) To resist, primarily by means of revolutionary mass action, the despatch of warships and munition transports to the colonies by the imperialists; to oppose the extension of the period of military service for soldiers fighting in wars against the colonies,

etc.; to oppose increases in war budgets and the granting of loans by the imperialists to the counter-revolutionary governments and militarists in the colonies; to fight against imperialist war preparations in concession territories and on railways and inland waterways in the colonies. d) To take measures to counter-act the butcheries perpetrated by the imperialists in the colonies and the support which they render to the native counter-revolutionary governments in suppressing the masses of the toilers.

40. The tactics to be adopted in the present struggle against intervention in China differ from the tactics adopted in the struggle against intervention at the time when a section of the Chinese bourgeoisie, and of the Kuomintang, still played a revolutionary role. The internecine wars of the various native military rulers, in the main, are an expression of the conflicts that prevail among the various imperialist powers over the

III. The Proletariat's Attitude Towards the Army.

41. One of the most serious mistakes the Communist Parties have committed hitherto, is that they regarded the war question from the abstract, purely propagandist and agitational point of view, and that they did not devote sufficient attention to the army, which is the decisive factor in all wars. Unless the significance of the revolutionary policy in the war question is explained to the broad masses, and unless work is carried on in the army, the struggle against imperialist war and attempts to prepare for revolutionary wars will never reach beyond the stage of theory.

For the most part, this mistake is due to the bad legacy inherited from the II. International, which, while never ceasing to declaim against imperialist wars, never carried on any work in the armies. Indeed, it described Karl Liebknecht as an "anarchist" because he demanded that such work be carried on. Instead of carrying out a revolutionary war policy, and instead of working in the armies, the II. International advocated the "abolition of standing armies" and their substitution by a "national militia". The slogan: "national militia", which was suitable for the period in which national States were struggling into existence in Europe, had some revolutionary significance in connection with the demand for the abolition of standing armies, so long as Tsarism and Absolutism represented a menace to revolution (up to the end of the 19th century). But with the growth of imperialism, this slogan became inadequate and finally became a chauvinistic slogan (Hyndman in 1912). The resuscitated II. International abandoned the demand for a "national militia" only in order to subordinate itself entirely to the political interests of the bourgeoisie in the various States. In France, under the guise of supporting the old slogan of a "national militia", the II. International is advocating an imperialist "national army"; in Germany and in Great Britain, on the pretext of advocating disarmament, it is supporting mercenary volunteer armies. The principle proclaimed by the II. International of "freedom for each nation to select the form of military organisation it desires" is tantamount to freedom to repeat the events of August 4th. Meanwhile, the Social Democratic flunkeys of the bourgeoisie are conducting a campaign of slander against the Red Army and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. and are spreading legends about "Red militarism".

42. As against this counter-revolutionary military policy, which serves the interests of the bourgeoisie, the Communists advance a revolutionary military policy, which serves the interests of international proletarian revolution. Of course, no hard and fast rules can be laid down as to the position to be adopted in regard to all armies in general. The proletariat must determine its attitude towards the army in accordance with the class and the policy the particular army serves. It is not the military system, or the form of organisation of the army in any given State that matters so much as, the political role that army plays, i. e., imperialistic, nationalist or proletarian. The Communist Parties must follow the precepts of Marx and Engels who, in the epoch of great national wars, opposed the petty bourgeois democratic utopia of militia and advocated universal military service, the democratisation of existing armies and their con-

partition of China. All the warring classes, which represent various factions of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, are counter-revolutionary. In view of the present situation in China, the international proletariat must combine its active struggles in defence of the Chinese workers and peasants with exposing the counter-revolutionary role all bourgeois governments and militarists play in China as the tools of imperialism. Support in the struggle against imperialism must be given only to the Chinese workers' and peasants' revolution. The slogan of going over to the side of the oppressed nation cannot be applied, at the present time, to the Chinese bourgeois armies. Despite this change in tactics, the struggle against intervention must under no circumstances be allowed to subside. The majority of the Communist Parties came to the conclusion that the change in tactics meant a weakening of the struggle against intervention, and in this they committed a grave error.

version into revolutionary armies. After the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels advocated the destruction of the bourgeois State that matters so much as, the political role that army plays, of standing bourgeois armies and their substitution by the armed nation, — these they regarded as the most important lessons to be learned from the Paris Commune from the standpoint of the proletarian revolution. The II. International distorted these precepts, but Lenin restored and developed them and drafted a military programme of the proletarian revolution.

A. THE PROLETARIAT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS ARMIES IN IMPERIALIST STATES.

43. In imperialist States the attitude of the proletariat towards armies is determined by the following:

No matter what their form of organisation may be, armies are a constituent part of the bourgeois State apparatus, which the proletariat, in the course of its revolution, must not democratise, but break up.

In the light of this task, the organisational difference between standing armies and militia, between conscript armies and volunteer armies, etc., disappears. The slogan: "Not a man, not a penny for the army", i. e. relentless struggle against bourgeois militarism, against its armies of whatever form, voting against war budgets, etc., holds good.

This attitude must be maintained equally towards standing armies and democratic militia, for both these forms of military organisation represent the armed forces of the bourgeoisie held against the proletariat. Democratic partial demands, which the proletariat must under no circumstances abandon, assume an altogether different character from those advanced during democratic revolutions: their purpose must be not to democratise armies but to disintegrate them.

The adoption of a uniform attitude towards the army in principle, does not mean that the important differences in the systems of defence and military organisation in the respective States must be ignored, for these differences are extremely important from the point of view of practical work.

44. Although imperialist armies are a part of the bourgeois State apparatus, nevertheless, owing to mutual rivalries and wars among the capitalist States, modern armies are tending more and more, directly or indirectly, to embrace the whole nation and to militarise it ("the armed nation", the militarisation of women, military training of the youth, etc.). This tendency subsided temporarily at the end of the world war; but at the present time, on the eve of a new war, it is manifesting itself again very strongly (United States, France, Poland). The immediate results of this tendency are, however, that the class antagonisms between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat — between the exploiters and the exploited — are being reflected in the armies, between the officer-class and the 'common people'. In the words of Engels, mass militarisation results in the disintegration of all armies from within. Hence, Communists must not "boycott" bourgeois armies, but must join them and

take revolutionary control of this objective process of internal disintegration.

The bourgeoisie is exerting every effort to create a reliable army by drilling, stern discipline, by isolating the soldiers from the ordinary population, by prohibiting the soldiers from taking part in politics, and, in certain cases, even by giving them a privileged social position.

In recent years, particularly in those countries where formerly conscription prevailed, and even where it is still in vogue, the bourgeoisie have been adopting the system of recruiting mercenary armies from certain selected elements (Germany, France). But this does not relieve the bourgeoisie of the necessity to militarise the masses. It can succeed in this only by combining the mercenary troops with the "national armies" or else by establishing a militia type of military organisation. It cannot stop the process of disintegration in the bourgeois armies; it can only retard this process and place severe obstacles in the way of revolutionary work in the army. For these reasons, the Communists are confronted with the important task of studying carefully the conditions created as a result of the measures adopted by the bourgeoisie and to counteract these measures by new methods of revolutionary work.

45. The proletariat's attitude towards imperialist armies is closely linked up with its attitude towards imperialist war. For that reason, defeatism, and the slogan of transforming the imperialist war into civil war indicate the manner in which the partial problems of the system of defence and military organisation should be approached.

Bourgeois militia, universal military service, the military training of the youth, etc., were all at one time advocated by revolutionary democracy. At the present time, however, they serve as ordinary reactionary instruments for oppressing the masses and for preparing for imperialist wars. Consequently, they must be combated as strenuously as possible. This applies also to those countries where the bourgeoisie has abolished conscription and adopted the voluntary system (for example in Germany). Although universal military service would facilitate revolutionary work and would provide the workers with opportunities for learning the use of arms, the Communists in imperialist countries must not demand the introduction of the system; they must oppose conscript armies in the same way as they oppose volunteer armies. The slogan: **transform imperialist war into civil war** indicates how the Communists must fight against measures for mass militarisation (introduction of conscription). By militarising the workers and training them in the use of arms, imperialism creates the pre-requisites for the victory of the proletariat in the civil war. Hence, the revolutionary proletariat must not combat mass militarisation with the arguments advanced by the pacifists. In conducting the struggle for revolution and for Socialism, we do not refuse to bear arms. The aim of our struggle is to expose the militarisation the imperialists introduce for the benefit of the bourgeoisie.

As against this sort of militarisation we advance the slogan: **Arm the proletariat.** Simultaneously, the Communists must advance and give support to the partial demands of the soldiers which, in a concrete situation, stimulate the class struggle in the armies and strengthen the alliance between the proletarian and peasant soldiers and the workers outside the ranks of the army.

46. The partial demands are approximately as follows:

1. Demands in Connection with the System of Defence:

Dissolution of mercenary forces; dissolution of standing and principal military units;

Disarming and dissolution of the gendarmerie, police and other special armed forces for civil war;

Disarming and dissolution of Fascist Leagues;

Concrete demands for the reduction of period of military service;

Introduction of the territorial system of military service; Abolition of compulsory residence in barracks; soldiers' committees;

The right of labour organisations to train their members in the use of arms, with the right to the free selection of instructors.

The fact that the reduction of the period of military service in some countries is being planned and carried out by the capitalist governments themselves, has given rise to doubts as

to whether we should put forward such a demand. But the reduction of the period of military service, **taken by itself**, under certain circumstances, means not the strengthening but the weakening of the military system. Consequently, this demand can be put forward as a general partial demand in relation to conscript armies under the following circumstances:

1) That a distinct defeatist line is maintained; 2) complete dissociation from analogous partial demands advanced by the Social Democrats; 3) that the illusion that this is a step towards the abolition of militarism is combated. It goes without saying that partial demands must always be concrete, i. e., that they must be put forward in such a form and at such a time that **the masses will understand them and support them**, and that they will help to revolutionise the masses. In those cases where a reduction of the period of military service is being planned by the capitalist governments, or is demanded by the Social Democrats, a fight must be put up against the measures that are usually adopted simultaneously with this for the purpose of strengthening the bourgeois system (militarisation of the whole population, the organisation of strong cadres of professional soldiers, etc.). The pseudo-democratic programme of reducing the period of military service must be countered by a defeatist programme of partial demands.

In the case of volunteer, mercenary armies, the demand should not be for the reduction of the period of military service, but for the right to leave the service whenever the soldier desires.

2. Demands in Connection with the Legal Rights and Economic Position of the Soldiers.

Increased pay for soldiers;

Improved maintenance;

The establishment of stores committees composed of soldiers' representatives;

Abolition of disciplinary punishments;

Abolition of compulsory saluting;

Severe penalties for officers and non-commissioned officers inflicting corporal punishment on private soldiers;

The right to wear mufti when off duty;

the right to be absent from barracks every day;

Furlough, and extra pay while on furlough;

The right to marry;

Maintenance for soldiers' families;

The right to subscribe to newspapers;

The right to organise in trade unions;

The right to vote; the right to attend political meetings.

The fact that in numerous imperialist countries a considerable percentage of the armies are recruited from among oppressed national minorities, whereas the officers either entirely or for the greater part belong to the oppressing nation, provides very favourable ground for revolutionary work in the army. Consequently, among the partial demands we advance in the interests of the masses of the soldiers should be included demands corresponding to the needs of these oppressed nationalities (for example: military service in their home district; the use of the native language in drilling and instruction, etc.).

47. The demands of both the above-mentioned categories (only a few of which have been enumerated) must not only be put forward in the army but also outside of it — in Parliament, at mass meetings, etc. Propaganda in support of these demands will be successful only if they bear a concrete character. In order that they may do so it is necessary:

1. To have a close acquaintance with the army, with the conditions of service, with the needs and demands of the soldiers, etc., which can only be acquired by maintaining close personal contact with the army.

2. To give consideration to the system of defence in the given States and to the situation in regard to the military question at the given moment.

3. To take into consideration the morale of the army and the political situation in the country at the given moment. For example, the demand for the election of officers, as a rule,

can be advanced only when the army has reached an advanced stage of disintegration.

4. To link up closely partial demands with the principal slogans of the Communist Party — arming the proletariat, proletarian militia, etc.

These demands will have revolutionary significance only if they are linked up with a distinct political programme for revolutionising the bourgeois army.

Special attention must be paid to organising the soldiers for the protection of their interests, in alliance with the revolutionary proletariat, prior to their being called up for service (recruits' leagues, mutual aid clubs), during the period of military service (soldiers' councils) and also after the conclusion of military service (revolutionary ex-servicemen's leagues). It must be the special task of the trade unions to maintain contact with their members in the army and to help them to form the above-mentioned organisations.

48. The conditions for revolutionary work in volunteer armies differ from the conditions for such work in conscript armies. In volunteer armies it is usually much more difficult to carry on agitation in support of partial demands like those mentioned above. Nevertheless, the work must be undertaken. The fact that in a majority of cases volunteer armies are recruited from among the proletariat (the unemployed) and from among the poor peasants, provides a social base for mass work among the soldiers. The forms of this work must be carefully adapted to the social composition and the special features of the troops. Strenuous agitation must be carried on among the masses against the special forces the bourgeoisie organise for class struggle against the proletariat (gendarmes and police) and especially against their volunteer forces (the Fascists). The reformists who talk loudly about the "public" utility" of these forces, about the "national police" and about Fascist "equality" must be relentlessly combated with particular energy, and every effort must be made to rouse a passionate hatred among the people towards these forces and to expose their real character. But every effort must be made to stimulate social differentiation even among these forces and to win over the proletarian elements in them.

49. Revolutionary work in the army must be linked up with the general revolutionary movement of the masses of the proletariat and poor peasantry. If an immediate revolutionary situation prevails, and if the industrial proletariat is beginning to establish Soviets, the slogan: establish soldiers' councils, assumes immediate practical importance and facilitates the work of uniting the masses of the soldiers with the proletariat and the poor peasantry in their struggle for power.

Wherever circumstances permit, the Communists must try to organise the masses of the soldiers in volunteer armies under the slogan of soldiers' councils, and mobilise them for the fight against the officers and the bourgeoisie. Where the social composition of certain units do not permit of this being done, the Communists must demand the immediate disarming and dissolution of such military units.

B. THE MILITARY QUESTION DURING THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

50. The main slogans upon which the democratic partial demands are based are: disarm the bourgeoisie; arm the proletariat.

The arming of the proletariat assumes various forms at various stages of the revolution. In the period prior to the seizure of power, and in the first period after the seizure of power, it takes the form of a proletarian militia, — a militia of the toilers, the Red Guard, and also Red Guerilla detachments. The Red Army is the form of military organisation of the Soviet Government, i. e., it is the army of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The demand for a proletarian militia (a militia consisting of toilers, a workers' and peasants' militia) in an imperialist country is merely another way of formulating the demand for arming the proletariat and can be put forward only in the inevitable transitional stage in the military policy of the pro-

letarian revolution, in the period prior to the organisation of the Red Army. Where there is no immediate revolutionary situation, this slogan can have only a propagandist significance. Nevertheless, it may become an immediately practical slogan in the fight against Fascism.

At all events, the demand for a proletarian militia, or for a militia of the toilers, can only be put in the form of a direct appeal to the proletariat and not as a demand upon the bourgeois government. That being the case, this demand should be made to governments, or to parliaments, only in exceptional circumstances (for example, where there is a Social Democratic government, or where there is a Social Democratic majority in parliament, or among the masses). Under such circumstances, the demand must be put forward only as a means for exposing the Social Democratic Party.

The Red Guard is an organ of rebellion. It is the duty of the Communists to agitate for the establishment of such a Red Guard and to organise it when an immediate revolutionary situation arises.

51. Under no circumstances must it be forgotten that the existence of a proletarian militia, or a Red Guard, in imperialist countries, under a bourgeois State and in a state of "peace", is absolutely impossible.

The proletarian militia is the armed organisation of the proletariat fighting for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat or, an organ of the proletarian dictatorship for the purpose of suppressing the exploiters. This distinguishes our slogan of proletarian militia from the reformist plans for establishing yellow "workers' defence corps", consisting of specially selected, ignorant, or bribed proletarian elements. The latter kind of "labour defence corps" was used for the purpose of disrupting and restraining the proletariat in the struggle in the Ruhr in May 1923, and after the Vienna uprising in 1927. It is the duty of the Communists strenuously to combat these despicable manoeuvres of the Social Democrats.

52. A distinction must be made between the militant slogan of workers' militia, proletarian militia and Red Guard — to be established prior to the capture of power, and which represent the rudiments of the Red Army, — and the forms of militia which must arise after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established and consolidated, in the period when the State and classes are dying out. In order to protect itself against imperialism, the proletariat must have a strong, disciplined, well-armed and efficient Red Army. Under present conditions, this function can be fulfilled only by a standing army representing the core of the armed mass of the toiling population. To demand from the dictatorship of the proletariat, when it is surrounded by a capitalist environment, the immediate and complete transition to the militia system, is petty bourgeois and counter-revolutionary stupidity. The more or less complete introduction of the militia principle in its pure form without any weakening of military power will be possible only when the productive forces have been completely developed, when Socialism has been fully established and the masses have been thoroughly trained in the spirit of Communism. Only when the proletarian revolution has been victorious in a number of big capitalist States will the proletarian government (as the VIII. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. has declared) be in a position to substitute the standing Red Army by a class militia.

At all events, the spirit, discipline and system of organisation of the defence force of the dictatorship of the proletariat must bear a distinctly class character. Elements belonging to the exploiting class must not be permitted to serve in the ranks.

C. THE PROLETARIAT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS ARMIES IN COLONIAL AND SEMI-COLONIAL COUNTRIES.

53. With the opening of the period of national revolutions and wars of oppressed nations against imperialism, the military question assumed decisive importance in all colonial and semi-colonial countries. This is true of countries which are, or have been, in a state of war with imperialism (China, Morocco, Syria, Nicaragua) as well as of those countries in which open war is not yet being conducted (India, Egypt, Mexico, the Philippines, Korea). Clearly, the military question in relation

to national wars against imperialism must be formulated differently from that in relation to imperialist States.

54. It must not be forgotten that two altogether different types of armies exist in these countries at the present time. On the one hand we have national armies (which are not always revolutionary armies) and on the other hand we have imperialist armies (which are either expeditionary forces despatched from the home country or armies consisting of natives of other colonial countries or else armies recruited in the given colonial country). In China we have both types of armies and also an example of how national armies become practically converted into imperialist armies. After Chang Kai-shek's coup, the Southern national army became transformed into an army practically serving imperialist aims. Obviously, the attitude of the proletariat and of the revolutionary toiling masses towards these two types of armies must be different. With regard to the national armies, the military programme of Marx and Engels of 1848—1870 i. e., the democratisation of these armies for the purpose of converting them into revolutionary armies, must be applied with certain modifications. In regard to the imperialist armies, we can apply only the defeatist programme, i. e., disintegration from within. In the event of special officer units or bourgeois class military organisations existing, efforts must be made to isolate and liquidate them, i. e., the programme which must be applied in imperialist countries must be applied here.

From the point of view of tactics there exists a third type of army in colonial and semi-colonial countries in addition to the two types already mentioned, i. e., the army commanded by the imperialists, and in which a struggle is proceeding between the national movement and the imperialists (India, Egypt, Indo-China, Syria, Algiers, Tunis, etc.).

In such cases, the elements of both programmes must be combined according to concrete circumstances, i. e., the defeatist programme must be applied to the armies, or certain units of these armies which are under the command of the imperialists, and at the same time the slogans of the armed nation (militia) and a national army must be advanced.

The slogan for a national army must be advanced when the concrete situation is suitable for it and put forward in such a way as to prevent it being misused by the imperialists and their flunkeys (complete independence of the army from the imperialists, organisation of the army on the widest democratic basis, election of officers, etc.).

The slogan: withdraw the imperialist armies from the colonies; withdraw the imperialist cadres and officers from native armies, must be advanced in colonies as well as in the home countries.

55. In order to determine the attitude to be taken towards the military system in colonial and semi-colonial countries, consideration must be given to the political role being played by the given country at the given moment, in the decisive stages of the international revolution, i. e., whether it is an ally or a foe of the Soviet Union, of the Chinese Revolution, etc. On the whole, the proletariat, and the revolutionary masses among the oppressed nations, must demand the democratic system of armaments in which all the toilers are able to learn the use of arms, which will improve the defence of the country against imperialism, secure the influence of the workers and peasants in the army, and facilitate the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat in the democratic revolution.

Unlike the position in regard to the imperialist States, the slogans: universal military service, the military training of the youth, a democratic militia, a national army, etc., must be included in the revolutionary military programme in colonial and semi-colonial countries. In the present historical epoch, however, the tactics of the national revolutionary movement must be subordinated to the interests of the world proletarian revolution. Revolutionaries cannot advance such a programme in oppressed countries which are themselves oppressors and act as the vassals of the imperialists in a war against proletarian, or national revolutions. In such countries Communists must unflinchingly combine their propaganda in favour of revolutionary war for the defence of other revolutionary countries, and their propaganda in favour of a revolutionary military policy, with a defeatist position in relation to the given war or army. Such a position must be

taken up at the present time in those provinces in China which are under the rule of Kuomintang generals.

56. In laying down the military programme for oppressed countries, consideration must be given to the stage of economic and political development of those countries.

1. In those countries in which the democratic revolution has not yet been accomplished, the slogan of the armed nation (national militia) must be adopted, particularly in those countries where the class rupture between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is not yet very strongly expressed (Syria, Morocco, and Egypt). This slogan must be linked up with democratic demands directed against feudalism and the feudal and bourgeois officers. In countries in which class differentiation is strongly expressed, but where the bourgeois revolution has not yet been accomplished, for example in Latin American countries, this slogan must bear the class character of a workers' and peasants' militia.

2. In countries passing through the stage of democratic revolution, the slogan for militia will prove inadequate and must therefore be expanded into the slogan: organise a revolutionary army. This, of course, does not prevent the militia slogan from being advanced at the same time, particularly in preparing for rebellion. It must be noted, that arming the proletariat does not contradict the demand for the armed nation; in fact, the armed proletariat is a fundamental part of the armed nation. While participating in the general organisations of the armed nation, it is absolutely essential to set up special, proletarian, armed units, commanded by officers elected by these units.

3. In countries passing from the stage of democratic revolution to proletarian revolution, the military programme of the Communists in imperialist countries may be adopted, with certain concrete modification.

The slogan proletarian militia (a militia of the toilers, a workers' and peasants' militia) takes the place of the demand for a democratic militia. When, in the process of the revolution in the colonies, the question of the immediate seizure of power arises, the question of organising a Red Army must be brought up simultaneously with the organisation of Soviets. The old, revolutionary, democratic forms of army organisation must be substituted by class forms, dictated by the proletarian revolution.

57. In the fight against imperialism, for the carrying out of a national-revolutionary military policy, it is absolutely necessary to conduct systematic agitational and propagandist work among the colonial armies. Communists and national revolutionaries must therefore carefully study the various types of colonial armies and to devise effective methods for working among the various types. As the case of China shows, work in badly-disciplined and badly-paid native mercenary troops, frequently has many chances of success.

In such cases, the partial demands may be somewhat similar to those enumerated above for imperialist States; but here too, a careful study must be made of the concrete circumstances (class composition of the army, morale of the troops, economic conditions, etc.). Special attention must be paid to the formulation of the demands of the native troops and to combating illtreatment of the native troops by the white officers.

The character of the work that Communists must carry on in national armies will differ from that in other types of armies, but it is extremely important that this work should be done as the experience of the national war in China in 1926—27 has shown. In this case, the task of the Communists is to organise nuclei throughout the whole of the army; to make it a more conscious instrument in the fight against imperialism; in the interests of the national revolution to fight against the unreliable elements among the officers, and where the command is not yet in the hands of the Communists to subject the command to the control of the soldiers by the application of wide revolutionary democracy. It must always be borne in mind that the system of electing officers prevailed in the army of the Convent during the French revolution, and that that army achieved great victories, whereas the absolutely undemocratic system of organisation of the Southern armies in China in 1926—27 greatly facilitated the treacherous turn taken by the bourgeoisie and their generals.

IV. The Proletariat's Attitude Towards the Question of Disarmament and the Fight against Pacifism.

58. Imperialism at the present time encounters serious obstacles in its ideological and organisational preparations for new imperialist counter-revolutionary wars, viz., the instinctive hostility to war aroused among the broad masses of the population, particularly among the workers, the peasants and the working women, since the last world war. For that reason, imperialism is compelled to make its preparations for war under the cloak of pacifism. At the same time, pacifism is acquiring a new objective significance as the ideology and the instrument in world imperialism's struggle against the progressing world revolution and its stronghold, the U.S.S.R. Herein lie the objective significance and the fundamental aim of the disarmament proposals and conferences initiated by the imperialist States, and particularly of the "work" of the League of Nations in this sphere: the discussions on "security"; the proposal to establish arbitration courts; the pacts for the "outlawry of war", etc. The purpose of all these pacifist schemes, treaties, and conferences are: a) to camouflage imperialist armaments; b) to enable certain Great Powers to manoeuvre against each other for the purpose of securing, by treaties, a reduction in their rivals' armaments, while at the same time to increase their own military power; c) to enable the Great Powers to reach temporary agreements guaranteeing their domination over the weak and oppressed countries; d) to carry out ideological and political mobilisation against the Soviet Union under the cloak of pacifist slogans, or direct preparation for war.

For this reason, to fight against disarmament swindle and pacifism is one of the fundamental tasks in the struggle against imperialist war at the present time.

A. THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC DISARMAMENT PROGRAMME AND LENINISM.

59. The principal instrument in the imperialist disarmament farce is Social Democracy, which sows among the masses illusions about the possibility of disarmament and abolishing war without overthrowing imperialism. Among the Social Democrats there are two tendencies on the question of disarmament, both of which however, are tendencies of bourgeois pacifism.

One of these tendencies, the herald of which Kautsky became already in 1911, "discovers" non-existent objective forces of capitalism, which are alleged to be operating in the direction of disarmament and the abolition of war. This tendency represents the policy of co-operating with the "Left" bourgeoisie for the purpose of limiting armaments, concluding international agreements between the imperialists for preventing, or altogether "outlawing", war, etc. Already in 1916 Lenin described this tendency as "absolutely bourgeois pacifism". In 1914-1918 these views comprised the ideology of the "Centre"; but when the world war came to an end and the imperialist governments began to resort to pacifist manoeuvres it became the policy of the leaders of the II. International. This policy is supported by the Right Wing as well as by the majority of the "Left" Social Democrats. It is presented as the policy of "realist" pacifism, but it in no way differs from the policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

With this policy is associated the "organised capitalism" theory, according to which, capitalism, in the present imperialist stage, itself develops the objective factors for abolishing war from the realm of the "civilised world" etc. It is also associated with the theory of "ultra-imperialism", of imperialist "alliances", "pacts", and international cartels as a means for removing imperialist antagonisms. As a matter of fact, imperialism reveals no tendency whatever towards the abolition of war. On the contrary, all the facts which the "realist" pacifists enumerate for the purpose of lulling the masses, are symptoms of the preparations of imperialist war on the largest possible scale, of wars in which, not individual States, but whole groups of allied States, will be involved against each other.

A United States of Europe or a United States of the World is a utopian dream under the capitalist system. But even if such could be established, they would inevitably be reactionary,

because they would represent an alliance for the suppression of the proletarian revolution and of the national liberation movements of colonial peoples. All the tendencies within this main tendency (for example the Pan-European movement) are out and out reactionary.

60. The adherents to the second tendency come out as "radical", or "revolutionary" pacifists, and demand complete disarmament, not only of the bourgeoisie but also of the proletariat, i. e., they reject the slogan of arming the proletariat. At the time of the imperialist war, this slogan was adopted by a number of revolutionary internationalists, who found no other way of expressing their honest desires to abolish militarism. It was not a revolutionary slogan, however, for it failed to take into account, or completely rejected, the necessity for arming the proletariat and for civil war; objectively, it was an expression of the desperation of the petty bourgeoisie. Lenin's criticism of this slogan, expressed in 1916, holds good to this day, and must be employed even more sharply today, notwithstanding the fact that the number of those who support this slogan is now extremely insignificant. The October Revolution has proved to every honest revolutionary the absolute necessity for arming the proletariat. To substitute the slogan of disarming the proletariat for the slogan of arm the proletariat, can serve at the present time only as a counter-revolutionary slogan. For that reason the Communists must take great pains to explain the true position to those workers who sympathise with the slogan of disarming, particularly in the smaller countries, and to fight as strenuously as possible against the "Left" leaders who advocate it. This applies also to the theory that international guarantees and "arbitration courts" can abolish war. Such institutions are merely soap-bubbles, which burst at the very first serious conflict, or else serve as instruments in the hands of the more powerful imperialist robbers.

There is only one point on which both Social Democratic tendencies can agree on questions of disarmament and pacifism, and that is, that the principal obstacle to disarmament are the countries where "there is no democracy", i. e., the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R.

B. THE SOVIET DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS.

61. Already in the theses of the VIII. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. emphasis was laid on the point, that the international proletariat must take up an altogether different position in principle towards the Soviet Union's point of view on the question of disarmament from the position it must take up towards the hypocritical proposals for disarmament advanced by the capitalist States. In view of the exceptional importance of this question in the fight against pacifism, it must be very clearly presented and explained to the masses.

The proposals for general and complete disarmament submitted by the Soviet Government to the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament called by the League of Nations in November 1927, differ radically in aim, sincerity and objective significance from the phrases and schemas submitted by the imperialists and their Social Democratic flunkies.

The aim of the Soviet proposals is not to spread pacifist illusions, but to destroy them; not to support capitalism by ignoring or toning down its shady sides, but to propagate the fundamental Marxian postulate, that disarmament and the abolition of war are possible only with the fall of capitalism.

The Soviet Government called upon the imperialists who talk cynically about disarming, actually to disarm; it tore down the pacifist masks from their faces. It goes without saying, that not a single Communist thought for a moment that the imperialists would accept the Soviet disarmament proposals. Nevertheless, the Soviet Government's proposals were not hypocritical, they were made in all sincerity, because they in no way contradict the domestic and foreign policy of the workers' government, whereas, imperialist "disarmament" phrasemongering contradicts the policy of bourgeois States, — the policy of plunder and oppression. The Soviet Government represents the dictatorship of the proletariat in the interests

of the majority of the population, who had been exploited for centuries. The Soviet Government does not conduct a policy of plunder and oppression; its policy is a peace policy, in the interests of the international proletariat.

The Soviet Union's proposals differ from the bourgeois and Social Democratic proposals also in their **objective significance**. They do not serve as a screen to conceal a policy of aggression; they do not express the desperation of the petty bourgeoisie; they express one of the aims of Socialism, which the revolutionary proletariat will achieve after it has achieved victory all over the world.

62. In their opposition to the Soviet disarmament proposals, the Social Democrats resorted to the most venomous means and utilised the slogans supplied to them by Trotskyism. They tried to discredit the disarmament proposals of the Soviet Government in the eyes of the masses by declaring them to be a "revision of Leninism", a transition to "Thermidor", etc. Enough has been stated above to prove that this is despicable slander. After the Soviet proposals for complete disarmament were rejected, the Soviet Delegation, in March 1928, submitted a second scheme, which provided for partial disarmament and for a gradual reduction of land and naval forces. This was not a concession to pacifism. On the contrary, it served to expose more completely the attitude of the Great Powers towards the small and oppressed nations. The Soviet Government's position on the question of disarmament is a continuation of Lenin's policy, and a consistent application of his precepts.

C. THE PROLETARIAT'S FIGHT AGAINST PACIFISM.

63. The workers in the Soviet Union, having defeated the bourgeoisie in civil war and having established the dictatorship of the proletariat in their country, may adopt a new method in their fight against pacifism — that venomous tool of im-

perialism — namely, to propose general disarmament to the imperialists. But the proletariat which is still fighting for power in capitalist States, cannot employ such a method. It would not be a revolutionary act for the proletariat in these countries to propose to, or demand, disarmament from their bourgeoisie and their flunkies; it would merely mean the substitution of the slogan of arm the proletariat for the slogan of disarm the proletariat; it would mean the rejection of civil war and of Socialism. Hence, Communists must strenuously combat the wrong conclusions drawn from the Soviet Government's disarmament proposals, — conclusions which contradict the revolutionary sense of this programme — and must ruthlessly condemn such a deviation in their own ranks.

64. The difference between the methods of combating pacifism employed by the proletariat in the Soviet Union and those adopted by the working class in capitalist countries does not mean that there is a contradiction between the two; nor does it follow that Communists in capitalist countries must not make use of the Soviet Government's declaration on disarmament in carrying on agitation among the masses. On the contrary, the disarmament policy of the Soviet Government must be utilised for purposes of agitation much more energetically and to a wider extent that has been done hitherto. However, they must not be utilised as a pretext for advancing similar demands in the capitalist countries, but as a means: 1. for recruiting sympathisers for the Soviet Union — the champion of peace and Socialism. 2. for utilising the results of the Soviet disarmament policy and its exposure of the imperialists in the effort to eradicate all pacifist illusions and to carry on propaganda among the masses in support of the only way towards disarmament and abolition of war, viz., arming of the proletariat, overthrowing the bourgeoisie and establishing the proletarian dictatorship.

V. Defects in the Work of the Communist Parties, and Their Tasks.

65. The VIII. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. called attention to a number of errors committed by the Communist Parties and to the defects in their work, and laid down a number of special and concrete tasks to be fulfilled by all the Sections of the Comintern in the fight against war.

The opinion expressed by the VIII. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. still holds good. Since the VIII. Plenum we have gained more experience, and from this the VI. Congress draws certain conclusions in relation to the future activities of the Communist Parties.

66. The principal defect from which all the Sections of the Communist International still suffer, is their underestimation of the danger and inevitability of war. This is clearly seen from the fact that none of the Sections displays sufficient energy in carrying out the decisions of the VIII. Plenum. The two greatest events in recent times — the British Note to Egypt and Japan's war in China, passed unobserved, as if they were minor, altogether unimportant incidents. In view of the rapid swing to the left of the masses, which indicates that the masses sense the danger of war, — the Communists stand in danger of trailing behind the working class instead of leading it in the fight against war. Many Sections of the Comintern are influenced by the bourgeois and Social Democratic propaganda for "peace", "disarmament", and "international arbitration": they are not concerned with the imminence of the war danger and speak about war as something very remote.

The under-estimation of the danger of war, particularly of war against the Soviet Union, manifests itself in the failure to understand concrete facts and events which are symptomatic of the preparations now being made for war. When Comrade Rakovsky was recalled the French comrades failed for a long time to understand the significance of this incident as a decided step on the part of France on the road of diplomatic preparation for war against the Soviet Union. The Party in Yugoslavia admits that it did not understand how imminent the danger of war was in the Italo-Yugoslav conflict. Several of the Communist Parties in the Baltic countries did not immediately understand the real significance of the concrete measures that are being taken for the formation of an anti-Soviet bloc of the Baltic States (for example the negotiations for a Customs Union

between Estonia and Latvia). All these mistakes, which were subsequently admitted and rectified by the respective Parties, prove how extremely dangerous it is to ignore the measures being taken for the preparation of war. The Parties must maintain constant vigilance and watch the concrete forms which the war danger is assuming.

67. One of the principal defects in the Parties' work against war is their excessively abstract, schematic, and even shallow attitude to the war question.

Certain of the Sections confine their activities to speeches in parliament and at public meetings, in which speeches the question of war is usually left in the background. Our Parties have not yet learned to combine the parliamentary struggle against war with work outside of parliament for the purpose of popularising our demands (the work of the Czechoslovak Communists in connection with the St. Gothard affair and the despatch of arms to China consisted of mild protests in parliament and in the columns of the press). International problems must not be separated from war problems, for both are a part of the general class struggle and must be linked up with class conflicts at home, particularly with conflicts in enterprises engaged solely in the production of war material.

The mechanisation of the armed forces and the militarisation of industry are directly connected with war and call for strenuous activity in these branches of industry as well as in the trade unions and other labour organisations connected with them. So far, there is little to show that the Communist Parties have commenced to take up these elementary tasks seriously.

68. The abstract manner in which the war problem is regarded is shown by the failure of the Parties to take up a definite position on the question of war policy. Sometimes the Parties either fail altogether to react, or react too late, to the anti-militarist tricks of the Social Democrats, which frequently find support among the masses (for example the campaign conducted by the Social Democrats in Germany in which they posed as being "opponents of war on principle"). Sometimes the Communist Parties try to evade the concrete problems of war politics by employing general phrases and repeating abstract propaganda slogans, instead of taking up practical tasks.

This applies particularly to army questions. In this a tendency is observed to evade the question of fighting for concrete partial demands and reforms which would actually weaken militarism (such as, reduction of period of military service, the question of the composition of volunteer armies, etc.). **The fight for reforms** is left entirely to the Social Democrats, against whom no genuine proletarian political programme on the army question — a programme for weakening militarism and of practical proposals for the arming of the workers — is put forward.

Only a few sections have taken the necessary organisational measures for conducting systematic anti-militarist work. The work among soldiers and seamen in countries which are very important from the point of view of war danger is very unsatisfactory. **The mass character of this work**, its use as a means for carrying on agitation and propaganda among the soldiers, are not understood. In some countries, anti-militarist activity among the youth is conducted on too restricted a basis, while no attempt is made to establish an adequate organisational base among the masses of the soldiers. The fact that work among sailors is not carried on with sufficient energy in imperialist countries shows that the role of the navy in a future war is underestimated. In no country has systematic use been made of family influence upon the men serving in the army or the navy, and upon recruits.

69. Almost in all countries is observed a failure to properly appreciate the enormous importance of carrying on work among the peasants, among national minorities and in the colonies. The closest attention must be devoted to all these spheres of work.

Anti-militarist work in the rural districts must not be conducted solely by means of a few casual campaigns, parades, demonstrations, etc. Planned and systematic work must be carried on and linked up with the immediate demands of the toiling peasantry. A special task is to work among the peasant youth. It is imperatively necessary to devote special attention to the establishment of connections between the villages and the peasant soldiers in the army, by means of correspondence, soldiers on furlough, etc. Experience in such work will be of enormous value in the event of war.

In our work among **national minorities**, we must more determinedly than hitherto, champion the demands of the oppressed nations, fight against the tyrannical actions of the imperialist government against them, and guide the work of the national revolutionary organisations.

The Communist Parties must maintain permanent contact with the Communist organisations and trade unions in the respective colonial countries. They must render every support, by means of mass action, to the revolutionary movements in the colonies.

The Communist Parties of all countries must devote special attention to the setting up of non-Party organisations like the League for the Struggle Against Imperialism and to the question of establishing a united front between the proletariat in capitalist countries and the national liberation movements in subject countries for the struggle against war.

70. **The fight against fascism** has not up till now received sufficient attention from many of the Sections. The greatest initiative must be displayed in this connection, both in regard to the ideological struggle, as well as in regard to revolutionary mass actions against Fascism. In this, not only should attention be given to avowedly Fascist organisations but also to semi-Fascist tendencies and organisations existing under the guise of democratic, or Social Democratic bodies (like the "Imperial Flag", in Germany; the Social Fascist tendencies of development in the higher ranks of the Social Democratic and trade union bureaucracy; factory Fascism, etc.). The fight against Fascism in all its forms must be closely linked up with the fight against imperialist war.

71. We are witnessing at the present time a fresh wave of bourgeois propaganda in favour of "peace" and "disarmament" and for the "outlawry of war". Hitherto, the fight against this sort of pacifism has not been conducted with sufficient energy, and the same may be said in regard to the fight against the Social Democratic propaganda against the alleged "Red Imperialism" of the Soviet Union and "Bolshevism as a factor making for war". The exposure of the real character of the League of Nations which is playing a decisive part in the work of creating pacifist illusions among the masses of the people, has not been carried on systematically or with sufficient energy.

In the majority of cases, the very important Communist task arising from the results of the Geneva Conference, viz., to combine the struggle against war with propaganda for the proletarian dictatorship and arming of the proletariat, was forgotten. In some countries, utterly pacifist mistakes were committed which were expressed in the advocacy of the slogan of disarmament.

72. The majority of the Communist Parties, after the VIII. Plenum failed to devote sufficient attention to popularising the proper Leninist method of fighting against war **among the members of the party**. Neither in the theoretical journals, nor in the ordinary Party press, were the fundamental problems connected with the fight against war adequately discussed; nor were the concrete partial demands connected with this fight properly elucidated. The latter must be noted as a particularly grave defect in the Parties' work, for in many cases these problems were extremely urgent, and the Social Democratic press devoted fairly considerable attention to them.

The work of the Parties suffers also from a lack of ideological clarity on all these problems. Certain comrades (in France, Switzerland and in Austria) raised the question of "national defence" in the event of war with Italy. Others advocated a complete "boycott" of military training camps (in America). All these examples of deviations, although subsequently rectified by the leading Party bodies, show how necessary it is to conduct, in the Party ranks, as well as among the masses, serious and extensive propaganda work on the question of the war danger and the methods of combating it.

73. The principal agitational tasks in the struggle against the war danger, and particularly against the provocation and preparation for war against the Soviet Union are as follows:

1. In view of the imminence of the war danger, the principal and central agitational slogans must be: "defence of the Soviet Union", "Support the revolutionary struggle in colonial and subject countries", "Fight against imperialist war".

2. Agitational work must be steadily directed towards the exposure of the predatory strivings of various imperialist groups in all countries. It must be particularly directed against the American imperialists; against the British imperialists, who are leading the preparations for war against the Soviet Union; and against the British and Japanese imperialists who are leading the military intervention in China. The demand must be made for the publication of all secret treaties and secret military alliances.

3. The Social Democratic proposal for "limited armaments", their defence of the Geneva Protocol, and of compulsory arbitration, must be criticised and exposed.

4. An energetic campaign of exposure must be carried on against "industrial peace", class collaboration, neutral (non-political) unions and "company unions" advocated by the reformist trade union leaders, and which, in fact are measures in the preparation for war.

5. Work must be immediately commenced to explain to the workers, in the coming war, why they must stand for the defeat of their imperialist country. The slogan "transform imperialist war into civil war", must already become the leading idea in our propaganda, before imperialist war breaks out.

6. All the Communist Parties must conduct the fight against the imperialist partition of China by means of wide mass campaigns, and by combating the special military and political measures initiated by the Great Powers. This fight is closely linked up with the fight against the danger of new imperialist wars.

74. The most important measures to be taken, the majority of which have already been indicated in the Theses of the VIII. Plenum, are the following: Women and Children's demonstrations on the routes taken by troops on the way to the front and places of embarkation, and also women, children's and disabled soldiers' demonstrations outside parliaments. Anti-war agitation in proletarian and petty bourgeois women's organisations, the convening of women delegate conferences under anti-imperialist war slogans; the calling of meetings of working women outside factory gates and in working class districts from which delegates shall be elected; to utilise the existing and to set up new women delegate conferences, which must serve as permanent bodies for conducting campaigns against imperialist war. The tactics of the united front and work in "Hands Off Russia" committees must

be conducted more effectively than hitherto. Moreover, trade unions must be persuaded to affiliate to these committees. A fight must be conducted along the whole line against Fascism, which is one of the armed units of the counter-revolution. Wherever possible, mass organisations, like the German Red Front Fighters League, must be set up. Anti-Fascist and anti-war work must be carried on in sport organisations. Existing class War Victims' Organisations (Disabled Soldiers' Leagues, War Widows' Organisations, etc.) must be utilised and strengthened for the purpose of fighting against imperialist war. The Young Communist Leagues, in close contact with the Communist Parties, must carry on strenuous work among the working and peasant youth, from among whom the soldiers are recruited. Existing proletarian teachers', parents' and pupils' organisations and Communist Children's groups must also be utilised. New children's organisations must be established for the purpose of combating imperialist influences in the schools.

75. The task of preparing the Communist Parties themselves is one of first class importance. The spreading of a profounder consciousness of international solidarity among the Sections of the Comintern is a necessary condition precedent for the preparedness of the Communist Parties for war.

The closest possible contact must be established between all the Sections before the outbreak of war, and every means must be employed to maintain these contacts throughout the whole course of the war.

The terror against the Communist Parties, and the revolutionary movement as a whole, that will accompany the mobilisation, will assume unparalleled intensity. Thousands of Communists and revolutionary workers, whose names have been

listed beforehand, will be put away in concentration camps. The imperialists will not only try to destroy the legal Communist Parties but the whole apparatus and leadership of the underground parties as well.

The Communist Parties must immediately set to work to prepare to meet this situation. The legal Communist Parties must exert every effort to prepare for the timely transition to underground conditions. The underground parties must make preparations to adapt their leadership and their organisations to conditions of a worse terror than prevails at present. Timely preparations must be made for the changing of organisational methods and for changing the organisational contacts from top to bottom. Party members must be prepared beforehand for the new situation that will arise in connection with the mobilisation and the opening of hostilities.

76. The VI. World Congress recalls to the minds of all Communists what Lenin said about the fight against war being by no means an easy matter. It urges upon the Parties to subject themselves to thorough self-criticism and systematically to verify what has been done up till now in the fight against the war danger and for preparing the Party for the struggle during the war. It enjoins them ruthlessly to bring to light and immediately to rectify all mistakes that have been committed.

The VI. Congress calls upon all the Sections to give the struggle against war a more international character and to take preparatory measures for the international co-ordination of revolutionary action in order that they may be in a position at the required moment to carry out important international mass action against imperialist war.

Resolution on the International Campaign against War.

In view of the active preparations the imperialist powers are making for an attack upon the U. S. S. R., of the ripening military conflicts between the capitalist sharks and the intervention in China also proceeding; in view also of the treacherous role being played by international Social Democracy of all shades, which is disarming the workers in the face of the capitalist offensive and is at the same time actively and cynically helping the imperialist groups in the various countries in their preparations for another world butchery, the Congress is of the opinion that it is the duty of all Communists, in the present tense situation, to intensify the struggle against the war danger and to set to work immediately to carry out an international campaign against the impending imperialist war.

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

demonstrate against the capitalist offensive under the slogans: "War Against Imperialist War"; "United Workers Front Against the Capitalist Offensive"; "Defend the Soviet Union"; "To the Aid of the Revolutionary Peoples in the Colonies"; "Expose the Lies of the Social Patriots"; "Establish Proletarian Defence Organisations".

The Central Committees of the various Communist Parties must draw up practical measures, corresponding to the concrete conditions in their respective countries, for carrying out International Day (mass meetings, street demonstrations, protest strikes, and other forms of action).

The Congress instructs the Executive Committee to take all the necessary measures for organising such an international campaign, to co-ordinate all the measures taken for this purpose and to arrange for simultaneous action in order, in accordance with the decisions of the Congress, to secure that the campaign against war shall be intensified and that the broad masses of the toilers, including the soldiers, shall be brought into it.

Constitution and Rules of the Communist International.

I. NAME AND OBJECTS.

1. The Communist International — the International Workers' Association — is a union of Communist Parties in various countries; it is a World Communist Party. As the leader and organiser of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the bearer of the principles and aims of Communism, the Communist International strives to win over the majority of the working class and the broad strata of the property-less peasantry, fights for the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, for the complete abolition of classes and for the achievement of Socialism — the first stage of Communist society.

2. The various Parties affiliated to the Communist International are called the Communist Party of, ...name of country (Section of the Communist International). In any given country there can be only one Communist Party affiliated to the Communist International and representing its Section in that country.

3. Membership of the Communist Party and of the Communist International is open to all those who accept the programme and rules of the given Communist Party and of the Communist International, who join one of the basic units of a Party, actively work in it, abide by all the decisions of the Party and of the Communist International, and regularly pay Party dues.

4. The basic unit of the Communist Party organisation is the nucleus in the place of employment (factory, workshop, mine, office, store, farm, etc.) which unites all the Party members employed in the given enterprise.

5. The Communist International and its Sections are built up on the basis of democratic centralism, the fundamental principles of which are: a) election of all the leading committees of the Party, subordinate and superior, (by general meetings of Party members, conferences, congresses and international congresses); b) periodical reports by leading Party committees to their constituents; c) decisions of superior Party committees to be obligatory for subordinate committees, strict Party discipline and prompt execution of the decisions of the Communist International, of its leading committees and of the leading Party organs.

Party questions may be discussed by the members of the Party and by Party organisations until such time as a decision is taken upon them by the competent Party committees. After a decision has been taken by the Congress of the Communist International, by the Congress of the respective Sections, or by leading committees of the Comintern, and of its various Sections, these decisions must be unreservedly carried out even if a Section of the Party membership or of the local Party organisations are in disagreement with it.

In cases where a Party exists illegally, the superior Party committees may appoint the subordinate committees and coopt members on their own committees, subject to subsequent endorsement by the competent superior Party committees.

6. In all non-Party, workers' and peasants' mass organisations and in their leading committees (trade unions, co-operative societies, sport organisations, ex-service mem's organisative societies, sport organisations, ex-service men's organisative bodies and in parliament, even if there are only two Party members in such organisations and bodies, Communist fractions must be formed for the purpose of strengthening the Party's influence and for carrying out its policy in these organisations and bodies.

7. The Communist fractions are subordinated to the competent Party bodies.

Note:

1. Communist fractions in international organisations (Red International of Labour Unions, International Class War Prisoners Aid Society, International Workers Relief etc.) are subordinate to the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

2. The organisational structure of the Communist fractions and the manner in which their work is guided are determined by special instructions from the Executive Committee of the Communist International and from the Central Committees of the given Sections of the Comintern.

II. THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

8. The supreme body of the Communist International is the World Congress of representatives of all Parties (Sections) and organisations affiliated to the Communist International.

The World Congress discusses and decides programme, tactical and organisational questions connected with the activities of the Communist International and of its various Sections. Power to alter the programme and rules of the Communist International lies exclusively with the World Congress of the Communist International.

The World Congress shall be convened once every two years. The date of the Congress and the number of representatives from the various Sections to the Congress to be determined by the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The number of decisive votes to be allocated to each Section at the World Congress shall be determined by a special decision of the Congress itself, in accordance with the membership of the given Party and the political importance of the given country. Delegates to the Congress must have a free mandate; no imperative mandate can be recognised.

9. Special Congresses of the Communist International shall be convened on the demand of Parties which, at the preceding World Congress had an aggregate of not less than one half of the decisive votes.

10. The World Congress elects the Executive Committee of the Communist International (E. C. C. I.) and the International Control Commission (I. C. C.).

11. The headquarters of the Executive Committee is decided on by the World Congress.

III. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND ITS SUBSIDIARY BODIES.

12. The leading body of the Communist International in the period between Congresses is the Executive Committee, which gives instructions to all the Sections of the Communist International and controls their activity.

The E. C. C. I. publishes the Central Organ of the Communist International, in not less than four languages.

13. The decisions of the E. C. C. I. are obligatory for all the Sections of the Communist International and must be promptly carried out. The Sections have the right to appeal against decisions of the E. C. C. I. to the World Congress, but must continue to carry out such decisions pending the decision of the World Congress.

14. The Central Committees of the various Sections of the Communist International are responsible to their respective Party Congress and to the E. C. C. I. The latter has the right to annul or amend decisions of Party Congresses and of Central Committees of Parties and also to make decisions which are obligatory for them. (Cf. Par. 13).

15. The E. C. C. I. has the right to expel from the Communist International, entire Sections, groups and individual members who violate the programme and rules of the Communist International or the decisions of the World Congress and of the E. C. C. I. Persons and bodies expelled have the right of appeal to the World Congress.

16. The programmes of the various Sections of the Communist International must be endorsed by the E. C. C. I. In the event of the E. C. C. I. refusing to endorse a programme, the

Section concerned has the right to appeal to the World Congress of the Communist International.

17. The leading organs of the press of the various Sections of the Communist International must publish all the decisions and official documents of the E. C. C. I. These decisions must, as far as possible, be published also in the other organs of the Party press.

18. The E. C. C. I. has the right to accept affiliation to the Communist International of organisations and Parties sympathetic to Communism, such organisations to have an advisory vote.

19. The E. C. C. I. elects a Presidium responsible to the E. C. C. I., which acts as the permanent body carrying out all the business of the E. C. C. I. in the interval between the meetings of the latter.

20. The E. C. C. I. and its Presidium has the right to establish Permanent Bureaux (Western European, South American, Eastern and other Bureaux of the E. C. C. I.) for the purpose of establishing closer contact with the various Sections of the Communist International and in order to be better able to guide their work.

Note:

The scope of the activities of the permanent bureaux of the E. C. C. I. shall be determined by the E. C. C. I. or by its Presidium. The Sections of the Communist International which come within the scope of activities of the permanent bureaux of the E. C. C. I. must be informed by the powers conferred on these bureaux.

21. The Sections must carry out the instructions of the permanent bureaux of the E. C. C. I. Sections may appeal against the instructions of the permanent bureaux to the E. C. C. I. or to its Presidium, but must continue to carry out such instructions pending the decision of E. C. C. I. or of its Presidium.

22. The E. C. C. I. and its Presidium have the right to send their representatives to the various Sections of the Communist International. Such representatives receive their instructions from the E. C. C. I. or from its Presidium, and are responsible to them for their activities. Representatives of the E. C. C. I. have the right to participate in meetings of the central Party bodies as well as of the local organisations of the sections to which they are sent. Representatives of the E. C. C. I. must carry out their commission in close contact with the Central Committee of the Section to which they are sent. They may, however, speak in opposition to the Central Committee of the given Section, at Congresses and Conferences of that Section, if the line of the Central Committee in question diverges from the instructions of the E. C. C. I. Representatives of the E. C. C. I. are especially obliged to supervise the carrying out of the decisions of the World Congresses and of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The E. C. C. I. and its Presidium also have the right to send instructors to the various Sections of the Communist International. The powers and duties of instructors are determined by the E. C. C. I., to whom the instructors are responsible in their work.

23. Meetings of the E. C. C. I. must take place not less than once every six months. A quorum must consist of not less than one half of the membership of the E. C. C. I.

24. Meetings of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. must take place not less than once a fortnight. A quorum must consist of not less than one half of the membership of the Presidium.

25. The Presidium elects the Political Secretariat, which is empowered to take decisions, and which also prepares questions for the meetings of the E. C. C. I. and of its Presidium, and acts as their exclusive body.

26. The presidium appoints the editorial committees of the periodical and other publications of the Communist International.

27. The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. sets up a Department for Work Among Women Toilers, permanent committees for guiding the work of definite groups of Sections of the Communist International (Lander Secretariats) and other departments necessary for its work.

IV. THE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL COMMISSION.

28. The International Control Commission investigates matters concerning the unity of the Sections affiliated to the Communist International and also matters connected with the Communist conduct of individual members of the various Sections.

For this purpose the I. C. C.:

a) Examines complaints against the actions of Central Committees of Communist Parties lodged by Party members who have been subjected to disciplinary measures for political differences;

b) Examines such analogous matters concerning members of central bodies of Communist Parties and of individual Party members as it deems necessary, or which are submitted to it by the deciding bodies of the E. C. C. I.;

c) Audits the accounts of the Communist International.

The International Control Commission must not intervene in the political differences or in organisational and administrative conflicts in the Communist Parties.

The headquarters of the I. C. C. are fixed by the I. C. C., in agreement with the E. C. C. I.

V. THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE E. C. C. I.

29. The Central Committees of Sections affiliated to the Communist International and the Central Committees of affiliated sympathising organisations must send to the E. C. C. I. the Minutes of their meetings and reports of their work.

30. Resignation from office by individual members or groups of members of Central Committees of the various Sections are regarded as disruption of the Communist movement. Leading posts in the Party do not belong to the occupant of that post, but to the Communist International as a whole. Elected members of the Central leading bodies of the various Sections may resign before their time of office expires, only with the consent of the E. C. C. I. Resignations accepted by Central Committees of Sections without the consent of the E. C. C. I. are invalid.

31. The Sections affiliated to the Communist International must maintain close organisational and informational contact with each other, arrange for mutual representation at each others conferences and congresses, and, with the consent of the E. C. C. I., exchange leading comrades. This applies particularly to the Sections in imperial countries and their colonies, and to the Sections in countries adjacent to each other.

32. Two or more Sections of the Communist International which, (like the Sections in the Scandinavian countries and in the Balkans) are politically connected with each other by common conditions of struggle, may, with the consent of the E. C. C. I., form federations for the purpose of co-ordinating their activities, such federations to work under the guidance and control of the E. C. C. I.

33. The Sections of the Comintern must regularly pay affiliation dues to the E. C. C. I.; the amount of such dues to be determined by the E. C. C. I.

34. Congresses of the various Sections, ordinary and special, can be convened only with the consent of the E. C. C. I.

In the event of a Section failing to convene a Party Congress prior to the convening of a World Congress, that Section, before electing delegates to the World Congress, must convene a Party conference, or Plenum of its Central Committee, for the purpose of preparing the questions for the World Congress.

35. The Young Communist International is a Section of the Communist International with full rights and is subordinate to the E. C. C. I.

36. The Communist Parties must be prepared for transition to illegal conditions. The E. C. C. I. must render the Parties concerned assistance in their preparations for transition to illegal conditions.

37. Individual members of Sections of the Communist International may pass from one country to another only with the consent of the Central Committee of the Section of which they are members.

Communists changing their domicile must join the Section in the country of their new domicile. Communists leaving their country without the consent of the Central Committee of their Section, must not be accepted into other Sections of the Communist International.

Resolution on the International Red Aid.

The sharpening of the class antagonisms in the capitalist countries and the struggle of the peoples of the colonial countries against their oppressors and exploiters is effecting an intensification of the white terror and fascism, an increase of repressive measures on the part of class "justice" and increased persecution of the exploited classes and oppressed peoples. The VI. World Congress of the Communist International therefore decides:

1. The course of events in the last few years has fully confirmed the correctness of the decisions of the IV. and V. World Congresses of the C. I. on the International Red Aid as an independent auxiliary organisation standing outside of parties, and on the necessity of the Communist parties supporting the I. R. A.

2. As the I. R. A. is an organisation outside of parties which, on the one hand, gives support to all victims of the revolutionary struggle and, on the other hand, accepts members regardless of what party to which they may belong, the I. R. A. is one of the most important instruments for carrying out the tactics of the united front.

The Communist Parties, therefore, are interested in the activity of the I. R. A. more than other parties and must constantly support the latter in its work, both by participating in all campaigns of the I. R. A., particularly in its campaigns for amnesty and for the right of asylum, and by providing a special place in their journals for the I. R. A.

3. As one of the most important tasks of the I. R. A. at the present time is the fight against fascism, the Parties must support with all their energies the I. R. A. and the I. W. R. in this their activity. One of the most important tasks of the sections of the I. R. A., and especially of its section in the United States, is the fight against the Ku-Klux-Klan (a fascist organisation in the United States) and the barbarous lynch justice exercised towards the Negroes. It will be possible to conduct this fight successfully to the end only when the million masses of the white workers are mobilised to take part in it.

A particularly important task of all sections of the I. R. A. is the fight against the white terror in China, a terror which is now being employed also by the Kuomintang.

4. The growth of the revolutionary movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries increases enormously the persecution of the workers in these countries. The Communist Parties of the imperialist countries must support the sections of the I. R. A. on the occasion of their formation and organisation, in order that they shall be able to fulfil the great tasks falling to them in the colonies and semi-colonies of the country in question.

5. All the above-mentioned tasks are closely interwoven with the fight of the workers for the right of asylum, a fight to which the Communist Parties have not up to the present devoted sufficient attention and to which, in the future, the Communist Parliamentary fractions in their activity, must pay special attention. The Communist Parties of the mother countries are further confronted with the special task of fighting against the foreign concessions in China.

6. Capitalism is making use of prison sentences as a means for physically annihilating the captured revolutionaries. It is therefore necessary to conduct in the masses, as well as by the Communist Party fractions, a constant fight against prison regime.

7. As the realisation of all these tasks of the I. R. A. is closely bound up with the organising of campaigns, which can be successful only if they are carried out jointly with the various mass organisations, the Communists working in these mass organisations must see to it that these mass organisations of workers (Trade unions, co-operatives, International Workers Relief, League of Freethinkers International Et-Servicemen's League, League against Imperialism, workers sport organisations etc.) form a working unity in order to co-ordinate the campaigns.

8. The Communists who are active in the sections of the I. R. A. must strive to win the broadest masses in the towns and in the rural districts for the I. R. A. Of special importance is the recruiting of social democratic and trade union organised workers and the broad masses of the working women.

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The Business Manager.