

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA,
INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

NOVEMBER, 1927

Report and Resolutions.

With a foreword by

WILL LAWTHER, C.C.

*Chairman of British National
Committee F.O.S.R.*

1928

PUBLISHED FOR THE BRITISH NATIONAL COMMITTEE
OF FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA BY THE LABOUR
RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, 162, BUCKINGHAM
PALACE ROAD, LONDON, S.W.1

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

BRITISH NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

WILL LAWTHER (Chairman).

J. CRICK, J. CROSSLEY, J. REEVES, B. SULLIVAN.

EMILE BURNS (Secretary).

OBJECTS

I

Resumption of Full Diplomatic and Trading Relations with Soviet Russia

II

Determined Resistance by the organised British Workers to any attack on Soviet Russia

III

Closest Possible Relations between British and Russian Workers

IV

Development of Co-operative Trade between Britain and Soviet Russia

OTHER BOOKS ISSUED

SOVIET RUSSIA TO-DAY: the Report of the British Workers' Delegation to Russia in November, 1927 6d.

TEN YEARS OF SOVIET RULE: Full Report given by Comrade Rykov to F.O.S.R. International Congress, with statistical appendices and a Foreword by G. Waddell, President of the A.U.B.T.W. 6d.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
FOREWORD BY WILL LAWTHER	5
OPENING SESSION, NOVEMBER 10TH	10
Melnichansky; Lawther; election of Presidium and Press Bureau; greetings from Moscow Trade Union Council; Rykov.	
MORNING SESSION, NOVEMBER 11TH	21
Election of Resolutions Committee; Clara Zetkin; Chan Tsung-fa; Schepmann; Waddell; Klein; Larkin; Richardson; Putz; Lever; De Villers; Bolgann; Ugarte.	
AFTERNOON SESSION, NOVEMBER 11TH	40
Jeanneret; Thomas; Sokhatsky; Tucker; presentation of banners from Kostroma; greetings from the Red Army and from Moscow working women; presentation of banner from Mongolia; greetings from Moscow factory workers; Galileo; adoption of Anti-Fascist Resolution; Gumeda; Saklatvala; Nejedly; Mork; Ali Risa; Chattopadhaya; Oedegaard.	
MORNING SESSION, NOVEMBER 12TH	56
Mazouf; Kazantakis; Siewert; adoption of Resolution on the Ten Years' Achievements of the Revolution; Opening of discussion on the War Danger; Jagger; Barbusse; Tomsky.	
CLOSING SESSION, NOVEMBER 12TH	69
Hermann; Karaterro; De Rivera; Gonzalvec; Vlahov; Paas; McWade; presentation of the Order of the Red Banner to World Revolutionary Heroes; presentation of Red Banner from the Trade Unions of China; greetings from Peasants of the Soviet Union; presentation of banners from Ivanovo-Vosnesnsk workers to British and French Delegations; Jensen; Dordjief; Crosaz; Colomer; Fan Noli; Depe; adoption of War Danger Resolution; Chairman's closing remarks.	

[OVER

	PAGE
RESOLUTION ON THE TEN YEARS' ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE REVOLUTION	96
RESOLUTION ON THE WAR DANGER	99
COMPOSITION OF CONGRESS DELEGATIONS	103

PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE BRITISH DELEGATION'S VISIT.

	FACING PAGE
Opening of the F.O.S.R. Congress in the Colonnade Hall ...	16
Trade Union House, Moscow, where the Congress was held ...	17
Voroshilov presents the Order of the Red Banner to Clara Zetkin ...	17
Delegates on s.s. "Soviet" on way to Leningrad ...	32
Reception of Delegates on arrival at Leningrad ...	32
Workers entering the Red Square for the Tenth Anniversary Celebrations ...	33
Group at Red Army Aerodrome ...	33
The Kremlin from the River ...	48
The Palace of Labour, Moscow (Trade Union Headquarters) ...	48
Delegates with Officials of the Union of Soviet and Commercial Employees ...	49
A New Workers' Settlement ...	49
Delegates after visiting coal mine in Donetz Basin...	64
Women Delegates after visiting mine ...	64
Group of Delegates outside Bolshoi Theatre, Moscow ...	65

FOREWORD

On Thursday, November 10th, 1927, the delegates from all parts of the world, who were visiting Soviet Russia in connection with the Tenth Anniversary of the Revolution, assembled in the Colonnade Hall of the Trade Union House in Moscow. It was a wonderful gathering, with a thousand delegates, from forty-three separate countries, including many of the best-known fighters of the international working class.

This First International Congress of Friends of Soviet Russia had been convened on the initiative of the British National Committee, which had organised the British delegation. The Committee secured the consent of the Austrian, Belgian, French and German delegations to participate in such a congress, and then approached the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions on the question. The latter body undertook to make the necessary arrangements in Moscow, and all the delegations participated when the Congress was held.

The Congress was undoubtedly the most widely representative international gathering in the history of the working class. The list of countries from which the delegates came, and the analysis of the social composition of the various delegations, shows that it was in a literal sense a world congress, with representatives drawn from the workers and peasants in practically every country, while there was also a fair sprinkling of the "intellectual" elements. A glance round the Congress showed, perhaps better than any statistics could show, its international character. British, French, American, Irish, and German delegates were grouped alongside Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Africans, South Americans, Canadians, Mexicans; miners, engineers, textile workers and workers in other trades sat side by side with agricultural workers and peasants, teachers and journalists. And here and there among the delegates were many who had suffered imprisonment and persecution for their part in the workers' struggle, and some who had suffered for defending Soviet Russia itself.

The fact that such wide representation was secured in spite of the efforts made by the governments and reactionaries in every country to discredit and even stop the sending of delegations is in itself significant. In many countries there were arrests of delegates and refusals to give passports or visas, while the labour opportunists in every country joined with their governments in attempting to sabotage the delegations. Delegates were threatened with expulsion from their organisations if they went to Russia, or were warned that they could not expect to retain any official positions they held if they took part in the delegations. In many cases leave was refused by employers, and delegates told that they could not expect re-employment when they returned. In fact, the entire punitive apparatus of the capitalists was mobilised against the workers who wished to get first-hand experience of the first Workers' State in the history of the world.

In Great Britain a general press campaign was organised against the sending of a delegation. The Duke of Northumberland's *Morning Post* suggested that delegates to Soviet Russia be deprived of citizenship. The *Daily Mail* and other papers were busy throwing cold water on the idea of the delegation and hot water on those who were attempting to organise it. The official Labour press did its best to ignore the whole subject. Fenner Brockway, Secretary of the Independent Labour Party, could not help declaring his "sympathy" for Soviet Russia, but he published an article explaining that he could not go to Russia because the past and present allies of Churchill and of Brockway—Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries—are kept in prison there. We wondered when we read Brockway's letter, if he remembered at the last Congress of the Second International, held at Marseilles in August, 1925, the stacks of books and pamphlets that the Mensheviks had ready in all languages, to be taken by the Delegates, full of bitter lies about Soviet Russia. When we saw those, we came to the conclusion then that the same forces were behind the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries as had backed Denikin and Koltchak. They were trying new stool-pigeons. However, in spite of the whole campaign against the delegation, the determination of the workers was so overwhelming that a strong British delegation succeeded in visiting Russia. It was the same in other countries: in spite of the most bitter opposition the rank and file were determined to send their delegations.

The reason for this determination of the rank and file in every country is clear enough. During the last ten years they have been told all kinds of lies about the Soviet Government and the conditions in Russia, and every month they have been told that the whole economic system of Soviet Russia is on the verge of collapse. But, curiously enough, no collapse has come; and in spite of the smoke screen set up by the capitalist class—making full use of the labour and trade union leaders who follow the lead of their capitalist masters—the facts about Russia's economic and social progress have begun to leak through. The rank and file in every capitalist country have contrasted the progress of Soviet Russia with the steadily declining conditions of the workers in their own countries.

In capitalist countries wage reductions, longer hours, destruction of political and trade union rights; in Soviet Russia steadily rising wages, hours less than in any other country in the world, systematic development of political, educational and economic conditions for the workers and peasants. In capitalist countries, the constant oppression of subject minorities and colonial peoples; in Soviet Russia freedom and sympathy for all nationalities. These contrasts have been made by the rank and file in every country, and the workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world are turning more and more to Soviet Russia as the one sure bulwark against capitalist and imperialist oppression.

It is this fact which gave the Congress of Friends of Soviet Russia its political importance. It emphasised the unity of the workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world, not in a merely formal and abstract way, but in the realisation of the tremendous victory that had already been won, in the world struggle against the capitalist class, by the establishment and growth of the first Workers' State. And the Congress also recorded the growing realisation among the workers of every country that the policy of social pacifism is a policy of defeat, that the victory in the struggle against capitalism has been achieved in Soviet Russia by the Bolshevik policy of Lenin.

The Congress also unanimously approved the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and understood that the workers in every country must take resolute action to defend Soviet Russia against the impending attacks from the imperialist governments of the world. Delegates from every country exposed the policy of the labour imperialists and opportunists

who, by their sabotage of relations with the Russian workers, are preparing the ground over which the capitalists will deliver their attack. British delegates heard for the first time four delegates from those parts of the earth that are labelled "British Colonies and possessions," the truth of peaceful penetration and the influence of "the flag," in their recital of the tyranny, persecution and exploitation of our colonial brethren, in contradistinction to the "Empire Day," speeches of Labour Leaders and flag-waving imperialists. To paraphrase Anatole France, they knew of us only by our crimes against them.

The Congress of Friends of Soviet Russia thus marked a new stage in the development of the policy of the rank and file in capitalist countries and of the oppressed peoples in colonial areas. In the Congress the break with the reformist elements was expressed, and the determination of the rank and file to move forward on the united front of the revolutionary masses. While trade union bureaucrats, including reputed left-wing elements, sever connections with the workers of Soviet Russia, the rank and file are breaking down all barriers and forming their united front with the Russian workers.

The Congress has only accomplished the first part of its work. The main work remains to be done now that the delegates have returned to their own countries. That the British delegates are carrying on this work, and that they are meeting with the enthusiastic support of the rank and file is shown by the interest of trade unionists and co-operators in their accounts of Soviet Russia, and by the fact that in two months twenty thousand copies of their report, *Soviet Russia To-day*, have been sold.

The Congress decided not to organise for the time being a special international centre, but my concluding speech, as chairman of the British Delegation, contained the following programme for the further activity of the delegations:—

- (1) All the delegations will endeavour to keep up and strengthen connections with the organisations which invited them to the Soviet country.
- (2) All the delegations will do their utmost to put into practice in their countries the resolutions passed by the Congress.

- (3) The delegations, which embrace representatives of large sections of the population, and which embody the principle of the united front, must continue their work on their return home.
- (4) The organised delegations must find ways and means to carry out the resolutions with the help of district and national conferences and must endeavour to make the experience they gained in the U.S.S.R. accessible to the masses.

In conclusion, a few words about the Congress and the press. The world capitalist and labour opportunist press carried on against the Congress a fierce campaign of slander as long as the period of preparation lasted. But as soon as the Congress met, there was a change of tactics—complete silence, as if nothing out of the common was happening. The capitalists and its labour supporters were silent because they were beaten, they were silent to conceal their defeat, so as not to advertise the victory of the masses. But the victorious masses will not keep silent. Already the delegates who have dispersed to their own countries are holding numberless meetings all over the world, and carrying out the programme laid down at the Congress. Already, too, the campaign of slander has revived, the capitalists and the Social-democrats of all countries are trying to erect a barrier between the delegates who have returned from the U.S.S.R. and the workers of the Western countries. There is, however, no doubt that this wall will be broken down by the workers themselves. We are convinced that once the workers know the facts, there will be neither doubts nor hesitation in helping and following the lead of the only workers who have won through to freedom from capitalist exploitation and imperialist tyranny.

WILL LAWTHOR, C.C., Durham Mining Federation
Board, Chairman, National Committee F.O.S.R.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

November, 1927

OPENING SESSION, NOVEMBER 10th

On November 10th, at 6.30 p.m., the members of the Preparatory Committee of the Congress of the Friends of the U.S.S.R., Comrades Melnichansky, Lawther (Great Britain), Canonne (France), Pichocki (Germany), Henry Barbusse, and others, appeared on the platform of the Colonnade Hall in the Trade Union House. The members of the Congress greeted them with loud applause.

The Chairman of the Committee, Comrade H. N. Melnichansky, opened the Congress, and made the following speech:—

Comrades, friends, brothers, I have the great task of saying the first word and opening the meeting of one of the most important political gatherings, the first international Congress of representatives of various countries, the friends of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who came here to participate in our great festival—the Tenth Anniversary of the victorious proletarian revolution. There are at the Congress representatives of the working class, the peasantry and a section of the radical intelligentsia both of the victorious and vanquished countries, and also of the oppressed nations. All those who sincerely desire enlightenment and freedom for the enslaved classes and peoples are represented here.

On behalf of the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R., I wish to express the heartiest welcome to those who accepted the invitation of our organisations, and greetings to those whom they represent.

This Congress is a symbol, it reveals more clearly than anything else that the world is divided into two parts.

The capitalists, the bourgeoisie and the governments of the world subjugate country after country in their mad thirst for new markets and profits, there is the smell of powder

in the air, and one begins to feel poison gases floating in the atmosphere—the fruits of capitalist civilisation. In the colonial countries there is bloodshed and whole cities, together with their inhabitants, are wiped off the face of the earth, simply because the subjugated people have risen against their subjugators. The greatest of all the great nationalist liberation revolutionary movements of China is drowned in a sea of blood, and the best sons of the Chinese revolution are slaughtered like sheep by the forces of the so-called civilised States. The capitalist world is preparing a military offensive against the Soviet Republic—the only country in the world in which the subjugated proletarians and peasants have been delivered from their subjugators—and although we are on the eve of great catastrophes, of more cruel and inhuman wars, yet we find here in Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Republic—the Republic of labour and peace—a gathering of representatives of all those who hate capitalist and imperialist domination, capitalist war, the exploitation and subjugation of nations, and the exploitation of man by man. They meet not only in order to emphasise their sympathy and solidarity with the creator of the great revolution, the working class of the U.S.S.R., but also in order to establish fraternal ties, ties of joint struggle against the subjugators and against the preparations for new wars.

The convention of a Congress such as this has been made possible in our country, because of the existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, established as a result of the victorious struggle of the working class and peasantry of the U.S.S.R., which was conducted under the leadership of the political party of the working class—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The hatred of the capitalist world is especially directed against our country and our Communist Party, which have raised the greatest problems of practical revolutionary struggle of all subjugated people against capitalist domination and against war.

The very fact that it is possible for a country ruled by the working class and the peasantry, under the guidance of the Communist Party, and engaged in the construction of Socialism, to exist side by side with the capitalist system in all other countries is in itself a stimulating factor and an example for all subjugated people, and a serious menace to the very existence of capitalism.

This is the reason why the foreign bourgeoisie has delivered blow after blow, organised interventions, and up to this very moment has not ceased to attempt to ruin our country by an economic blockade or the direct preparation for war against us during the whole ten years' existence of our Republic.

During these days, when millions of workers and peasants celebrate their great jubilee, the grand demonstrations of which you have witnessed, when millions of workers and peasants fervently declared in the streets and in the halls their unity with, and loyalty to, the Soviet Government and our Communist Party, at this moment, when you, representatives of our friends and brothers, are here assembled, the capitalist world is holding over the Soviet Union the menace of war. The League of Nations, which is pictured by the war instigators as an instrument of peace, is in reality the arena where new plots are being made against the Soviet Union, and it thus becomes the business of the working class of all countries, the business of all those who are sincerely against the oppressors, to defend the Soviet Union. To defend the Soviet Union means to defend the stronghold of all the oppressed and exploited, because the Soviet Union guards the conquests of all workers. The millions of workers of the Soviet Union are wholeheartedly on the side of the workers of the world and the toiling masses of China, India, Egypt, Nicaragua, and Morocco in their struggle against their oppressors.

The British national committee for the organisation of delegations to Soviet Russia took the initiative in calling the Congress of the Friends of the U.S.S.R. Our friends there thought that representatives of the various strata of the population the world over, people who are imbued with sympathy and solidarity with the Soviet Republic and who hate the capitalist system of war and plunder, will assemble in Moscow and that that assembly should do something concrete, and not limit itself merely to participation in the celebrations. Accordingly, our British friends proposed the convention of a congress of the Friends of the U.S.S.R. This proposal was supported by the German, French and Belgian delegations. Subsequently, the British comrades approached the All-Union Council of Trade Unions enquiring whether it would take upon itself the practical realisation of the organisation of the Congress, and the business of negotiations with

all delegations. The A.U.C.T.U. consented with the greatest pleasure and, together with other Russian delegations, formed a temporary committee and carried out all preparatory work. On arrival of the delegations in the U.S.S.R., the committee was re-organised and the delegations of all countries which decided to participate in the Congress, sent their representatives to the Committee.

The following countries and delegations are represented at this Congress (see Appendix), a total of 927 delegates.

Many delegates have had to encounter the greatest difficulties in coming here, and these we wish to welcome still more heartily.

Those who have come here constitute the cream of what is really progressive and revolutionary; representing the oppressed peoples who are fighting for emancipation from slavery throughout the world, they constitute the flower of the coming real civilization.

In opening the Congress of the Friends of the U.S.S.R., we greet you heartily, and through you the working class and the revolutionary masses throughout the world.

Our heartfelt greetings are extended to all workers in subject countries such as India, Ireland, Egypt, Morocco, Syria, the Balkans, and the Balkanised countries of Central Europe, Nicaragua, Indonesia, China, Latvia, Poland, and Esthonia.

In accordance with the decision of the Committee for the Organisation of the Congress of the Friends of the U.S.S.R., the great honour of opening this Congress has been allotted to me. Permit me to declare the Congress of the Friends of the U.S.S.R. open. (Applause.)

The arrival of Clara Zetkin and Nadezhda Constantinovna Krupskaya was the occasion for loud applause, which developed into an ovation by the entire Congress, the orchestra playing the International.

MELNICHANSKY: The Commission for the organisation of the Congress decided that the first speech after the opening address be made by a representative of the British delegation, which took the initiative in convening this Congress. I call on Comrade Lawther, representative of the British delegation, to address the Congress. (Applause.)

LAWTHER (England): Comrades, the British delegation consider that to visit this, the Tenth Anniversary, merely in the capacity of visitors, to see and hear what had been

achieved by the Russian comrades, would not be merely a waste of time, but that, in addition, it would be something achieved if we were to face the facts which we should put before the Congress here assembled. To that purpose, so far as this Delegation is concerned, we have taken the initial steps to take advantage of this opportunity of calling together the workers assembled here, representing every aspect of industrial, political and co-operative organisations of the labour movement, and we in Britain urge upon this Congress the consideration of the two objects that are to be discussed at this conference. We as British delegates have been informed by enemies within and without the labour movement of what we were to see and to hear in regard to what had been achieved here in Russia. But if we were never to witness another sight except what we saw on Monday last we are satisfied that the stories that have been put forward about the masses not being behind the people who had charge of the activities of this great Republic, were not only untrue; but, moreover, the sight has inspired the British delegation to consider things from a new aspect. We can quite understand now the truth of the position taken up by the masses of workers who paraded in that assembly by coupling the imperialist Foreign Minister of Britain with the leader of the Labour movement of Britain, MacDonald, as being both exponents of the one policy of breaking off the negotiations and relationships that were up to July of this year an integral part of the Labour movement. We feel likewise that the Tenth Anniversary is not merely an end in itself, but is the means towards the end. We feel that all of us assembled here to-night have our duty to accomplish, and therefore I want just for one moment to mention the resolution that is to come up in the name of the delegation.

Prior to 1914 we used to be informed by the prototypes of Baldwin and Chamberlain that there was no possibility or probability either of the British nation being embroiled in a world-wide war. To-day we have likewise been informed of this—that there is no possibility of Britain being involved in a war with Russia, but we are more than ever satisfied that the position that our Russian comrades have taken on this question proves that there is not only a possibility but also a probability of such a war taking place. We have come to ask you, as a delegation, to consider, not merely a protest against such a war, but more definite steps that should be

taken. We want to consider what proposals should be adopted by other delegations here assembled in order that war with Russia may be made impossible. Moreover, we must not only make war against the Soviet Union impossible, but we must make known what our Russian comrades have achieved when we go back to our respective countries, in order that we may hasten the World Revolution. (Applause.)

In the name of the British and Irish comrades, I welcome this assembly in the hope that we shall not only utter the slogan of "Long live the Russian Workers' Republic," but that the delegations may be able to go back and try to realise a similar state of affairs in their respective nations.

Members of the Presidium

The Congress approved of the following list as members of the Presidium:—

Comrades Bond, Lawther, Jagger (Great Britain), Canonne, Beaugrand, Le Ley (France), Devillers, Huyndes (Belgium), Pichocki, Siewert, Holitscher (Germany), Srp, Prutka (Czecho-Slovakia), Watkins, Guireang, Scott Nearing (United States), Hermann, Karl (Austria), Syang (China), Fan Nolli, Vlackoff (oppressed Balkan nations), Fitzpatrick (Ireland), Jensen (Denmark), Enggren (Sweden), Mörk (Norway), Wollgren (Holland), Luostarinen (Finland), Galileo (Italy), Raudsetp (Esthonia), Laizèn (Latvia), Genki Hara (Switzerland), Monzoni (Mexico), Kazantzakis (Greece), Akita (Japan), Navan-Namisanov (Mongolia), Batchinsky (Poland), Goncalvec (Portugal), Marzenda, Ugarte (Argentine), Duna Natschjara (Indonesia), Hautamäki (Canada), Karateruo (Spain), Leima (Brazil), Zanker (Cuba), Gozas (Chile), Paradèz (Equadore), Castricho (Uruguay), Richards (Sierra Leone), Dordjiev (Tibet), Della Plaza (Columbia), Fortul (Venezuela), Deakin (women's delegation), Kamann (representing farmers and peasants), Liau-Han-Sin (Anti-Imperialist League), Richta Likorva (Youth delegation), Sun Tsin-lin, Diego de Rivera, Henri Barbusse (representing the Intellectuals), Munzenberg (International Workers' Relief), Zetkin and Stassova (I.C.W.P.A.), Tucker (the Co-operatives), Melnichansky, Lozovsky, Lunacharsky, Molotov, Krupskaya (Soviet Union).

The following comrades were elected to the Press Bureau: Hey, Yaglom, Vaillant-Couturier, Scott Nearing, Siewert, Fitzpatrick, de Rivera.

The Congress adopted the following agenda:—

1. The ten years' activity of the Soviet Republics.
2. The coming war danger.

Greetings from Moscow Trade Union Council

After all organisational questions were settled, Comrade MIKHAILOV, President of the Moscow Trade Union Council, greeted the Congress on behalf of the Moscow workers. He said:—

The Moscow workers are happy to greet the Friends of the U.S.S.R. The Moscow of the tsars, nobility, merchants and manufacturers has become, by the will of the workers, the centre of the international labour movement.

The Moscow Trade Unions have scored tremendous victories during the ten years. In 1917 the Moscow Trade Unions had only 170,000 members, and now their membership is 1,390,000. Wages are now 37 per cent. above pre-war. Moscow industry has reached the pre-war level, and in some cases even exceeds it. Great successes have been accomplished also in the sphere of cultural and educational work. Our successes are at the same time the successes of the world proletariat.

In response to the pressure of the British Tories and the worsening of the international situation, the Moscow proletariat declared that it was ready to stand shoulder to shoulder in defence of the Soviet Republic, and collected a million roubles for the fund "Our Reply to Chamberlain." The revolutionary workers of the world will give the best reply to Chamberlain if they will smite the hand which will be raised against the U.S.S.R. Long live the Congress of the Friends of the U.S.S.R.

Comrade Rykov's Speech

When Comrade RYKOV appeared at the Presidium table delegates rose and greeted the President of the Council of Peoples' Commissars with stormy applause. When the Chairman announced that the floor was given to Comrade Rykov, the ovation started again with new force, and for several minutes Comrade Rykov could not begin his speech.

Comrade RYKOV greeted, through the delegates present, all friends of the Soviet Union. He pointed out that he was making a report to the Congress on behalf of the Soviet Government, not merely as an expression of goodwill towards



Opening of the F.O.S.R. Congress in the Colonnade Hall.



Trade Union House, Moscow, where the Congress was held.



Voroshilov presents the Order of the Red Banner to Clara Zetkin.

the foreign comrades, but as an indication of the fact that the Government was working for the international cause of all the workers. It was hardly possible to find another case in the annals of history where the Government of a vast country had considered it its duty to report before foreign representatives, or where such representatives had felt it their moral right to demand such a report. The Soviet Government considered itself responsible not only to its own peoples, but to all those whose task it is to fight for Socialism and for the extermination of oppression and violence. All those standing on the platform were strongly bound together in the general struggle for Socialism.

Dealing in detail with the development of national economy, Comrade Rykov pointed out that in judging the achievements of the Soviet revolution the following facts must be taken into consideration: First, that pre-war Russia was one of the most backward countries of Europe; and secondly, that its constructive work did not begin till 1921, when industry and trade were greatly shattered, industry being only 20 per cent., and agriculture 52 per cent. of the pre-war level.

The main facts in the Soviet reconstruction were, on the one hand, the organisation of a new State—the dictatorship of the proletariat based on an alliance with the peasantry—and on the other hand, the nationalisation of industry, transport, banking, foreign trade, and land. This made it possible to eliminate waste and to substitute for an anarchic capitalist economic system a planned economy under which economic development proceeded in the interests of the entire economic organism. On this basis the U.S.S.R. had been able to advance much more rapidly than under capitalist conditions.

Comrade Rykov further showed that although the main line of economic policy was the industrialisation of the country, this did not mean any subjection of the interests of the peasantry. The peasant could not advance his enterprise without assistance from the shops and factories, and the development of industry was the most important factor in the development of agriculture. Socialist construction had, therefore, as one of its objects, the elimination of the existing disproportion between agriculture and industry, by means of extending industrialisation into the countryside.

He pointed out that the rural policy of the Government was to support the alliance of the working class and the poorer

peasantry, to prevent exploitation by the rich peasants, and gradually to transform petty farming on the basis of co-operation.

Comrade Rykov then proceeded to deal with the character and composition of the Soviet Government. He said that the composition of the supreme legislative organ of the State, the Central Executive Committee, was: workers 43.6 per cent., peasants 21.3 per cent., intellectuals, artisans, office workers, etc., 35.1 per cent. The municipal soviets of five Republics of the Union consisted of 46.6 per cent. workers, 4.9 per cent. peasants, 31 per cent. employees, Red Army, etc., 17.5 per cent. The village soviets consisted of 5.2 per cent. workers, 84.4 per cent. peasants, 5.8 per cent. employees, 1.6 per cent. Red Army. The directors of Soviet factories were 74.8 per cent. workers, and the leaders of the higher industrial organs over 50 per cent. workers. Permanent judges were 34.4 per cent. workers and 37 per cent. peasants. The Government was working under the leadership of the Communist Party, which had about 1,200,000 members, of whom 56 per cent. were workers. The Communist Party not only through its programme, but by its composition, safeguarded the proletarian character of Government activities and institutions.

Comrade Rykov discussed the distinction made in the foreign press between the working-class dictatorship and democracy, and pointed out that if we understand by democracy the safeguarding for the masses of all opportunities of taking part in the leadership and in all the work of the State, then there had never been a more democratic State organisation than that of the U.S.S.R., where at least 30 workers out of every 100 take part in the organs of government. The Soviet revolution was in itself an expression of the highest degree of democracy. With this question was also bound up that of the Soviet attitude to the parties of the Second International, to understand which one must have a clear idea of the circumstances surrounding the November revolution. The November revolution was an armed rising against the Government of the parties of the Second International who were then in power, and these parties throughout the civil war joined with the bourgeois interventionists against the workers and the peasantry. Though the civil war had ceased, the U.S.S.R. was still surrounded by enemies, with whom the parties of the Second International were collaborating. In

these circumstances he emphasised the fact that the U.S.S.R. was compelled to use stern measures against all its enemies, of whatever party they might be.

Comrade Rykov later dealt with the national and foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. In the sphere of national policy, he said, the principle they were governed by was a system of collaboration between the nations inhabiting the U.S.S.R., based on a unified economic system, real assistance for the backward nationalities, and real freedom to develop their national culture. Under tsarism, the attitude to the national minorities resembled the worst type of relationship to oppressed colonial countries, and it was therefore natural for many nationalities to be extremely backward in cultural and economic respects. The Uzbekistan Republic, with a population of about four million was, he said, a characteristic example of the development of national culture under the Soviet system. In 1923 there were in Uzbekistan 53 women's educational institutions, and in 1927, 276; the number of women students had increased from 1,394 to 13,200. He said that he took an example from the women's movement because the Eastern women were the most oppressed of all.

Having said that the national problem, as it was conceived and dealt with in the European States, i.e., as a question of oppression and enslavement of one nation by another, did not exist in the Soviet Union, Comrade Rykov defined the foreign policy of the Union as a struggle for peace for the safeguarding of peaceful construction in the Union. The U.S.S.R. proposed to the other States pacts of non-attack. The Soviet Government had recently again made such proposals to the Polish and French Governments, but had received no satisfactory answers. In Western Europe the legend of Red imperialism was being intensively circulated. Comrade Rykov expressed his conviction that he was not speaking before a congress which needed any assurance that this charge was a preposterous and deliberate lie. Such rumours were being circulated exclusively for the purpose of preparing public opinion for intervention and an extremely probable war against the Soviet Union.

The members of the Congress already had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the composition of the Red Army and with its organisation. The Red Army was an army of the people, so closely connected with the working population that it would be impossible to separate it from the people, or

to send it on rash adventures. The U.S.S.R. was against any kind of war. The Soviet Revolution was a mighty breach in the imperialist military front, and the Soviets immediately demanded a genuine democratic peace. It was absolute madness to imagine that the Soviet Government, the only workers' Government in the world, surrounded on all sides by bourgeois States, would embark on an offensive war. The slanderous charge of Red imperialism showed clearly that the enemies of the U.S.S.R. would use anything to prepare public opinion in Europe and America for intervention.

The Soviet Government having expressed its desire to take part in the disarmament conference, Comrade Rykov stressed the fact that the Soviet Union was ready to propose, support and pursue a most consistent and radical disarmament programme. But the Soviet Union would, at the same time, fight against proposals aiming at deceiving humanity, and concealing the preparation for a new war under pacifist phraseology.

In conclusion, Comrade Rykov pointed out that it would be wrong for the delegates to arrive at the conclusion that everything had already been done in the U.S.S.R. for the organisation of a Socialist society. The results of the ten years showed that a revolution had been accomplished in all spheres of life, but Socialist construction had only begun and would require many years of stubborn struggle for its completion. The last ten years showed also that under conditions of peaceful construction the Soviet Government could, with the help of the workers and peasants, bring to a successful end the organisation of a Socialist society. The Soviet Union was the only State whose economy had been reconstructed and had surpassed pre-war levels, without any assistance from without. The victory of Socialism could not be fully guaranteed while the States outside the U.S.S.R. retained the bourgeois system, but success in Russia would facilitate the working-class struggle throughout the world.

Comrade Rykov concluded his speech by expressing his wish that, in its struggle against exploitation, in its construction of a Socialist society, and in its struggle for peace, the Soviet Union would enjoy the support of all revolutionary workers and peasants throughout the world, as well as that of all the delegates at this Congress, and of those groups of the population with which they are connected. (Loud applause.)

MORNING SESSION, NOVEMBER 11th

The morning Session of the Congress was opened by the Chairman, Comrade Canonne (France).

CHAIRMAN: Comrades, I declare the Session open, and call upon Comrade Yaglom to make an announcement, and to ask your approval.

YAGLOM: Comrades, there was a Presidium Session to-day which decided to ask the Congress to approve the Committee for the elaboration and approval of resolutions to be brought before the Congress. The Presidium proposes the following members for the Committee: Lawther and Burns (Great Britain), Semard and Meunier (France), Devillers (Belgium), Siewert (Germany), Watkins (America), Yo (China), Lozovsky (U.S.S.R.), Loizèn (Latvia), Münzenberg (The Anti-Imperialist League), Della Plaza (South America).

CHAIRMAN: I take it that you agree to these comrades forming part of the resolutions commission.

BARTOSEK: I propose to co-opt to this commission a Czecho-Slovakian delegate.

CHAIRMAN: We propose that the resolutions commission be enlarged by the co-option of a Czecho-Slovakian comrade. Any objections?

BARTOSEK: I propose Comrade Bihall.

CHAIRMAN: No objections? All agreed. Proposal was adopted.

YAGLOM: Comrades, the Committee is requested to meet to-day in this hall at 4.30 p.m. Then we sincerely request the Chairmen of all delegations to send to Comrade Canonne the list of speakers to speak on the first and second question of the agenda.

The first speaker in the discussion on Comrade Rykov's report was Comrade Clara Zetkin, who was greeted with loud applause.

CLARA ZETKIN (Germany): Allow me, Comrades, to give you the warmest greetings on behalf of the Communist International, on behalf of all Parties affiliated to it, and particularly the Party which I represent, the Communist Party of Germany.

This Congress gives expression to the desire of hundreds of thousands of workers to find on the basis of their own

experience an answer to the main question formulated by the immortal Lenin, the question whether Socialism will conquer capitalism, or vice versa.

I think that all that we have seen in this great country, the immense creative work, the multifarious phases of it, gives a clear answer to the question.

It is a very remarkable fact that the responsible head of the Government of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Rykov, made a report to this Congress. This is a proof of the fact that the leaders of the U.S.S.R. realise the tremendous responsibility they have to the international proletariat.

Can you show any other country in the world in which the head of a government would give an account to such a Congress? We can say with a clear conscience that the representatives of the supreme Government organs in the so-called democratic countries would distinguish themselves in regard to such a Congress by taking the matter up with the police, and if such a Congress were allowed at all, they would decide what measures to take in order to make it as harmless as possible.

I am convinced that you, the Friends of the U.S.S.R., regardless of what Party you belong to, fully appreciate the great achievements of the Soviet Union, and that you will not fail to take into consideration the main fact: that these achievements were possible only under the Proletarian Dictatorship, for it is thanks to this dictatorship that it was possible to create a new culture in such a short space of time.

But this conviction carries with it certain obligations. The Soviet Union, which is now constructing Socialism, is threatened by world imperialism, armed to the teeth, and plotting the destruction of the first Workers' Government in the world. The U.S.S.R. is the only truly peaceful country. It concentrates all its energy on the matter of peaceful Socialist construction. But, friends, you remember the words that the best man in the world cannot live in peace if his bad neighbour does not like it, and world capitalism is such a neighbour. All those to whom the future of the human race is dear must exert all their energy unconditionally to guarantee peace for the Soviet Union in its work of Socialist construction.

In this respect your honest reports will have to play an enormous rôle. By disseminating the truth about the U.S.S.R. you will be able to disperse the ocean of falsehood and slander which the bourgeois and reformist parties are energetically

spreading in order to safeguard bourgeois class domination and protect the capitalist system of exploitation. It is necessary to mobilise all forces against the attempts to encircle the U.S.S.R., against the preparations for war on the part of the world imperialists. It is necessary so to mobilise the masses as to strike the sword out of the hands raised against the U.S.S.R. It is necessary to go still further and overthrow bourgeois domination in every capitalist country. If the capitalist powers begin a war against the U.S.S.R. the workers will have to retaliate by the overthrow of bourgeois class domination. (Loud applause.)

I say this not because the U.S.S.R. is not strong enough to resist its enemies. All those who saw the splendid demonstration of the armed proletariat on the Red Square, and its determination to defend the construction of Socialism to the end, will confirm this. But the U.S.S.R. will be able to continue its Socialist work without any danger only when it is surrounded by governments under the proletarian dictatorship, instead of the hostile capitalist nations which now surround it. (Loud applause.)

We are all interested in guaranteeing the success of a higher culture and in clearing the road for it. I wish every success to the work of the Friends of the U.S.S.R. in this direction.

Down with the enemies of the U.S.S.R.!

Onward in closed ranks, onward with the battle against capitalism!

I greet you with the militant slogan of the Comintern. "All through the revolution and all for the revolution." (Prolonged enthusiastic applause, all delegates rise and sing "The International.")

CHAN TSUNG-FA (China): Comrades, on behalf of 33,000,000 organised Chinese workers and peasants, I bring revolutionary greetings to you, delegates of all countries. (Applause.) We heard Comrade Rykov's report with great satisfaction, and we realise that the November Revolution and achievements of the Soviet Union have actually broken the chains of imperialist oppression.

From the report on the ten years' constructive work we discover the difference between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois dictatorship. From this we know that all such things as industrial reconstruction, as the farm improvements in peasant communities, and all other kinds of constructive

work, are entirely different from bourgeois reconstruction work. These facts give us a real understanding and knowledge of the Soviet Union. (Applause.)

It is these very facts that fill all imperialists with envy of the Soviet Union and therefore they intend to destroy it. They use every method, every possible means to destroy the results of the revolution. They also know that the Chinese Revolution is similar to the Soviet Revolution. (Applause.) We see that when the British imperialists saw the development of the Chinese Revolution, naturally they used all means to destroy it. Let us take a few examples: British Imperialism directed its tool, the Chinese militarist, Sin Chang-fang, to take the city of Nanking, and meanwhile it sent warships up the Yangtse to destroy the Chinese Revolution. (Hear, hear.)

We know that British Imperialists are not only oppressing the Chinese peasants and workers, but that they are also doing the same thing to the workers in their own country. (Hear, hear.) They oppress the Chinese workers, they oppress the Chinese peasants, but at the same time, in their own country, they oppress their own workers and their own peasants in a similar manner. Now, the imperialists of all countries still entertain the illusion of trying to conquer the revolutionary movement.

Comrades, and delegates of all countries, we must now think of ways and means to combat this danger. The Chinese workers and peasants have definitely understood and strongly maintained that the only way to combat this danger, the only possible way of combating this danger, depends upon the efforts of the proletariat of the world. (Applause, hear, hear.) We must try every means possible against this imperialist alliance, and we must protect the mother country of world revolution. (Applause.) Proletarians of all the world must unite to protect the Soviet Union, to support the mother country of world revolution, and in the same way to carry on their own struggle. (Applause.) The proletarians of the whole world must arm themselves and destroy their enemies. (Hear, hear.) We trust, and we have full confidence, that all these delegates here present will prepare for the coming tremendous class struggle. We must bring back the happy news of the successful constructive work of the past ten years of the Soviet Union. We must bring these reports back to our people, and tell them what to do. We must destroy all bourgeois hegemony and carry out the dictatorship of the prole-

tariat. This is the only way for the progress of humanity. (Applause.) This is what we call real world international brotherhood.

I would also ask you, while you are here assembled, not to forget the Chinese Revolution. (Hear, hear, applause.) The success of the Soviet Revolution is the success of the Chinese Revolution. The success of the Chinese Revolution means the success of the world revolution. (Applause.) The Chinese working class has already made sufficient preparations to carry out a final and successful struggle against world imperialism. At the same time they have also prepared to use all their efforts to support and protect the Soviet Union.

Long live the further developments of the Soviet Union!

Long live the success of the world revolution!

Long live the united efforts of the proletarians of the whole world! (Applause.)

SCHEPMANN (Germany): Comrades, I greet this International Congress on behalf of the German workers whom we represent here.

Comrades, if we are to discuss here the basis on which Russian economic life is built up, we must make up our minds not to view Russian construction through West European spectacles. Our Russian fellow workers do not want us to get an exaggerated conception of the problem of economic construction and the cultural institutions here. They wish us to express here what we really think, and this is what I am going to do in regard to constructive work in Soviet Russia.

Our Russian comrades have realised that for effective constructive work the productive forces of the country must be co-ordinated. An understanding was necessary between peasants and workers. To regulate economic questions in Russia they had to be made uniform. In this, the Russian workers, together with the leading economists have succeeded. We German delegates have been able to ascertain during our stay here that there is an enormous difference between the tsarist economic problem and the problem with which the Soviet Union is faced to-day. One has only to visit the industrial concerns or agricultural districts to realise the enormous contrast between the old-Russian and the new-Russian institutions. Everyone can, of course, see that our Russian fellow-workers have difficulties in bringing about improvements. But there can be no two opinions about the fact that the advances made here by the workers are of enor-

mous importance to workers throughout the world. We invite the working class of the world to follow the Russian example and to participate in the struggle for the great world revolution—for the social revolution.

The land question, which was certainly a very sore point, has been satisfactorily settled here. Expropriation has taken place, and small and poor peasants have been given a sufficient equivalent for their labour to enlist their sympathy for the Soviet Union.* All that could be done in this direction in 5—6 years has been done. We do not deny that there is still much room for improvement in Russia; every delegate who visited Russian enterprises and peasant farms could see this. But it is certainly wonderful that a country where, at the end of the war there were 80 per cent. illiterates, has been able to raise its enterprises to the West European level. If they were transferred to West Europe they would have no cause to be ashamed.

Comrades, what is really necessary for the solution of the social question here in Russia? It is, first of all, necessary for all delegates who have met here at an international conference to decide to support the Russian Revolution. When we get back to our respective countries, we must give objective reports true to life of all we have seen here. We have to make it our business to let the world proletariat know the principles on which Russian economy is based. We have to see to it that our leaders, particularly those who are economists, who hold different views from the leading Russian economists, change their views in the right direction. Workers from all parts of the world have met here to study the Russian economic system; the world labour leaders are meeting in America to study the capitalist economic system.

We consider our studies here of much more importance. We have also to ensure that Russia be given an opportunity to continue her constructive work in peace, that Russia should not be attacked by any imperialist power, that none of the results of 5—6 years' constructive work in Russia should be destroyed by an imperialist war. We must pledge ourselves to this. But how can we achieve it? Comrades, if we intend to do our duty on our return home, we must, above all, enlist our own colleagues for the revolutionary class struggle.

I will now deal with another question. As we all know, Russia is engaged in reconstructing her agriculture and industry; we have, for instance, seen the development of new

mines. As a miner, I was able to ascertain that there is a kind of coal in Russia which is 80 per cent. oil, which can provide all the chemicals which Russia needs for the agricultural and chemical industries. Russia has paid special attention to this question. As soon as this industry is so far developed that coal and chemicals can also be utilised for agricultural enterprises, Russia will be able to export. We are all probably agreed that Russia is a country of enormous underground wealth, and of unlimited possibilities; it is our duty to help the Russian workers and peasants, and we can do this most effectively by defeating our exploiters at home.

Comrades, I do not want to take up your time any longer, but as a parting word I say: let us keep to what we have pledged ourselves in Russia, before all the workers of the Soviet Union; that we all will do our bit towards the establishment of a Socialist united front, a trade union united front against imperialism. Comrades, if our reformist leaders have not the courage to identify themselves with this decision, then we must do it without them. I conclude my arguments with a "Long live solidarity. To the barricades!" (Loud applause, and cries of "Bravo!")

WADDELL (Great Britain): Comrades, I am sure that you will agree with me that it is impossible for us to realise and appreciate the ten years' struggle of the workers in Russia for their emancipation. We can only deal with the resolution. We are indebted to our Russian comrades for the opportunity of coming here to meet them in their own country, in their own factories, in their own workshops, and to discuss with them the real position as we know it now in Russia. We are indebted to them for the opportunity of witnessing the biggest and most wonderful demonstration that the world has ever seen. We appreciate the loyalty and the discipline of the workers of Russia, that loyalty and devotion which, together with the courage and determination of their leaders, brought freedom to the Russian workers. We can understand Russia and her fear of war. We can understand that with war there is a possibility of the Russian Republic being suppressed. We can also understand the desire of the capitalists to crush them, and we have got to help the Russians to retain what they have accomplished. Our Russian comrades have told us on more than one occasion that the people at home do not understand their position. That is perfectly true. If it were possible for the workers of Great Britain,

or for the workers of other capitalist countries, to come here and see for themselves, as we have seen, to hear as we have heard, and to understand to the small extent that we understand, comrades, there would be no more war. *And there would be no more peace until the other countries had placed themselves in the position that Russia is in to-day.*

Our difficulty will be when we go back home to put into operation the terms of the resolution, which I am sure will be enthusiastically carried by this conference. Let us take the resolution back, and let us be as enthusiastic in applying the terms of the resolution as we are here to-day in carrying it. We shall have difficulty in restraining ourselves when we read those press reports about the oppression, the starvation, the degradation of the Russian workers. Time and time again we have been told that our Russian friends were starving and being oppressed. We have seen some of them. We have talked with them. We have talked with their children in their homes and in their nurseries. We have talked with them in their schools. We have met the people here in their factories—and, knowing the position, we shall be able to tell them at home of the damnable lies of the capitalist press.

Comrades, so long as we have a capitalist press, so long will we have these lies about our comrades in Russia.

We are pledged through this conference to no more war. The British trade unions are pledged also to no more war. It is our business when we go back home to see that the Trades Union Congress carries out the pledges and protects the Russian Soviet until such time as they are able to protect themselves. Comrades, this is not an ordinary visit that we are on in Russia. This is something more than just coming over to see how the Russians carry on in their factories, how they carry on in their workshops. We must do something more than that. We have received an inspiration which it would be impossible to receive at home. We must work together. We must help each other, not only to help Russia, but those countries who are striving to put themselves in the same position as Russia.

Long live the trade union movement!

Long live the Russian Soviet! (Applause.)

KLEIN (France): On behalf of the non-party C.G.T.U., C.G.T., and unorganised members of the French delegation, I wish to convey fraternal greetings to the delegates of various

nations assembled here from the workers who have sent us as delegates.

We have come to Russia without pre-conceived ideas, animated by feelings of impartiality and objectivity, in order to see for ourselves the work accomplished during the ten years which have elapsed since the Soviet Revolution.

We have great pleasure in saying that we have been given every opportunity to accomplish this mission.

We are bound to declare that, in spite of the precarious conditions in which the country found itself at the end of the war, and in spite of the struggles which the Russian proletariat had to carry on against counter-revolutionaries subsidised by the capitalist States, much has been accomplished in regard to the economic development of the U.S.S.R. on a Socialist basis.

The structure of the Soviet State is certainly the expression of the will and wishes of the proletariat because it rests on the masses.

Our visits to factories and their apprenticeship schools have shown us that constant care is taken of the health and security of the workers.

The improvement in women's labour and social conditions, the complete removal of the sex-disability, stand unique in the world.

The clubs, with their libraries, halls and rest rooms, their cultural, musical and dramatic commissions, have done more to raise the intellectual level of workers and peasants than any bourgeois State is able to do.

The crèches are model organisations; there young children are cared for, and the domestic cares of the mothers are thus greatly alleviated.

The rest homes enable workers on their holidays to find real rest and relaxation in former palatial dwellings of the aristocracy and the rich merchants.

We have also been struck by the devoted and disinterested service of the medical profession in all sanitary institutions; and by the provision of sanatoria and institutes where the causes and treatment of industrial diseases are studied.

We have been able to see for ourselves the liberal régime in prisons and houses of detention, where young offenders are trained for a useful life and where repression has been reduced to a minimum.

The enormous efforts which are made for the electrification of the countryside, the construction of new factories, sanitary workers' dwellings, bear witness to a rapid and continuous economic development.

We have certainly also found defects; for instance, too big a difference between the wages of the various categories, and too low wages of unskilled workers. But, taking into consideration the difficulties which the U.S.S.R. has had to overcome, we feel confident that what has been achieved up till now is a guarantee for the future.

We do not forget that ten years ago the Russian people were groaning under a repressive régime, that the economic situation was chaotic, that the proletariat of this country was the most backward in the world, and that to-day, being master of its destiny, it has accomplished reforms which the workers of France will not be able to achieve unless they rid themselves of their bourgeoisie.

This is what we will try to explain to our comrades on our return; we will make it our business to induce them to join again their class organisations in order to struggle by all possible means against the capitalist States, which endeavour to frustrate the great work of the only proletariat State.

Long live Soviet Russia!

Long live workers' international solidarity!

J. LARKIN (Ireland): Comrades, before dealing with the matter under discussion I should like, on behalf of the Irish delegation and the revolutionary workers and peasants of Ireland, to send fraternal greetings through the delegates of all countries to the workers of the world. And I should especially like to greet those delegates from the subject races of the British Empire, and to express the hope that in our united efforts we will bring about the eventual downfall of that Empire.

The Irish delegation was asked to express its opinion on the report of Comrade Rykov, and the figures and facts given in it in relation to the industrial and agricultural achievements of the Soviet Union during the ten years. In this regard there are three questions which are presented to us. The first question is whether these figures on industrial and agricultural achievements represent, as was stated in the report, actual facts. We delegates have been presented with a great mass of figures. We have visited many of the industrial plants of this city, and in our opinion, as members of

the working class, this is the most important way of checking this report. We have been afforded unlimited opportunities of talking with and discussing with the workers in the factories. It is their opinion we want to rely upon; it is their opinions we follow, and from their enthusiasm, from their determination, their enjoyment, from their increased wages, better conditions, and in the happy, healthy faces of the children, we can see that not only are these figures true, but they can't even present the actual picture to our minds. We are satisfied that the achievements represented by the figures on production have been accomplished. We are satisfied that in agricultural production one of the most marvellous and unexpected increases has taken place that the world has ever seen.

To our mind, the next question is the most important one, and that is whether these increases have been achieved at the expense of the working class; have their wages been reduced, have their conditions been lowered, as a result of these increases? And we find that, on the contrary, these accomplishments, these achievements, have not been brought about by a group of experts manipulating facts and figures, machinery and human labour, in order to get these results, but that it is from below, from the workers, that this has come. This progress has sprung from below, the workers and peasants with their determination, their enthusiasm, their fixity of purpose have been the driving force and cause of the rise of the figures of production. And the reason for this is not that hours have been lengthened for increased production. On the contrary, hours have been shortened, the workers of this country have also had their conditions improved, and wages have risen. Their enthusiasm has sprung from the very fact that they have participated in and enjoy the benefits of this rise. And not only is it a question of their enthusiasm, of their determination, but the basis of this possible increase, and why it has been made possible, is the fact that it has been a concrete expression of the proletarian dictatorship of this country. (Applause.)

The next question we want to deal with is whether this programme has been achieved by the introduction of the socialisation of industry or in spite of it, and I think that this question is answered in the reply to the last one. Has any delegate in this conference the least shade of doubt that this programme cannot be accomplished on the basis of

anything but a system built on socialisation? In imperialist countries the usual method of increasing production is to sacrifice the workers. The other system depends on the activities of the masses, and I have no doubt now that one of the main reasons for this progress has been the socialisation of industry.

We, of the Irish delegation, are satisfied with this report of Comrade Rykov. We believe that it presents a true picture of the progress of the Soviet Union during the past ten years of its existence. We believe it has resulted in the bettering of the conditions of the working class, in increased production and efficiency, both in the industrial and in the agricultural field. And if this great progress can be achieved in only five years of actual constructive work, cannot it be realised that in the next decade, the Soviet Union will build up such an impregnable fortress of industrial and agricultural production, of working-class productivity and working-class activity, that it will be impregnable against all imperialist aggression. But on one condition, that during the next ten years it is free from outside interference, free from an imperialist war. And we, as delegates representing practically every country in the world, must consider this is our task. We have seen the conditions, we have visited and investigated the actual living conditions of the workers. We know what is going on, and when we return to our countries it will be our task to bend all our efforts to the problem of convincing our fellow workers that the conditions in this country are actually better for the working class, and if we can win their support and bring them to this realisation, I don't think there will be any question of imperialist war against the Soviet Union. We want to convince them that their hope, their salvation, is bound up with the progress of Soviet Russia. We want to convince them that if they will stand together and allow the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union the opportunity to continue their development, the Soviet Union will become ever more a tower of strength and hope to the workers of the world.

Long live the revolution!

Long live the Soviet Union!

Long live the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia!

RICHARDSON (Sierra Leone): Dear Comrades, I have the greatest pleasure and satisfaction in standing before you this afternoon to give you a short address, which I hope will



Delegates on s.s. "Soviet" on way to Leningrad.



Reception of Delegates on arrival at Leningrad.



Workers entering the Red Square for the Tenth Anniversary Celebrations.



Group at Red Army Aerodrome.

meet the requirements of this gathering. First of all, I must tell you that I have come with greetings from my people in West Africa. In spite of efforts to the contrary the good work that is being done by you is becoming known in Africa, so that to-day you will be surprised to know that a good many of our people over there have heard that you are accomplishing something. Although the English Government has tried to keep it out, propaganda is creeping through to West Africa. Now, it must be clearly understood, comrades, that I am the president of a union called the Railroad Workers' Union of Sierra Leone, with a membership of over 5,000. When I first received the invitation to come here, well, I felt it would be quite impossible, but after due consideration I found that I would be doing myself a grave injustice if I refused this opportunity. So I decided that I should come here and see you personally, and see the work you are doing here. I can tell this meeting that since I came to this country I have seen that Russia is doing surprisingly good work.

Now, comrades, you do not know that a meeting of this kind is unique. This is what we were trying to do in Africa. We have been trying to call together people from various nations. But you know we cannot do anything ourselves. We are so young and weak and we have no one behind us to assist us. There was a strike in my home which resulted in failure. The people in England would not back us up, the people in other countries would not back us up. We have written several petitions but they have all been of no avail, and to-day over 400 men have been dismissed from service and have absolutely nothing to do. Now, you here have started such an organisation. I must tell you that we must move together, we must always pull together and you must always be with your leaders in this organisation, you must be behind them in their work, and you must have no disintegration. I do not know whether any disorganisation exists in this part of the world. But when members of an organisation do not listen to their leaders, and when they do not follow in the footsteps of their leaders it is disastrous. I hope that no such thing will happen at this conference. You have a great movement here. You must not forget that the leaders are fighting your cause, that they are doing this for your benefit as well, and especially for the benefit of the children that are to come. You have to respect these people and keep in touch with them. At home things are done in a different way. The

government joins up with some big capitalists, the leaders of the labour movement put some money in their pockets and to-day they come out and say that they will not have such a state of affairs, let everything remain peaceful. They say you had better not do this and you had better not do that, nothing must happen here.

Comrades, you have come here from different parts of the world. We must all move together, we must all pull together, we must all work together. We must not only write, we must work after we get back home. I want to hear from you in London, I want to hear from you in America, I want to hear from you in Russia, in China, from all over the world, so that we will all pull together. If we allow the capitalists to break through our lines we are doomed to failure. The capitalists have the power, but if we, as workers, move together we will go through without failure.

I am going to tell you something about what has brought about all this disintegration. It is the lies about the working class of the world; lies have been circulated about Russia all over the world. We in Africa have seen the struggle. We have gone through it. We have some sections of the working class who are called clerks. They write letters, they wear good clothes and white collars. They look down upon us, the coloured workers who do the unskilled work, but the question arises, who makes these clothes? Who built this great big hall? It was all made and built by the workmen. It was the workmen who did the job. (Applause.) So, comrades, I tell you that if we are to build a world for the workers we must pull together. If we had known that such an organisation existed in Russia I believe things would have gone much better with us in Africa. You are the leaders of such an organisation—the only organisation of its kind in the world's history. But nothing can be accomplished if things are done only here and there. These people have called us together, and a mutual understanding must be reached so that we can go back to our homes and sit down to do things. We must keep in constant touch with each other; we must write to our comrades.

Now, comrades, I am not going to make a long speech. I wish you in this business all success, and I wish you all success in your undertakings. I wish the Soviet Union long life and blessings in everything they do.

PUTZ (German Peasant Delegation): Comrades, in his report Comrade Rykov laid stress on the necessity of co-operation between workers and peasants. The German peasant delegation was given every opportunity to make itself acquainted with the measures taken by the Soviet Government for the promotion of the alliance between workers and peasants and for the improvement of peasant farms. The German peasant delegation thinks that it is particularly entitled to speak about its experiences because they are based on what the delegates saw in a region where they could always speak in their mother tongue. We spent the eight days which we had at our disposal in making investigations in the German villages on the Volga, in the German autonomous Soviet Republic. The investigations which we were able to make there have given the utmost satisfaction to the whole delegation. This is all the more important because the delegation consists of only three Communists and five non-Party peasants, some of whom have nothing in common with the Communist Party and Communist ideas. We have seen with our own eyes that the measures which Comrade Rykov spoke of yesterday as in the programme of demands, are really carried out. We were able to see there that all the things which are proposed are being carried out to promote this alliance between workers and peasants: in villages, at railway stations, in the form of store-houses for corn, agricultural colleges and other agricultural improvements. We will enumerate here a few of the things which specially pleased us. In his report, Comrade Rykov mentioned national independence and the liberation of nations through the Soviet power. The fact that the German peasant delegation had an opportunity to visit a region where newspapers, periodicals, government orders, agricultural schools and other institutions use German as the official language is the most convincing proof that these aims of the Soviet power have been made a reality. We were also very pleased to see that the Soviet Union is enabling the sons of the poorest and the middle peasants to study in agricultural colleges at the expense of the State. We visited the agricultural college and agricultural secondary schools in various provincial towns and had conversations with the young peasants about their work, their curriculum and their social position. We have convinced ourselves that after a little while these sections of the population will produce excellent teachers for the peasantry. We have seen that the Soviet Union is bringing enlightenment and

education to the peasants, who were heretofore oppressed, even in the remotest villages. One of the most important measures is the provision of medical and veterinary assistance entirely at the expense of the local or the German Volga region. This is a measure which exceeds all our expectations. Inoculation, free of charge, of horses, cows and pigs once a year against cattle plague takes place on a large scale.

The Soviet Union attaches enormous importance to the organisation of the peasantry on a co-operative basis. We heard reports on this subject not only in the Central Bureau but also in a village where we stayed unexpectedly owing to a motor accident. The chairman of the agricultural co-operative in this village lectured on co-operation at a village meeting attended by 300 peasants.

According to this lecturer, in some villages 70-80 per cent. of the peasant farms are already organised on a co-operative basis; tractors and agricultural machinery are used in common, co-operatives have already their own store-houses, so that the peasants are no longer compelled, as before, to go two to three hundred versts to a railway station, or to the Volga to deliver their grain.

Moreover, 1,400 farms have been organised, which produce high grade seed. This venture has been so successful that, since 1921, the year of the terrible famine, it has been possible to supply every peasant farm with high grade seed, and, over and above this, during the last year, to sell 40,000 poods of this seed to farms outside the district. Thus, the German peasant delegation is able to confirm everything that Rykov said here.

Therefore, the German delegation will tell its German brothers everything it has seen here in order to destroy the network of lies about Soviet Russia, and to assure the peasantry that the successes of the Russian peasants are entirely due to the close alliance between the peasantry and the industrial proletariat.

The German peasant delegation is convinced that the power of Tsardom could only be broken by this alliance.

The German peasant delegation said, in taking leave of the People's Commissars of the Volga-German Republic, that it would do its utmost on its return to Germany to make the peasants realise that it is their duty to protect the peaceful constructive work of the Soviet Union against any imperialist

interference and machinations. This is what we intend to do when we get home.

We wish the workers and peasants another decade of development and prosperity under the Soviet Power.

LEVER (America): Comrades, fellow workers, and friends. Ten years ago during the blood bath that covered Western Europe, the greatest event in the world's history took place. The working class of the entire world had seen the soldiers and workers and peasants of Russia stand up and refuse to fight in the capitalist-imperialist war and, instead, turn their attention to the fight against the owners of the land, of industry and the government of the capitalists and imperialists of Russia, in order to wrest the power of the government of Russia from their hands and place this power in the hands of the workers and peasants themselves. The struggle, at that time, was being interpreted by the European and American press as a treacherous act on the part of the Russian people. But we have seen since then that it was the revolutionary Russian workers who were right; that it was the allies of the militarists and the capitalists of the world who were wrong.

Ten years ago we stood up in our radical meetings in America and pointed our fingers at darkest Russia. To-day, we meet with the revolutionary workers of Moscow, together with 42 other national groups, and we are pointing our fingers at darkest America, where the workers to-day have the weakest organisation of any industrial nation in the world. I want you, our comrades of the Russian Revolution, to know that the message which has been delivered by the leaders of the American Federation of Labour, and of the four transport brotherhoods of America, that the American workers are not with the working class of Russia is absolutely at variance with the ideals, hopes and thoughts of the American working class towards Russia. If you go through the records of the Conventions of the various international unions that have taken place since the Russian Revolution you will find, on numerous occasions, that the Conventions of the international unions, representing the workers of America and Canada, have time and again passed almost unanimous resolutions demanding the recognition of the Soviet Republic and fighting for the re-establishment of trade relations. If this is not true the records ought to disprove it. Yet, in spite of the fact that many Conventions of organisations, representing

hundreds of thousands of workers, have, from time to time, demanded the recognition of the Soviet Republic, we find the so-called leaders of American labour waging a bitter war—against whom? Against the workers and peasants of the Soviet Republic who themselves are the only ones who had the courage, the brains, the ability, the organising capacity and the enthusiasm to win the Russian Empire for the workers and peasants themselves.

Friends and comrades of the Soviet Republic and of all nations here assembled: You have been to Russia, as we of the American delegation have been. You have seen for yourselves, as we have seen, the great achievements brought about by the organising capacity of the Soviet workers. We have seen during the last ten years in our own country that the labour leaders have lined up with the imperialists of the world. We find, however, that the Russian Republic, after really only four or five years of organising efforts to establish a successful rule of the workers and peasants—that this Workers' Republic has made real progress, has achieved very much, has accomplished an immense organising job, and we are greatly impressed with all the work that has been done here. We must consider that they had to work with a country which was practically destroyed by civil wars, famines and intervention, and to-day, with their own bare hands, we find them building a new Republic that belongs to the men and women who till the soil, who work the factories and mines, and who are creating all this wealth for the benefit of the people, instead of for the benefit of a few—lords and capitalists. We were surprised to see that you have accomplished so much during the past few years. We are sorry that we were unable to help you more in the past, and we are hopeful that we will be able to help you more in the future. We hope to go back and re-organise the unions of America and Canada on an industrial scale, so that in the near future we, too, will be somebody in the international labour movement.

Our greetings are extended to all our comrades in the Soviet Republic. We are proud of your achievements, and we want you to know that there are thousands and millions of workers in America and Canada who are proud of your achievements, and who hope you will have still more success than you have had so far.

DEVILLERS (Belgium): Comrades, on behalf of the Belgian delegation, we convey our fraternal greetings to all the delegates at this Congress. We are also glad of this opportunity to express our feelings of profound solidarity with the workers and peasants of Russia.

We are glad to be able to tell the Russian workers that we are completely in accord with all the slogans issued to-day from this platform. When on our return to our respective countries we are again confronted with the lies published in the bourgeois press and in the press of its lackeys, we know that the entire proletariat will this time understand that the time is past when it was possible—by tricks and lies—to make us believe that the Soviet régime is an anti-labour régime.

Long live the united front!

Long live international trade union unity!

Long live the international solidarity of all workers!

BOLGANN (Scandinavia): In the name of all the delegates from co-operatives present here in Moscow I wish to express the pleasure we experienced in listening to Comrade Rykov's report on the construction policy. We co-operative delegates have already been travelling about in the Soviet Union and have had an opportunity to see how things really are, how the work of construction is actually proceeding. We can record with satisfaction that this work of construction is going forward rapidly and rationally.

The policy carried on by the powers that be in Western Europe against the Soviet Union, and in many cases also against the co-operatives, fosters only capitalistic and imperialistic aims; its only aim is to conquer or to isolate this Socialist Workers' State, the Soviet Union. For this reason, it is very necessary to give the utmost support to the co-operatives which here in the Soviet Union are carrying out their great social and cultural work. This is all the more necessary since we have seen that it is just these co-operatives which are on the right road, on the road that will lead the workers and peasants to our final goal, to Socialism. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN: I will call now on Comrade Ugarte, who will speak on behalf of the Latin republics. He will speak in Spanish, but as a compliment to France he will himself translate the speech into French to the French delegation.

UGARTE (South America): Comrade Ugarte described the position of the peoples of Latin America, which is a

territory occupying three-quarters of the Continent, with a population of eighty million, dominated by Northern imperialism, which recruits its agents among the national politicians. Ugarte declared that these people would gather the necessary strength and power to keep North American imperialism in check in regard to Soviet Russia.

The delegates on whose behalf he was speaking found here two main tendencies: the one—struggle against imperialism, and the other—struggle against the ruling classes which are at its service.

They will get inspiration from the example—unique in the history of the world—which they have here before their eyes, in order to organise the forces of the South American peoples for the establishment of a new social order.

CHAIRMAN: I wish to remind you that at 2 o'clock we will adjourn for dinner. The Session will be resumed at 6 p.m. Thus it will not be necessary to leave the hall between speeches.

At the same time I wish to inform the delegates' bureau and the press bureau that at 4.30 p.m. they can receive all the information they want in the room behind the platform. Members of the resolutions' commission should also meet at 4.30 p.m. in the same place.

AFTERNOON SESSION, NOVEMBER 11th

Chairman: Lawther (Great Britain).

JEANNERET (Switzerland): There was a time when Switzerland was a free country, and when Comrade Lenin found asylum in it. At the present time the Swiss delegation must take a lesson from the Russian workers on how to carry on revolutionary creative work. We are not going to repeat here what has already been said by other comrades on the successes of the workers of the Soviet Union. We agree fully and entirely with what has been said. I merely want to add that the Swiss delegation, in which there are two comrades who speak Russian, could better than the other delegations become acquainted with the life and activity of the Russian workers. We have come to the unanimous conclusion that the Russian workers at the present time live better than before the Revolution. Moreover, we see that the Socialist ideas, the

ideas of Communism, are supported also by all classes of the population, and that they permeate ever larger sections of the broad masses of the Russian peoples.

THOMAS (Youth Delegation): There is a tremendous difference between the situation of the youth of the U.S.S.R. and that of the youth of the other countries. Whereas in the Soviet Union there is a whole series of laws protecting the young workers, and aiding them in obtaining a vocational education, the youth of Great Britain is subject to exploitation and is condemned to ever-increasing poverty and deterioration.

The Chairman then read a number of congratulatory telegrams.

SOKHATSKY (Poland): Comrade Sokhatsky greeted the Congress on behalf of the Polish non-Party Committee which was organised for the purpose of dispatching a workers' delegation to the Soviet Union. The Committee is composed of representatives of labour and peasant organisations of Poland, Ukrainian and White Russian labour and peasant groups, representatives of the Independent Peasant Party, the Independent Socialist Labour Party, the Polish Socialist Party, and others.

The idea of dispatching a workers' delegation to the U.S.S.R. was met warmly by the working masses of Poland. Delegates were elected in the mills and factories and at labour meetings.

The Pilsudsky Government endeavoured to put various obstacles in the way of sending the delegation. Meetings which were to elect the delegates were dispersed by the police and the elected delegates arrested.

We see that terror prevails in Poland, and the oppressed nationalities of Poland are groaning under the oppressive Polish régime. We see beyond its borders that Socialism is being built up in a great and free country, and that an alliance between the factory workers and the rest of the toiling population is really being established. Polish Fascism, in close collaboration with the imperialist cut-throats of the world, is organising its forces for a struggle against the Soviet Union.

Particularly the recent measures taken by Polish Fascism in regard to Lithuania reveal that the danger of provoking war on the part of Polish Fascism is an actual reality. The toiling masses of Poland are vitally interested in defending

the Soviet Union, the country which is ushering in Socialism. Demonstrations have taken place on the occasion of the anniversary of the October Revolution, under this slogan:

Long live the October Revolution!

Long live the U.S.S.R.!

Long live the world revolution! (Loud applause.)

TUCKER (Great Britain): The U.S.S.R. is the only country in the world where Socialism, co-operation and the trade union movement have combined their forces for creative work. The results of this combined work are obvious. The country is leading a new life and there are great vistas before it.

The successes of the Soviet Union are particularly great in the sphere of public education, in the sphere of levelling out the economic and legal status of men and women, in the sphere of the protection of motherhood and youth.

The successes of co-operation in the U.S.S.R. cannot even be compared with the co-operative movement of other countries. This contrast is due to the fact that the European co-operators have to work under capitalist governments, whereas in the Soviet Union the co-operatives develop and thrive on a Socialist foundation.

Presentation of banners from Kostroma

LUBIMOV (Kostroma): The Kostroma workers have asked me to convey their hearty greetings to our dear guests, the chosen representatives of the world proletariat. (Applause.)

Comrades, three delegations came to Kostroma—the German, French and Esthonian. They celebrated in this small town of the Soviet Republic the Tenth Anniversary of November. Our workers decided at their meetings to send to their class-brothers, the workers of Germany, France and Esthonia, this modest gift—red banners, under which the workers of these countries are to march to victory, such as has been achieved by the workers of the Soviet Union. (He unfolds the banners, applause.)

MELNICHANSKY: Will the representatives of the German, French and Esthonian delegations come to the platform to receive the banners? The Esthonian delegates have asked not to be photographed.

LUBIMOV: Comrades, we are convinced that the time is not far distant when the proletariat of the whole world

will be as free as the Russian Soviet proletariat, and will be able to work for the improvement of the material and cultural position of the working class. We know that the tremendous growth of the national economy of the Soviet Republics is alarming and annoying the capitalists, who are preparing to attack the first Soviet State in the world. This international congress is a proof to us that as soon as bourgeois countries attempt to attack the Soviet State the working class throughout the world will rise against it, and this will be a guarantee of the ultimate victory of the proletariat throughout the world.

Long live world revolution!

Long live Soviet power which will be established in all parts of the world. (Applause and singing of "The International.")

CANONNE (French): Comrades from Kostroma, this banner which you are presenting us is the symbol of the blood shed by the working class of Russia, not only for its own, but for world liberation.

When we present it on your behalf to the workers of France, we will remind them of the sacrifices you have made. We are convinced that French workers will soon march behind the Kostroma banner to the attack on capitalism, and that this flag will be the first to be hoisted over the ruins of the bourgeois order. (Loud applause.)

BLUME (Germany): Comrades, on behalf of the 3rd German Workers' Delegation, I want to thank the Kastropol workers for the banner they have presented us with to take to the German workers. It will be a symbol in the liberation struggle against the capitalist yoke, in the struggle against our oppressors, in the struggle which the German workers cannot escape. Long live the first workers' State!

Long live international trade union unity!

Long live international solidarity! (Applause.)

Greetings from the Red Army

Comrade GONTCHAROV greeted the Congress on behalf of the Red Army. His speech was accompanied by loud applause on the part of the delegates. There were cries from all parts of the hall "Long live the Red Army! Long live the Army of the World Proletariat! Hurrah!"

Greetings from Moscow working women

KOZHEVNIKOVA (on behalf of the working women of Moscow): Comrades, I have been asked to bring greetings to this Congress on behalf of the working and peasant women of Moscow and the Moscow Gubernia, who have met here in connection with the Tenth Anniversary of the Soviet Revolution. (Applause.)

The women workers at the bench and the peasant women at the plough have been working during the last ten years for the reconstruction of our Soviet country on a new basis. Twenty-two thousand women, both factory workers and peasants, are elected representatives of the people, seven thousand women workers and peasants are working in Soviets, some of them filling responsible posts. Working and peasant women are getting ready for the struggle which seems imminent owing to the growing war danger. The women workers of our great Union have set themselves the task—not by orders from above but of their own accord—to prepare, not only their sons but also themselves for the coming struggle, in accordance with Vladimir Ilyitch's injunction. During the last few months 15,000 women have been attending first aid and hygiene courses, several thousand are going through a course of rifle practice, because they know that they will be wanted, not only in the rear, but also at the front, in order to defend the great conquests of the proletariat. (Applause.)

I say on behalf of all working women of our great Union that your presence here is a guarantee that our sisters beyond the border will be on our side when the time comes. We send them our hearty greetings, and call on them to come out into the struggle against the bourgeoisie, and to help to establish a united front of the world proletariat.

Long live social revolution.

Long live the Comintern, which is leading the way to the emancipation of working women, not only in our great Union but throughout the world. (Applause and "Hurrahs.")

Greetings from the Mongolian Peoples' Republic

NAVAN-NAMGHIL (Mongolia): Comrades, on behalf of the Central Committees of the Mongolian Peoples' Revolutionary Party and Young Communist League, and also on behalf of all the workers of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic, I heartily greet the masses of the Soviet Union who ten years ago achieved the November Revolution and who since then

have been building up Socialism. Hearty greetings also to the representatives of workers', peasants' and social organisations who have come here for the Tenth Anniversary of the Revolution and are participating in the International Congress of the Friends of the Soviet Union. The construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. is an inspiration to the workers and peasants of capitalist countries, and to the oppressed peoples of the East. The imperialists are getting ready for a military campaign against the Soviet Union. I hope that the delegates of the foreign social and labour organisations who are attending this International Congress will create conditions which will guarantee the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union a long period of peaceful constructive work. The Mongolian delegation requests the Presidium of the International Congress of the Friends of the Soviet Union to hand over this red banner to the Government of the Soviet Union as the representative of workers and peasants. Long live Socialist construction in the Soviet Union! Long live the national movement in the East! Long live world proletarian revolution!

Comrade LUNACHARSKY took the flag from Navan-Namghil and with great enthusiasm he said:

Comrades, taking, as a representative of our government, this red flag from the hands of a representative of our Mongolian friends and allies, I swear on behalf of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union that we will continue our energetic struggle for freedom and cultural development of all nations of the earth until exploitation of man by man will be swept off the face of the earth. (Applause.)

Long live social revolution! (Shouts "Hurrah!" and loud applause.)

Comrade Lunacharsky received the banner from the representative of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic, and they kissed one another.

Greetings from Moscow Workers

DALSKY (on behalf of the Moscow factories): Greetings. Comrades, we workers of the Engineering Works "Proletarsky Trud" elected at our general meeting a delegation consisting of the oldest workers of our enterprise to convey our hearty greetings to our foreign fellow-workers. On the day of the Tenth Anniversary of the Revolution we made a survey of our work in the Soviet Union, to ascertain the progress

which has been made. We seized power in the November Revolution in order to build up with our own hands our life and conditions, in order to struggle for the liberation of the world proletariat. In November we laid the foundation, and now we have already erected the walls of our stronghold—our Soviet Union—and we have made it so strong that the working class throughout the world can lean on it. During this period we have re-equipped our factories and works. We have increased our output so that at present industrial workers are producing 19.2 roubles' worth of goods instead of the former 15 roubles' worth. Wages are rising from year to year. We are gradually overcoming our difficulties, and we brush aside those who are afraid of these difficulties and are complaining about them, and continue on our path, because we feel that we are working in the interests of the International Labour Movement, in the interests of the world proletariat. Without help from outside, with our own hands and resources, we have already been able to reconstruct what we received from the bourgeoisie, or, rather, what we took by force; we have already exceeded pre-war levels, and have set ourselves the task not to be guided by these pre-war standards but to outstrip them as rapidly as possible, in order to strengthen our Soviet Union as a base and bulwark of world revolution. During our work we continually think of our brothers who are suffering under capitalist conditions abroad. We follow every sign of activity on the part of the working class abroad, and we hope that now, when the working class is sending its delegations here, the bourgeois lies and slanders which have been frightening you will be dissipated. The present Congress guarantees this. We must create a united front for an offensive against the bourgeoisie. We must weld ourselves together to resist the capitalists, who hate us because, in spite of their prophecies, we have lived to see the Tenth Anniversary of our revolution, and because we are strong enough to last for ever. We must organise a united front and sweep away the bourgeoisie. In the event of an attack on us by the bourgeoisie, we must be certain that on your return home you will tell the working class in other countries that if the proletariat in the other parts of the world is on our side, we shall be invincible.

In conclusion allow me to greet you once more on behalf of the workers employed in the Moscow engineering works.

Long live world revolution! (Loud applause.)

BOBROVA: Comrades, allow me to greet you on behalf of the Mariinsk stocking factory "Textilschiki." The 2,000 women employed in our enterprise send hearty greetings to the delegations who have come to see how we are working in our Red capital. In 1917 there were only 200 workers in this factory; now there are 2,020, which is due to our own efforts and is a result of our Revolution. The message I have to give you from our women workers is: Now that you have seen how we carry on our work here, you must do your bit as soon as possible. Comrades, I think that when you, our foreign fellow workers, return to your own countries and tell the workers there what you have seen here, they will take in hand more eagerly the work which has already been accomplished here by the Russian Bolshevik Communist Party.

Long live our Communist Party!

Long live the achievements of our Red November!

Long live world revolution!

Comrades, get rid of your bourgeoisie as soon as possible. (Applause and "Hurrahs.")

ABANKIN: Comrades, I greet you on behalf of the workers and employees of the engineering works "Red Proletarian." You are participating together with us in the celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the Great Revolution—together with us you are reviewing our attainments. We ask you to tell our foreign comrades the truth about the things you have seen here: our successes and also our shortcomings, and nothing but the truth.

Comrades, ten years ago we came out, under the banner of the Communist Party, into the streets to fight against tsarism. During this period we were only able to devote 5—6 years to peaceful construction, to the reconstruction of our economy, to the construction of Socialism, and to laying the foundation for the world proletarian revolution. The successes mentioned here by other working men and women representing our factories and workshops are very real. Therefore we ask you: tell our comrades abroad that we are full of energy and enthusiasm for the construction of a Socialist society. Tell them also that it is high time for them to join us Russian comrades, and to overthrow their bourgeois enemy, just as we have done here, and to help to achieve world revolution.

Long live the world revolution!

Long live the Communist International!

Long live the vanguard of our working class—the Bolshevik Communist Party! (Applause.)

The next speaker was Galileo, the Italian representative. When he appeared on the platform there was a spontaneous anti-Fascist demonstration, which ended with the singing of the "Bandiera Rossa."

GALILEO (Italy): Comrades, I greet the Congress on behalf of the Italian delegation.

In my speech I wish to express the unanimous opinion of the entire Italian delegation, which consists of representatives of all political tendencies and of non-Party workers, and I can say that this delegation represents the movement of proletarian unity which is developing in Italy. I belong to the Left of the Italian Maximalist Party, which is steadily fighting for revolutionary unity and the united class front. To be victorious we must set the united proletarian front against the united front of the bourgeoisie!

We, who are workers, intuitively believed in the progress which our U.S.S.R. brothers are making towards Socialism. We knew that a workers' and peasants' government could not act differently. When we arrived here we saw that everything was up to our expectations. We are convinced that the workers of the U.S.S.R. will be able to construct Socialism in spite of numerous difficulties; the revolutionary development of those who are in power in Soviet Russia guarantees this.

To be able to come to the U.S.S.R. the Italian delegation had great difficulties to contend with, even including risk of life. In spite of this, the delegation has come and pledges itself to work for the revolutionary cause, and to defend the U.S.S.R.

Bourgeois newspapers frequently compare Fascism with Bolshevism, but they forget many things. They do not say that in the U.S.S.R. wages have increased 11 per cent. and that in Italy they have decreased 40 per cent., that the price of food-stuffs here has gone down 13 per cent., whereas in Italy it has gone up much more than 13 per cent., and is still increasing, that the 7-hour day is being introduced in the U.S.S.R., whereas we have a 10-hour day in Italy with pay for 8 hours. This was while there was plenty of employment, but now, when we are in the midst of a serious industrial crisis, many factories have been closed down and shorter hours are worked in the other factories. There are a million unemployed, and



The Kremlin from the River.



The Palace of Labour, Moscow (Trade Union Headquarters).



Delegates with Officials of Union of Soviet and Commercial Employees.



A New Workers' Settlement.

this in addition to the absence of the most elementary civil liberties has converted Italy into a barracks.

I must tell you that we are glad to be here with you in order to discuss measures for the defence of the U.S.S.R. We assure you on our part that the Italian proletariat is animated by a revolutionary spirit, and is ready for revolt. This is greatly due to the treachery of nearly all the reformist leaders, who are always trying to divert the attention of the proletariat from its ultimate revolutionary aim.

We will get back to our country in spite of the Fascists, we will carry to our enslaved brothers greetings and expressions of solidarity from our free brothers, as an example and encouragement.

The Italian proletariat is now at a cruel turning point in the history of its development, but I can assure you that Italian workers are getting ready for the final struggle side by side with our U.S.S.R. brothers.

Anti-Fascist Resolution

The Congress unanimously adopted the following anti-Fascist resolution, moved by the Polish delegation:

The Congress of Friends of the U.S.S.R., attended by representatives of all nations of the world, expresses its fervent protest against the excesses of Fascism in Italy, Poland, Lithuania, Spain, Bulgaria and other countries. At the same time the Congress sends its fraternal greetings to the heroic workers and peasants of those countries, and particularly to the political prisoners who are pining away in the prisons for their opposition to Fascism.

GUMEDA (Chairman of the S. African National Congress): I am here with a message from my organisation to greet this new society which is celebrating its Tenth Anniversary on the 7th of this month.

The message I have from my people is to greet you. But not only that. They appeal to the friends of humanity; they appeal to the workers of the world to come to their rescue. Imperialism has crushed us down. We have been deprived of everything. Our labour is of no value and is of no use to us. We have not an inch of land we can call our own in the land of our forefathers. Of our men who are on farms some work in the fields from 5 a.m. to 7 p.m., without any pay. Some get 10 shillings a month, and only in exceptional cases they get one pound. We are heavily taxed. We pay

one pound for each adult, and we have to pay one pound for the pleasure of keeping a dog to watch outside. We have to pay a pound for that out of these small wages. We are so heavily taxed, we do not know how to make our way or where to run to. If there were a place to-day to which the South African natives could escape, they would leave their own country and go where they could get freedom.

SAKLATVALA (Great Britain): The capitalists maintain that real democracy prevails in the parliamentary states. I declare that there is no democracy there, and that their parliaments are permeated with a spirit of hypocrisy. I am a member of Parliament and sit at Westminster, and make laws for India. But being an Indian native, I am a slave of that Parliament, and on the order of such an autocratic and absurd Minister as Chamberlain I have no right to go to my native country.

Real democracy prevails only in the U.S.S.R. I call upon you to look closer at the people of the new free Russia. Thanks to the real democracy, the character of the people has changed. In the course of two generations we have been developing our Socialist theories. We pretend that we are free, whereas in reality we are slaves. The British are as far from democracy as the Zulus. A new culture is being born in the Soviet Union. It is not sufficient to be enthusiastic over the achievements of the U.S.S.R. It is necessary to help the Soviet Union, in deeds rather than in words, in completing its enormous creative work. Everyone of us on return to our home countries must help the U.S.S.R. in deed and fight for social revolution all over the world. Enough hypocrisy, enough slavery!

Comrade Saklatvala's last words were drowned in a stormy ovation. All the delegates stood up and greeted him. The British delegation sang an English popular song.

NEJEDLY (Czecho-Slovakia): The workers of the U.S.S.R. have made their government an example for the whole world in the course of a short period. We have become convinced of the falseness of the contention that it is impossible to build up Socialism in one country. The Socialist parties of all countries have been waiting each for the other to take power first, whereas the Russian Bolsheviks did not wait, they undertook the work and began the creation of a new world. The Russian Bolsheviks have really destroyed

the putrid carcase of capitalism, and this should serve as an example to us. Now we know the correct path to freedom.

Allow me to greet on behalf of the Czecho-Slovakian delegation the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the only true leader of the world proletariat. (Applause.)

MORK (Scandinavia): We, representatives of Scandinavian countries at this Congress, have listened with great interest to Comrade Rykov's report, from which we learned much about the progress made in the Soviet Union during the last few years in the economic and cultural sphere. A new society, a new state and a new system have been built up in the Soviet Union, utterly different from that which exists in bourgeois States. We have seen with our own eyes this progress when we visited factories and workshops in Leningrad and Moscow. We have seen that enterprises are being technically improved and modernised and that production has increased. A shorter working day has been introduced, and the economic and social conditions under which the Russian people live have been improved. We representatives of workers in other countries are proud and glad of this great progress, for it shows that the working class is well able to build up a new State according to a new system. By its principles and policy the Soviet Union has aroused the hatred and has brought down upon itself the persecution of the imperialist Powers. Great Britain, especially, is determined to destroy the Soviet Union. Capitalist Great Britain thinks that the policy and principles of the Soviet Union endanger its own imperialist policy, particularly its colonial policy. Capitalist Great Britain is doing its utmost to destroy the Soviet Union. We, Scandinavian workers, think and feel just as the Russian workers and we will do our utmost to avert the enormous danger of an attack on the Soviet Union. We, in Sweden, Norway and Denmark, are in the midst of the war zone between Russia and Great Britain, and are, therefore, particularly interested in averting the war danger. We are thoroughly in harmony with the task which this Congress has set itself, but for organisational reasons we must make some reservations to the resolutions proposed by the Presidium. We are representatives of the organised Scandinavian workers. When we were invited to come here, the labour organisations did not know that such a Congress would take place in Moscow and, therefore, workers had no opportunity to discuss the question of this Congress and to deal

with resolutions. That is why we must make some reservation in regard to a couple of points in the draft resolutions. It is mentioned in them twice that the delegations speak on behalf of their organisations. We cannot do this for we have no mandate in this respect from our organisations. We have handed in an explanation to the Presidium in regard to this question, and we hope that it will be able to amend the resolution in this sense. If this cannot be done, we will declare that on the whole, we agree with the draft resolutions. Personally, we can sign these draft resolutions, but we cannot bind our organisations. On our return home we will do our utmost to have these questions discussed and passed by our organisations. Our foreign comrades should not misunderstand us. We are for the resolutions in connection with the questions on the agenda, but as we have no mandate from our organisations we do not think it right to bind them beforehand. This is the reason for this declaration.

Workers in the Scandinavian countries rejoiced in 1917 when they heard the news of the November Revolution, and throughout the period which followed this event they had occasion to show several times their solidarity with the Russian workers and the Russian Revolution. Scandinavian workers look upon the Soviet Union as the great example for the struggle of the workers in all European countries. They look upon the Soviet Union as the sun of the proletariat, which has risen and has brought forth a new life, which shines over the proletariat of the world.

ALI RISA (Turkey): Address of the workers of Turkey to the Congress of the Friends of the Soviet Union, re the destruction of labour organisations in Turkey. We Turkish workers protest before these foreign workers' delegations who have come from all parts of the world and are participating in the Congress of the Friends of the Soviet Union against the actions of the so-called national-revolutionary government of Turkey, against the actions of the Kemal Government, which has dissolved the only trade union organisation of Turkey, the "Amélè Téali Djoumkhurié." The Kemal Government, which made use of the services of the Turkish proletariat in its struggle against foreign imperialism, adopted, immediately after the establishment of the political independence of Turkey in regard to the masses, a policy of oppression, destruction of trade union organisations, and arrests of the leaders of the working class.

The Kemalist Government does its utmost to destroy the labour movement, and its favourite method is deception of the masses.

Kemalists exercise police control over the labour movement by establishing yellow trade unions in order to dominate over the mass of Turkish workers. However, these methods of provocation have not been very successful. Turkish workers do not fall into the trap set by the Kemalists.

In reply to the appeal for collaboration in the name of general national interests the workers of Constantinople, Smyrna, Adam, and other industrial centres, declared strikes. In reply to the capital offensive, Turkish workers demand improvement of their present truly appalling conditions.

The organisation "Amélé Téali Djoumkhuriyet," established in Constantinople, became a trade union centre for the whole of Turkey, its aim being to co-ordinate and consolidate all the class forces of the Turkish proletariat. The influence of this centre among the Turkish workers was growing from day to day.

By its existence and activity, it threatened to paralyse the influence of the Kemalist agents on the Turkish working class. Then the Kemalist Government decided to destroy by violent means the independent class movement of the Turkish proletariat.

It suppressed this organisation and imprisoned the trade union leaders. This happened after the leaders of the Kemalist Party had boasted in Parliament about the "democratic" régime in the country.

The dissolution of the organisation of "Amélé Téali Djoumkhuriyet" is the "gift" of the Kemalist Government to the Turkish working class for the fourth anniversary of the proclamation of the Turkish Republic.

The Turkish proletariat, weakened by continuous repression, approaches, through the medium of the workers' delegates assembled here in the U.S.S.R., the workers of the whole world, with the request to protest against the repressive measures of the Kemalist Government against the working class of Turkey, against the persecution of the proletarian organisations and the imprisonment of active trade union workers. The working class throughout the world must protest against the terrorism of the Kemalist regime.

On behalf of the group of Turkish workers,

ALI RISA.
NAMAD ALI.

CHATTOPADHYAYA (India): Comrades. While I stand in this hall to-night I feel like a little speck which has no right to represent a great, big country such as India is, and yet I think that when one ceases to be an individual being and when one becomes an idea, one has every right to represent a country, even as vast as India is. I am supposed, to-night, to represent the intelligentsia of India, but temperamentally and from conviction, I feel it impossible merely to represent the intelligentsia of India; I represent also the starving millions of India. I am one who belongs to the younger generation of India. I am proud to belong to the younger generation of India. The younger generation of India is very different from the older generation. There is a real line of demarcation between the old, fossilised generation and the younger, living generation which has come into being. We, the younger generation, know what it is to suffer; we who have worked in vast movements, we know what it is to suffer; we know what it is to feel the starvation of the starving millions of India. Many of us have starved. Many of us have been to the villages. Many of us of the younger generation know what it is to see starving people; people who do not know what it is to get one meal in two days in the week; people who have no clothes to wear. We, the younger generation of India, represent those millions of starving Indians.

Comrades, while I stand here I wish first to convey to Soviet Russia the message which is burning in the hearts of the Indian people. I know for a fact, because I have contact with hundreds and hundreds of students in India, students who are the intelligentsia—I know that the message is burning in their hearts, the message of a firm determination on their part to reconstruct their country, and hence contribute their share to the great reconstruction of the world. The younger people are going and working amongst the masses. We, the younger generation, are trying our best to do away with the priesthood. We know the priest has no place in India; indeed, very little place. In their heart of hearts, the Indians know that the priests are the biggest lies in religion, and that religion is the biggest lie of the world. Comrades, we know for a fact that religion in India is what the great Comrade has called—"the opium of the people." The people know it. The people in the south believe it is an opium. I know also that to-day some priests in India have started to work

in little shops. They have no place as religious instructors. I hope the time will come when our temples will be converted into schools, into homes of public service like the hospitals which you have constructed in place of your churches here. I hope that the time will come when the great law, the great method called God, and called Mysticism, will disappear, and will give place to a sensible kind of education in India.

Comrades, it is a significant fact that I who belong to an oppressed nation am here on this platform to address these few words to you this evening. It is a very significant fact that the oppressed nations are taking part in the deliberations of this Congress.

The November Revolution has indeed been a great inspiration for the whole world. The November Revolution has made it possible for us to dream of a time not far off, I trust, when we shall be free from the clutches of the exploiters, when we shall free ourselves from inequality of opportunity.

Comrades, to me my calendar has hardly any other month than November, and I hope that November will be the only month in the calendar of the people who are gathered here this evening.

Culture in India is the culture of an ancient people. For years and years we have been interested in Russia. But you of the great Soviet Russia have been able to establish a new culture, far greater than any culture which has been known in the history of the world.

I thank you on behalf of the starving millions for the opportunity we have been given to study your great movement, and I am sure we shall carry with us the message you have given us to our various countries, and I thank you also on behalf of the intelligentsia of India for the opportunity of studying your great theatres and institutions, which are so dynamic. We shall take this message and spread it as far as it is possible for us to do so.

CHAIRMAN: I wish to announce that the committee to deal with Resolution No. 2 will meet in the morning at nine o'clock. Will those on the committee attend at nine o'clock?

OEDEGAARD (Norway): In the Soviet Union land is no longer burdened by capitalism, whereas in capitalist countries, particularly in Norway, there is a great burden on the land. We find that in the Soviet Union genuine Socialism is rapidly developing. There is here agricultural co-operation and a class-credit system in the rural districts. Trade Union

organisations in the Soviet Union are part of the State apparatus and represent the interests of the workers and of society as a whole. In capitalist countries there is enmity between the State and trade union organisations. In Norway this is particularly true in regard to the agricultural labourers' unions. In Norway it has happened that the police and the military have been used against them.

In the Soviet Union social welfare institutions embrace all workers. Social insurance has been extended now to the countryside.

A war against the Soviet Union would jeopardise all these achievements. That is why we, agricultural labourers, are determined to do our utmost to prevent a war against the Soviet Union, not only to protect the interests of the Russian workers, but also our own interests.

MORNING SESSION, NOVEMBER 12th

Comrade CHANG, Chairman of the Chinese delegation, opened the Session.

MAZOUF (Algiers): It is on behalf of the peoples oppressed by the French Government that I have come here to declare in the presence of the delegates from other countries that all we have seen here in factories and shops has given us full satisfaction. What has pleased us most is that there is no difference whatever between the workers of different nationalities, that they receive the same wages, enjoy the same rights and fulfil the same duties.

Comrades, there is another thing which surprised us colonials very much. We have seen for ourselves that after the November Revolution all the colonies and peoples who were, so to speak, under the protection of the former Tsarist regime have been given the right of self-determination, that to-day these people are governing themselves and that they have affiliated to the Soviet Republic because they felt that this was the right thing to do.

Comrades, workers' delegates of European countries have declared from this platform that they would do their utmost to oppose the capitalists if they declared war against Russia. Well and good, comrades, but I want to draw your attention to a very important point. If the capitalist powers were to declare war against Russia to-morrow they would fight Russia

not only with the soldiers of the mother country, their armies would consist mostly of colonial troops—the capitalists' best support. Comrades, if you develop from now onwards the revolutionary spirit among the colonials, if you enlist their sympathy and show them that you are their brothers, that you look upon them as your equals, how could they refuse to help you with the task you are pursuing now?

Comrades, I think that when you are back again in your respective countries you must concentrate your efforts on emancipating the people of the colonies, on making them understand their class duty. This is the only means, comrades, to get the better of capitalism.

Comrades, I think that the investigations you have made here and the declarations you have heard from the Russian workers and the representatives of the Soviet Government have convinced you that work in the colonies and alliance with colonials are necessary.

In conclusion, I should like to say that our eyes are turned towards Soviet Russia, that we look upon it as the true defender and liberator and that we shall do our utmost to help it in its work of world revolution. (Loud applause.)

Dr. NIKOS KAZANTZAKIS (Greece): On behalf of the Friends of Soviet Russia I want to make here the following declaration.

We are convinced that a capitalist war is inevitable.

Pacifist propaganda is superficial and dangerous. Life is too tragic to obey logic and the goodwill of man.

Our hope to organise the mass of workers is dictated by an optimism which can be fatal. The bourgeoisie will not give us either means or time to organise our forces. The situation is critical. Capitalist forces are threatening and encircling, from all directions our mother, Russia. What, then, is our duty?

We must look the problem in the face! We must put forward boldly without any subterfuge the following slogan among the masses:

A capitalist war is inevitable because it is in the interests of capitalism; let us prepare for social war!

This conception of the aim is not merely for show, but is in contradistinction to the conception which predominates at present:—let us preach to the workers that if they organise themselves war can be avoided.

We propose instead to preach to the workers that a capitalist war is inevitable.

There is a great difference between these two conceptions. In the first case we are driving the peoples towards an unwarranted optimism; once more peoples can be taken unawares and be driven into war which they thought possible to avoid. In the second case the masses no longer harbour any illusions and their aim is no longer negative and chimerical to avoid war, but positive and realistic; to transform the coming war into social revolution. (Loud applause.)

SIEWERT (Germany): Dear comrades, the Press Commission has thoroughly studied the proposed resolution; it made also a careful study of all amendments and, as far as this was possible and necessary, it has embodied these amendments in the resolution which is now being distributed. The resolution was adopted unanimously by the Press Commission. To save time we will not read the resolution. The fact that the Press Commission adopted the resolution unanimously justifies our assumption that the Congress will identify itself with the proposal of the Press Commission. We ask the delegation to adopt the resolution unanimously.

CHAIRMAN (Comrade Chan Tsung-fa): Comrades, the resolution has been distributed to you in different languages, through the different groups. Do you think it necessary to read it over again? If not, we will dispense with the reading.

(Pause.)

The German delegation moved that we have two minutes to think over the resolution. (Pause.) (Consent.)

Now, comrades, we will put the resolution to the vote by a show of hands.

All in favour of the resolution please raise your hands. (Pause.)

All those against, please raise your hands. (Pause.)

The motion is passed unanimously.

We shall now proceed with the discussion on the second question—the question of war. Comrade Jagger is the first speaker.

Discussion on the War Danger

JAGGER (Great Britain): Comrades! The British delegation, on whose behalf I speak, took the initiative in suggesting the holding of this magnificent international Congress. And they also indicated what they thought was the most serious

subject that could be discussed at a Congress like this, and they decided to submit a resolution dealing with the danger of war. They were conscious in drafting this resolution that they were drafting a resolution which it was necessary should be acceptable not only to members of the Communist Party who are here, but also to members of pacifist organisations who are present, and members of other organisations, including Social-Democrats. All these groups could honestly and wholeheartedly unite in declaring: "There shall not be a declaration of war against Russia." The British delegation by no means felt that in the resolution which they have put forward they have exhausted all the stages and all the resolves that might be made in connection with this very serious and very important question. They have invited and have received suggestions from other nationalities which are now being considered by the Commission with a view to being embodied in the draft put forward by the British delegation, so that we may have a unanimous declaration against war, carrying with it every shade of opinion represented at this Congress.

There are many people, there were many more than there are now, in foreign countries who thought that this talk of war with Russia was crying "Wolf!" when there was no wolf. But I would suggest to these people that it is better to cry "Wolf!" when there is no wolf, rather than to "Lock the stable door after the horse is stolen." Personally, I must confess that the statement had been made over and over again that there was a real danger of war with Russia before I gave any heed to it, and it was only when I began to examine the evidence that I began to see, along with our Russian comrades, that the danger of war is growing, the danger of war is real and the danger of war may well be immediate.

Let us examine the evidence on which I base the statement that the danger of war is real. In 1913, when the whole of Europe was an armed camp, when openly and admittedly every nation in Europe was preparing for and was expecting war, the six great nations, the United States, Great Britain, Japan, Germany, France and Italy, all combined, had an annual military budget of 1,400 million dollars. That was the budget in 1913. Since then we have had a "war to end war," a "war to make the world safe for democracy," and the military expenditures of these same six powers for 1926 amounted to 2,140 million dollars. When we were having war, when we knew war was coming, we spent 1,400

million. Now that we have had a "war to prevent war," we are spending 2,400 million dollars, or 70 per cent. more than we spent in 1913.

This increase is divided among five of these six great powers, for, remember, that five of these six great powers determined in 1918 that at least Germany should wage war no more. And Germany's expenditure in 1913 was 346 million dollars, in 1926 Germany's war expenditure had fallen to 163 million dollars. If you will make these adjustments, and ignore Germany in your calculations, the expenditure in 1926 is almost 100 per cent. greater than it was in 1913.

I would ask you: Is this peace?

Let us turn to another aspect of the question. Let us see the relationship of the number of men in the armies of the three greatest nations in 1913: England, France and the United States, 1,413,000 men in the regular standing armies of the three nations. 1926, 1,821,000 men permanently in the armies. Not only that, but if you take the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy, there are no less than 20 millions of trained men in the reserves, either in the constitutional reserves or in the Fascist reserves. And I ask you again, does this speak of peace?

Turn to the navy and the increase in Great Britain between 1913 and 1926 is 32 per cent.—32 per cent. increase in the size of the navy which boasted for generations that it was absolute mistress of the seas. The United States, swollen with the glut of treasure as a result of the late war, has increased her naval force by 210 per cent. between 1913 and 1926. Japan has doubled her naval strength. Japan's naval strength is 100 per cent. greater than it was in 1913. That is in cruisers alone, cruisers at 7 million pounds each, all dressed up and nowhere to go, doesn't tell the whole tale. Take destroyers, the United States 182 per cent. increase, Great Britain 177 per cent. increase, Japan 360 per cent. increase. Submarines, submarines as a weapon of war for which our war propagandists cursed Germany up hill and down dale. The United States has increased its fleet of submarines by 62 per cent., Great Britain by 62 per cent., and peace-loving Japan by 309 per cent. Can I say that this looks like peace?

Let us take the air force. The air force, we must admit, was more or less in its infancy in 1913. Let me tell you what is the increase in those three countries in the air force

as between 1913 and 1926. The increase is not less than 2,000 per cent.—20 times as many airships as we had in 1913. In the Balkans alone, in the Balkan States, in the States nearest to and most immediately dangerous to Russia in case of an outbreak of war there are four times as many aeroplanes as there were in the whole of the world in 1913. Does this, I ask you, look like peace? But even above all this, and more serious than this indeed is the position in regard to chemical warfare.

You will remember how the Washington Convention rolled its eyes in horror at the terrible things that had happened between 1914 and 1919 with this abominable and devilish weapon of war. America, together with the League of Nations, declared that the use of chemicals, the use of poison gas in warfare should be prohibited. What has happened? Not a single nation has ratified that part of the Washington Convention which provided that there should be no use of poison gas in future wars, and the United States Senate has definitely decided that it will not ratify the finding of the Washington Convention and of the League of Nations. Is that, again I ask you, a pledge of future peace? So much for the position of capitalist nations who are most likely to be inimical to the Soviet Russian State or to any other State which has cast off the domination of capitalism.

Now, let us see what there is in addition to the accumulation of this huge engine of war that leads us to say that this engine of war is more likely to be directed against Russia than almost any other nation. You must never forget that the glorious November, which you have been celebrating here this week, tore from capitalist exploitation, and from the possibility of capitalist exploitation, one-sixth of the surface of the whole earth. Is that not important to the capitalists? Is that not important to those great leaders of trustified capital like Sir Alfred Mond, with their motto of "Faith, Hope, and fifty per cent."? Is it not important? I say this means you have removed one-sixth of their opportunity of exploiting down-trodden workers of the world. And you have got to remember that these people see, and see every year, a relative decrease in the rate at which production finds a market throughout the world. They find now what certainly Great Britain did not find 10 or 15 years ago. They find an inter-State competition for the world market bitter and keen. For the time being, and for the time being only,

international cartels and international trusts have preserved peace between those nations who increasingly year after year are becoming more industrialised and more capable of supplying their own requirements, and keener competitors for supplying the requirements of the other parts of the world. There is a possibility, I say, that this inter-State rivalry, this inter-State competition, may itself lead to war between some of the capitalist nations. When you look at the increase in the American exports, when you see that already exports of America have equalled, if not surpassed, the total exports of Great Britain, the country which was until 1914 by far and away the greatest exporting country in the world. Even now there is acute rivalry between England and America. It seems incredible that the English-speaking countries should be divided into opposite armed camps; but the fact itself remains that the breakdown at Geneva does point to a very acute state of friction between America and Great Britain.

Now let me turn to Europe. The antagonisms are enormous and complicated. France and Italy with their frontier disputes and the Mediterranean disputes and their disputes in the Near East. England and France with their disputes in the Near East, and with their disputes for the Mediterranean, which Great Britain requires as her main vein in connection with her possessions in the East. Also there are frontier disputes between Poland and Germany, there are frontier disputes between Italy and Yugo-Slavia about Albania. You have also the Balkans fighting amongst themselves and, if my Irish friends will permit me to say so, the Kilkenny Cat quarrels about anything and everything, and the great Powers taking sides against first one and then the other, and any day bringing the possibility of war lying directly before us.

On the other side of the world, the quarrel between America and Japan for domination of the Pacific. You have over and above this the consciousness, particularly in Great Britain, the greatest of imperialist nations, that the colonies are striving towards independence, and the dependencies are striving towards revolution. You can well see why the Chamberlains, Baldwins and Joynson-Hicks of Great Britain are concerned about continuing to create forces ready to attack Soviet Russia.

And linked up with this there is the question of China. From China and in China may come the ultimate bolt that

will shake the whole of the civilised world into war. The capitalist imperialists of all nations know that Russia is the friend of all attempts at liberation wherever and whenever they are made. Seeing Russia growing stronger and stronger, seeing China struggling with the good will and the good wishes and the help of Russia for freedom to establish a state such as Russia has established—you can understand why the imperialists intervened in China, and you can understand why China was made the basis of those provocative notes which led ultimately to the rupture between Great Britain and Russia. Does anybody suggest for a moment that the arrests of Russian couriers, that the outrages on the Soviet Mission at Peking and Shanghai were not the work indirectly, if not directly, of Great Britain's imperialist government? Does anybody deny that they were deliberately devised and calculated to provoke Russia into being the aggressor in the war for which the capitalist imperialists are hoping day by day? I think we all here and now should tender to our Russian comrades our heartiest congratulations for their pacific actions and their pacific attitude throughout the whole of the provocation to which they have been subjected. I would be the last man in the world to urge upon Russia craven and cowardly action in the face of unbearable contumely, but I do suggest that it would have been bad tactics if the ancient diplomats of the West had provoked the modern diplomats of the East into becoming the aggressor in the next war. I am delighted that the wisdom of the East, modern though it be, is superior to the diplomacy of the West.

I want, just for a moment, to look at this thing, if we may, from a selfish point of view. Let us for a moment ignore what is going to happen to Russia. Let us ask ourselves what is going to happen to the working class of Great Britain? What is going to happen to the working class of America, of Germany, of France, of Italy, if the Chinese Revolutionaries are defeated, and if you get from that the necessary encouragement for the imperialist powers to concentrate for a mass attack upon Soviet Russia. That may be bad for Soviet Russia. It will undoubtedly, if it happens, interfere with Soviet Russia's programme for the next five years' development. But it will also mean that for generations and generations the chains of capitalism will be firmly and ever-more firmly riveted upon the workers all over the

world. I say to the workers of the world gathered here to-day, in our own selfish interests it is vital that we see this menace, as I am sure we do see it, and go back to our countries and rouse our fellow working men, if only in their own selfish interest to make such a demonstration as will prevent the possibility of a declaration of war against Russia, or the further intervention in Chinese affairs.

I do not suggest that the imperialists know at the present moment exactly on what grounds to proceed, but I think that in face of the evidence, even the evidence I have put before you in this very short time this morning—you must agree that they are preparing the means to do ill deeds and, as Shakespeare says: "How oft the sight of means to do ill deeds makes ill deeds done." The excuses they are seeking they may find. How they will find these excuses, when they do find them, will determine how soon Comrade Tomsky's prophecy of an immediate war is fulfilled. The will is there. Capitalist imperialism is looking for the safest way to put that will into operation.

In one last word I would say—Pacifists, Left Wing, Right Wing, Communists, Intellectuals, Manual workers, whatever you are, let us make this morning a solemn pledge and resolution—no thought, act or deed on the part of any working man in the preparation of ammunition for war, in the transport of soldiers to the seat of war or any other work or occupation which will render possible the carrying out of a war against any nation struggling for freedom. After all, our imperialist masters are not sure how long they can be our masters. Show a firm and determined effort, and in the hope that they may still remain our masters, they will then themselves keep hands off Russia. When you have accomplished that, then you may go to them and say—Hands off the workers of England, hands off the workers of America, hands off the workers of France, hands off the workers of the world!

BARBUSSE (France): Comrade Henri Barbusse, after giving considerable data about Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., laid stress on the fact that in its present stage of development the U.S.S.R. has already out-distanced pre-war Russia. He continued: This means victory of the Socialist system. Left to its own resources, surrounded by the hatred and enmity of the rest of the world, its only heritage—devastation and ruin, the proletariat of the



Delegates after visiting coal mine in Donetz Basin.



Women Delegates after visiting mine.



Group of Delegates outside Bolshoi Theatre, Moscow.

U.S.S.R. has been able to do enormous constructive work which is of international importance.

But the terrible threat of an imperialist war is hanging over the U.S.S.R. Many people do not believe in the possibility of war in the immediate future. This is instinctive: people do not want war—but this is not a proof. Pacifist ideology is throwing a veil over grim reality. The religion of peace is just as much opium as any other religion. People are lulled into security by nebulous arguments about justice, they allow themselves to be lulled to sleep by the old, old song, listening to "the tenors" singing peace hymns in Geneva and Locarno. In the meantime world imperialism, which has enormous forces at its disposal, is thirsting for war and is preparing for it.

The U.S.S.R. hampers, upsets and begins even to paralyse the imperialist game. The very existence of the U.S.S.R. is a thorn in the side of imperialism, an encroachment on it, and on all those who are automatically prepared to make common cause with it. There is no interference on the part of the U.S.S.R. in the political life of other countries. The Soviet government is justified in refuting the charge of interference. The U.S.S.R. does not intrigue, it radiates.

One has only to consider the situation in Western Europe to realise that the war danger, which some people hope to spirit away by shutting their eyes to it, is on the watch everywhere. The situation is just as serious as in 1914, when many people declared: "There never will be war again." All the talk about war being at an end is empty talk. It is true that war is not raging along the 6,000 kilometre front. It is not throwing 50,000,000 soldiers at each other's throats, but this does not mean that war is at an end; it is going on and is breaking out anew in Africa and in Asia; there is war in Morocco, in Syria, and particularly in China.

Recent events bear witness to the following: the least incident will be enough to provoke war. And frantic efforts are being made to provoke, to manufacture such an incident.

We, who deem it our duty to utilise in the interests of social and human solidarity, the observations we made here in regard to Soviet construction, are fully aware in what form we must fulfil our duty: we must defend the Socialist State against its betrayers. We must defend it against those

who want to destroy it. These are two inseparable parts of one and the same mission, for it is sufficient for the international toiling masses to understand what is at stake here, to make them act consistently, and these masses, whose strength and consciousness are growing, will be the best bulwark in the future.

The speaker received an ovation from the Congress. All the delegates stood up, applauded Comrade Barbusse, and sang "The International."

Tomsky's Speech

The appearance of Comrade Tomsky on the platform was greeted by an ovation of the entire Congress. For several minutes the Congress stood cheering him. His speech was followed with extraordinary attention.

M. TOMSKY recalled the contents of the instructions given by V. I. Lenin to the Soviet Delegation which went to the Hague Conference. The instruction resolved itself into the point that the question of combating war is not a simple, clear and easy question. After all, do we all really understand the menace of war? Do we all understand the inevitability of war?

Such danger is not at all out of the question. All contradictions which prevailed towards the beginning of the imperialist war in 1914 have remained in force up to to-day. A struggle between the imperialist robbers for the partition of the world goes on as before. The possibility of war is being accelerated by the process of capitalist rationalisation throwing immense numbers of workers on to the street on the one hand, and the growing colonial industry and the struggle for new markets on the other. The various military conflicts (Morocco, China, etc.), clearly reveal the antagonisms existing in the capitalist world. One can already discern certain coalitions of imperialist powers. The coming war will be ten times more destructive than the imperialist wars of the past.

Imperialism is the source of new wars. A struggle against war is impossible without a struggle against imperialism.

If imperialist war in general is inevitable, a war of imperialism against the only proletarian State, the U.S.S.R.,

is even more inevitable. The chief enemy of the U.S.S.R. which is also a class enemy, is Great Britain. The main causes of British hostility towards the U.S.S.R. lie in the very existence of the Soviet Government, the successes of which constitute the best form of agitation for Socialism, for the emancipation of the colonial and semi-colonial countries which have been enslaved in the course of centuries. The more popular the Soviet Union becomes among the workers of the world, the more powerful becomes the Soviet State, the more determined Great Britain becomes in her action against the U.S.S.R., mobilising for this purpose all the forces of imperialism. A clear example of the contradictions existing between the interests of the imperialists, as represented by Great Britain and other countries on the one hand, and the Soviet Union on the other, may be seen in the events which have transpired recently in China. The Soviet Republic considers it its duty to support in every possible way the struggle for the unification and emancipation of China. The British imperialists, however, are vitally interested in safeguarding the feudal relations in China and its splintered forces.

In order to have a free hand, and to be able to undertake an extensive organisation of new imperialist invasions, the British imperialists must have in their own country a working class which is bound hand and foot, and which is incapable of protesting and taking up a struggle. British imperialism cannot forget the support rendered by the Soviet workers to the British miners during the miners' lock-out. All fighters for the emancipation of the workers find their asylum in the Soviet Union. Great Britain is the asylum of the black forces of reaction and white guards.

The British imperialists are trying to provoke us into war by trying to undermine the prestige of the Soviet Government. But our Government regards as its highest prestige something different from what is taken as prestige in bourgeois countries. The Soviet Government was born on October 25th (November 7th), 1917, and on the 26th it made its peace proclamation. Ten years of existence as the only really peaceful government in the world has shown that the U.S.S.R. considers the peaceful work of its nationalities as its highest object.

War must be fought not merely by giving vent to revolutionary phrases such as "We are against wars," "we will

not permit any wars," etc. It is necessary to work out concrete measures of struggle. The Social-Democrats also speak of their pacifism. However, this did not prevent MacDonald, while he was in office under the so-called Labour Government, from sending cruisers to India. It is clear that as soon as war breaks out the Social-Democrats will again take up the positions they held in 1914 and the bourgeoisie will employ its old methods in stifling the voice of the masses (strict military censorship, cessation of communication between the different nations, etc.).

All must come to realise that the struggle against war necessitates a preliminary immediate struggle against opportunism and imperialism. Anyone who does not fight opportunism and imperialism abandons thereby the struggle against war.

Our anti-war struggle must be carried on along two lines: along the lines of daily elucidation to the workers of the necessity of anti-imperialist struggle and along the lines of setting up a fraternal alliance of the workers of all countries. By going to the disarmament conference of the League of Nations, we do not doubt for a moment the impotency of the League of Nations to solve the issues of real peace. Imperialism will not be abolished by issuing printed sheets of paper. However, we will demonstrate before the world our readiness for a maximum disarmament of the military forces. The struggle for trade union unity is one of the truest methods of struggle against imperialism and against war.

It will be much more difficult to fight against war after its outbreak, than it is to-day, when it is merely a menace. Our task is, therefore, to get ready, day in and day out, to convert the coming imperialist war into a civil war, into a war against the native bourgeoisie. It is our task to agitate untiringly against nationalist jingo ideas, for the consolidation of the proletarian ranks, against the attempts of the bourgeoisie to shut the proletariat up within its national boundaries. It is necessary to carry on a consistent class struggle against imperialism. Only by doing so shall we avert imperialist wars. (Loud applause.)

After Comrade Tomsky's speech, the morning session was closed.

CLOSING SESSION, NOVEMBER 12th

At 6.20 p.m. the evening session was opened. Comrade Siewert, Chairman of the German Delegation, was in the Chair.

Discussion on the question of the danger of imperialist war was continued:

HERMANN (Austria): We were very glad to be invited to assist at this Congress because through it, we have had the only opportunity of seeing how we can prevent an imperialist offensive against the Soviet Union. It will be the duty of the international working class to prevent any such attack of the bourgeoisie on the only workers' state, the Soviet Union. Workers must consider it their foremost task to see to it that their leaders should not act as they did in 1914, and betray the workers by leading them to the battlefield. It will be the task of the Austrian workers to stop the production of ammunition and the transport of provisions, and to make it in every way impossible for the imperialist states to prosecute a war against the Soviet Union. We will recall the words of Karl Liebknecht, who said, "Brothers, use your weapons not against your foreign brothers but against your enemy at home, the only enemy—capitalism."

Down with imperialist war!

Long live peaceful construction in the Soviet Union!

KARATERRO (Spain): I greet the Congress of the Friends of the U.S.S.R. on behalf of the oppressed workers of Spain, who are groaning under the yoke of Primo de Rivera. The Spanish workers are all in sympathy with the Soviet Union, and their hearts beat in unison with those of all Friends of the U.S.S.R.

The Spanish proletariat is filled with enthusiasm for the Soviet Republic and we must solemnly declare that it has achieved enormous successes and that it is undoubtedly the embryo of future society. This declaration should serve as a basis for delegates, the Friends of the U.S.S.R., who have come here from all countries. They must familiarise all workers with the successes of the Soviet Union, and fight against every attempt of the imperialists to organise an offensive against the U.S.S.R. We must help to bring about the triumph of the Soviet Republic and the Soviet idea.

The Spanish delegation proposes that a World Association of Friends of the U.S.S.R. be organised, whose task

should be to defend the Soviet from imperialist attacks. The Congress must set up a united front of all non-Communists who sympathise with the U.S.S.R., and lay the foundation for such an association.

DIEGO DE RIVERA (Mexico): Practically everything has already been said at this Congress as to its aims and the possibilities of imperialist war against the fortress of world revolution and humanity, but nothing was said about the main support of the enemy.

During the world war it was Mexican oil that fed the British navy. The copper and other metals and instruments of war which our country supplied greatly contributed to the continuance of the war. South America is therefore of great importance when it comes to the question of the possibilities of world war.

This is very important, but there are many even more important factors, such as the fact that the proletariat of South American countries, and particularly that of Mexico, can resist imperialism. In our country revolution is being carried on not only by the urban proletariat but also by the peasants who have become splendid revolutionaries. For 17 years they have been fighting and making sacrifices for the revolution.

In case of an imperialist war it will be our task to ascertain clearly which are the most important sources of assistance for imperialism. We must know that North America has important connections in Mexico pulling the wires in the struggle against the proletariat for power. We must know that Mexico is an important fortress in time of war, in a counter-revolutionary imperialist war.

I take this opportunity to tell all our comrades the following: anyone who is a true revolutionary and has the interests of humanity at heart must not forget the small corner of the globe in which 10 millions of workers and peasants have been fighting for 17 years for revolution, the small corner which, in case of imperialist war, will become an important fortress which must not be lost.

GONZALVEC (Portugal): I greet the Congress on behalf of the Portuguese workers. We suggest that the Congress should consider the organisation of groups of the Friends of the U.S.S.R. in such a way that all such organisations, which should be autonomous, should have a Central Bureau independent of any other organisation in Moscow.

VLAKHOV (Balkans): Terror now rages in all Balkan countries. The self-determination of small nations has proved a myth. The various Balkan countries are vassals of one or other great imperialist Power. The anti-imperialist struggle must be carried on jointly. All Balkan peoples must aim at the establishment of the only correct national policy, such as has been adopted in the U.S.S.R., which guarantees both the cultural and economic development of the small nationalities.

A Balkan Federation is the only means to that end. All Balkan peoples must establish a united front in order to bring about such a Federation.

PAAS (Germany): The women delegates have become convinced that the U.S.S.R. is a country where woman is free, not only constitutionally but that she actually enjoys equal rights with men in building up the new life.

When we return to our native countries we must tell the truth about what we have seen. But we must not limit ourselves merely to propaganda. We must be ready for the eventuality of war. Peace for the Soviet workers and peasants means peace for us.

Comrade Paas read the Manifesto which was adopted at the meeting of all the women delegates in the U.S.S.R. on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary.

McWADE (Ireland): The members of the Irish Trade Union Delegation desire that the following statement be taken by this conference as to our position on the question under discussion.

The driving force in the present war preparations against the Soviet Union is the British Empire. We are a subject race of that Empire, and should war eventuate the military forces in our country will be used against Soviet Russia. We are therefore vitally interested in this question.

We see no value in high-sounding words and nicely-worded resolutions and speeches. The value in this conference lies in the fact that it affords an opportunity to every delegate to place on record his position. Is he with the Soviet Union and the international working class and against the capitalist Powers, or does he stand with the imperialist Powers against the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia? When the delegates return to their respective countries, then

will come the time and test to show their earnestness of purpose and the unanimous pledges of support made to the Soviet Union.

We do not wish to leave our position unclear or ambiguous. We make a definite statement with full appreciation of our responsibilities. We, as representatives of the most revolutionary section of the Irish working class, stand definitely and openly with Soviet Russia against any capitalist Power in the world that may attack the Soviet Union. There can be only one side for the working-class movement in a conflict between the workers and their exploiters, and that must be the side of the working class whether we agree with their policy or not. That is the position we must take up always; we therefore pledge ourselves to work against all war preparations against the Soviet Union, and, should war be declared, we shall stand definitely and openly with Soviet Russia. We are not merely satisfied to defend Soviet Russia, we, as a subject race of the British Empire, shall take advantage of every opportunity to attack that Empire, thus not only helping to defend the Russian workers by attacking their chief enemy, but we shall strike another blow, and we hope a death-blow, at the oppressors of our people and our fellow workers of other subject races throughout the Empire.

We propose to state here one or two methods whereby active opposition to war against the Soviet Union may be carried on. We believe that by the active work of groups in our fields and workshops at home, by getting into active contact with our workers at home, by telling what we have seen in Soviet Russia; we believe by actually getting down to business, that even in the event of war being made by imperial Great Britain, we shall turn that war into a civil war and establish our Workers' Republic in still another part of the world.

We offer you our heartiest congratulations and we wish you the best success in building up your Socialist States. We here declare that we will fight with you against any country who will take up arms against you. Long live the solidarity of the workers and peasants of the world! Long live the Soviet Union!

*Presentation of the Order of the Red Banner to the Heroes
of the World Revolution*

Comrade Voroshilov and other comrades from the Revolutionary War Council of the Soviet Union were greeted with

loud applause when they appeared on the platform in order to bestow on the champions of the international revolution the highest distinction of the Red Army, the Order of the Red Banner.

Comrade VOROSHILOV read the following proclamation:

ORDINANCE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF
THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

November 12th, 1927. Moscow.

The great November Revolution was the first victory of the international working class. For the first time in history proletarian dictatorship was established over a vast country. The teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin have become the dominating idea on one-sixth of the globe.

The revolutionary workers and peasants of the Soviet Republic enjoyed the sympathy and active support of the international proletariat and the oppressed masses of the East from the very day that the Soviet Government was proclaimed.

In the difficult years of civil war when the workers and peasants of the Soviet Republics were fighting against the onslaught of intervention and the White Guards, their class brothers, the French, German, Italian, British, Hungarian, Czecho-Slovakian and other workers prevented the armies of our class enemies from being adequately supplied with provisions. The workers and peasants, soldiers of the foreign armies, refused to fight against the proletarian revolution and despite sanguinary repressions they raised the Red banner of rebellion.

Inspired by the glory of the November battles the international proletariat inflicted a series of serious defeats on the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy in open conflict on the streets of capitalist cities, thereby shaking the very foundations of capitalism.

Though divided by distance and national boundaries, these actions of the revolutionary masses against the bourgeoisie consolidated the position of the Soviet Government and helped the Red Army of the workers and peasants in scoring its victory over its numerous enemies.

During the days of the Tenth Anniversary of the victory of the working class, in memory of the international solidarity of the proletariat during the period of civil war and the battles for the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a sign

of the fraternal unity of the toilers of the world in face of the menace of a new offensive on the Workers' Government, the Revolutionary Military Council of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics resolves to confer the Order of the Red Banner—the symbol of international socialist revolution on:

1. Comrade Clara Zetkin, veteran of the revolutionary movement, illustrious collaborator of Engels and Lenin, who bravely raised her voice against the imperialist war together with Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and who from the very first days of the November Revolution became one of its staunchest defenders.

2. Comrade André Marty, former sailor in the French navy, who was the first to organise an uprising of French sailors on the Black Sea in 1919 against intervention, for which he was condemned to hard labour by the bourgeois court.

3. Comrade Max Holtz, fearless fighter for the proletarian cause of Germany, who, through his heroic struggle, helped to strengthen the first Workers' Republic and who has spent many years in bourgeois prisons.

4. Comrade Jacques Sadoul, former captain in the French service, true friend of the November Revolution in its most difficult days, sentenced in his absence to death by a bourgeois court for his support of the U.S.S.R.

5. Comrade Bela Kun, active participant in the civil war, organiser of the first fighting detachment of foreign workers against German imperialist attacks on the U.S.S.R.

6. Comrade Chang Ho-Tao, heroic fighter in the Chinese revolution, organiser and leader of fighting detachments of Chinese workers and peasants, hero of the first battles of the Chinese proletariat against the bourgeoisie, who devoted all his energy towards the establishment of a united revolutionary front of the toilers of the East with the workers of the U.S.S.R. and the international proletariat.

7. Comrade Stanislaw Lantsutsky, a railwayman, former deputy of the Polish Sejm, sentenced to hard labour for his heroic struggle for fraternity between the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. and Poland.

(Ordinance signed by Voroshilov, People's Commissar of Military and Naval Affairs and Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the U.S.S.R.)

The representatives of the Polish, Chinese, German and French delegations, and Comrades Jacques Sadoul, Bela

Kun and Clara Zetkin were called on to come to the platform (loud applause and hurrahs!). (All those who are to receive the decoration of the order of the Red Banner and the members of the Revolutionary Military Council come to the table of the Presidium.)

The President of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, Comrade Voroshilov, decorates Comrade Clara Zetkin with the Order of the Red Banner. (Loud applause.)

VOROSHILOV: Comrades, the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic confers on you this military Order which is a symbol of the social victory of the world revolution. It is convinced that if our class enemies again decide to attack our proletarian republic, we, workers of the world, would see Comrade Clara Zetkin in the forefront of the fighters for the first Socialist country. (Comrade Voroshilov pins the Order of the Red Banner on to Comrade Clara Zetkin's dress. Applause. Shouts of hurrah! and singing of the International. Comrade Voroshilov kisses Comrade Clara Zetkin.) Long live the Red Champion, Clara Zetkin.

CLARA ZETKIN: Long live the Red Army of the U.S.S.R.! Long live the future Red Army of all countries! (Applause.)

MELNICHANSKY: I call on Comrade Budenny to confer the Order of the Red Banner on Comrade Max Holz, who suffered many years in German bourgeois jails, through Comrade Siewert, the chairman of the German Delegation. (Applause.)

BUDENNY: The Revolutionary Military Council confers this highest proletarian Order and hopes that the international proletariat will break the shackles of our brothers who linger in capitalist prisons.

Please tell Comrade Holz that we are sure we shall see him once more in our ranks when the day comes for the world struggle.

Long live the champion of International Social Revolution, Comrade Holz! Hurrah! (thunderous applause). (Comrade Budenny hands the Order of the Red Banner to Comrade Siewert.)

MELNICHANSKY: I call on Comrade Bubnov, member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, to confer the Order of the Red Banner on Comrade Jacques Sadoul. (Applause.)

BUBNOV: Comrade Jacques Sadoul, the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic confers on you the Order of the Red Banner. The Council knows and remembers the services you rendered at the fronts during our civil war. The Council is convinced that with this Order on your breast you will be found in the foremost ranks of those who fight for world revolution in any future class struggles. (Applause.)

MELNICHANSKY: I call on Sergei Sergeievitch Kamenev, member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, to confer on Comrade Bela Kun the Order of the Red Banner.

S. S. KAMENEV: Comrade Bela Kun, the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic has asked me to confer the Order of the Red Banner on you as an old fighter in the first struggles of our Red Army. We are convinced that in any future struggle you will be again found in the foremost ranks. (Loud applause, they embrace.)

MELNICHANSKY: I call on Comrade Baranov, member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic and Commander of the Air-Forces of the Red Army, to bestow the Order of the Red Banner on Comrade Chang Ho-Tao through the chairman of the Chinese delegation, Jacques Gordow.

BARANOV: Comrades, in bestowing on Comrade Chang Ho-tao the Order of the Red Banner, the emblem of Socialist revolution, the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic expresses its conviction that he will be always in the foremost ranks of the great people of China, which is struggling for its liberation. (Applause, they embrace.)

MELNICHANSKY: I call on Comrade Muklevitch, member of the Revolutionary Military Council, to confer the Order of the Red Banner on Comrade André Marty through the Chairman of the French Delegation. (Hurrahs! applause and cries of "Long live Marty!")

MUKLEVITCH: I feel greatly honoured by being able to confer, on behalf of the Revolutionary Military Council of our country, the highest revolutionary distinction on the sailor of the French Navy, Comrade André Marty.

Our Navy knows this name well. Comrade André Marty is an honorary sailor of the Red Black Sea Fleet. The name of Comrade André Marty is well-known in our Navy since

1920. When the guns of the French armoured cruisers were aimed at the breast of the workers of our country, Comrade André Marty was the first to protest, and he protested so effectively that the armoured cruiser "Mirabeau" reversed its guns and returned to France. Together with the French sailors, Comrade André Marty began the struggle against his own bourgeoisie. They fought together with us, their brothers. It would give me still greater pleasure to present this Order to Comrade André Marty personally, but this is unfortunately impossible—he is in jail serving a long term of imprisonment. Therefore, I hand over this Order to the representative of the French Proletariat in the firm conviction that the latter will help to set free Comrade André Marty, and that, decorated with this highest military Order, he will fight side by side with us for a better future for the working class and the whole of mankind. (Applause and hurrahs! Comrade Muklevitch and the Chairman of the French Delegation embrace.)

MELNICHANSKY: I call on Comrade Voroshilov to confer the Order of the Red Banner on Comrade Lantzutsky, who is lingering in a Polish prison, through the representative of the Polish delegation, Comrade Batchinsky.

VOROSHILOV: Comrade Batchinsky, convey, if you have an opportunity—and it seems to me that proletarians in Poland will soon have such an opportunity—to Comrade Lantzutsky the hearty greetings of the workers and peasants of our country and this highest military Order which is a symbol of the victory of the Socialist Revolution. Tell him that, in his person, we honour what is best in the Polish people, that a proletariat which has in its ranks people like Comrade Lantzutsky, devoted to the revolutionary cause, will soon be able to set foot together with us on free Socialist soil, working jointly with us for the construction of a new Socialist Society.

(Comrade Voroshilov presents the Order of the Red Banner to Comrade Batchinsky. Loud applause and hurrahs! They embrace.)

BATCHINSKY (Poland): I accept this Order of the Red Banner for Comrade Lantzutsky as a mark of distinction conferred by the world proletariat on the workers and peasants of Poland. Long live social revolution! (Applause.)

MELNICHANSKY: I call on Comrade Siewert to address the Congress on behalf of the comrades who have received the Order of the Red Banner.

SIEWERT (Germany): Comrades, on behalf of the comrades who have just now received the decoration of the Order of the Red Banner and on behalf of the millions of workers and oppressed whom they represent, I declare that the delegates assembled here will on their return to their respective countries do their utmost to make workers throughout the world realise that it is the sacred duty of all workers to stand side by side with the Soviet Union and to make sure that all attacks on Soviet Russia be averted, and in the event of such an attack taking place it should be the signal for the exploited to rise against the capitalists throughout the world.

Comrades, we have come here from capitalist countries. We had an opportunity to see not only the life and work of the working population, but also the life and achievements, the work and entire activity, the education and the struggle of the Red Army. We were able to attend several Red Army meetings. I must tell you, comrades, that what we admire and what impressed us most is the fact that in Soviet Russia the army and the working class are one, that in the Soviet Republic there is no difference between the civil population and the army. In Soviet Russia we have a class army, an army which has not only set itself the task of defending the proletarian revolution, the November Revolution, but an army which, in the event of workers rising in any part of the world, in the event of revolution breaking out somewhere, and the proletariat of that country calling upon the Red Army to help it, will come to the assistance of this proletariat and will fight side by side with the proletariat of the country attacked by the capitalists.

MELNICHANSKY: Comrades, we have always looked upon our November Revolution as something international. Workers of other countries, in the full sense of this term, participated in the struggle of the Russian working class. There are in the ranks of the Red Army many peasants, workers and intellectuals from other countries. A number of our comrades who are now lingering in bourgeois jails participated in a whole series of revolutionary movements in other countries. The Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic decided at its session to-day to bestow the Order of the Red Banner on some comrades who took an active part

in the revolutionary struggle in other countries and in our Red Army. I call on the President of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, Comrade Voroshilov, to address the Congress.

Comrades, the fact that Comrade Clara Zetkin is among the comrades decorated with the Order of the Red Banner, also the fact that a number of comrades who have nothing to do with the army have received decoration here, shows that in Soviet Russia the people are united in their determination to resist any attack and to fight for the further development of the Soviet Union and for the security of Socialist construction.

Comrades, on behalf of the comrades on whom the Order of the Red Banner was conferred here to-day, we declare that it will be our sacred duty to make the workers at home realise that it is high time to overcome the capitalists and that this cannot be done by the so-called democratic means of class collaboration and an understanding with capitalists. We must tell the workers in our respective countries that they must follow the doctrines of Karl Marx and Lenin and act up to the battle-cry: "Overcome the capitalists, be at your post and go forward in the struggle until capitalism has been thoroughly vanquished."

In this spirit I invite you, comrades, to say with me:

"Long live the Red Army!
Long live world revolution!"

Presentation of Banner from Trade Unions of China

MELNICHANSKY: The comrades who have come here as guests and as delegates are closely connected with the international labour movement, particularly with our trade union movement. They have brought with them a Red Banner from the trade unions of China, for the AUCTU.

I call upon Comrade LIU, a working woman, to address the Congress and to present the banner to Comrade Tomsy.

Comrade LIU (China): Comrades. All our comrade delegates who are here to-night belong to the great proletarian class. I, as representative of the Chinese peasants and workers, coming here to this country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, feel extremely happy.

We, as human beings in this world, possess all kinds of rights that we should enjoy, but on account of the despicable system of oppression that has been carried on for centuries,

human beings do not now enjoy the rights and privileges they should. Under such circumstances have the proletarians of the world become class-conscious. We are conscious of the fact that we should fight for our own rights. With such an understanding, with such a consciousness, I came to this country, the mother country for all proletarians of the world. (Applause.)

We, the Chinese proletariat, are prepared to fight all our enemies. We are prepared to fight for and to protect and support the Soviet Union. (Applause.) We are ready to fight to a finish until imperialism has been completely destroyed. (Applause.) The Chinese proletariat has awakened and they are rising up in revolt every day now. I hope that the proletariat of the world will also rise. We all know that the proletariat of the Soviet Union is now governing this country. I hope that the proletariat of the world, including the proletariat of the Soviet Union, will join and co-operate with us in fighting against our common enemy—capitalism. (Applause.) We all know that the imperialists of the world are now making an alliance against the Soviet Union. Why are they doing so? They are doing this because they feel that the Soviet Union, as the mother country of all the proletariat of the world, is endangering their own interests. (Hear, hear.)

On the other hand, we, as proletarians, should understand and be conscious of the fact that by protecting the Soviet Union we are also protecting our own interests. Therefore, even when fighting for our own interests we should come out and fight against this common enemy. (Applause.) We all know that the final victory belongs to us. (Hear, hear.) We are confident that we shall be successful.

Therefore, to-day, on this great occasion, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, and on behalf of the working class and peasants of China, I present this banner to the All-Russian Trade Unions. I hope we will consider that as a sign of the coming victory of the world proletariat. (Hear, hear. Applause.) We must know that this flag is different from other flags. It is different from the kind of flags presented in bourgeois society by bourgeois organisations, because we to-day present this flag with courage—we know that we have been fighting and we have been fighting hard in China, so we consider this flag as having been won in exchange for our own blood and sweated labour. It signifies

the heroic struggle that the Chinese proletariat has gone through during our revolution, and with this end in view I present this flag—not as a token of repression, but as a sign of sacrifice and struggle. (Applause.)

Workers of the world Unite!

Long live the Soviet Union!

Long live World Revolution!

Long live the All-Russian Trade Unions!

TOMSKY: It is a great honour to accept this gift of the Chinese proletariat on behalf of the All-Union Central Trade Union Council and on behalf of the organised workers of the U.S.S.R. We hope that this banner is the symbol of proletarian solidarity regardless of race, nationality, country and continent. We hope that this banner will serve as a symbol of the necessity for proletarians of all countries to weld themselves together into a strong union of labour against capital. We are convinced that this banner will be one more link connecting and strengthening the fraternal fighting union of the proletarians of the U.S.S.R. and the heroic proletarians of China, who are fighting for their liberation.

Allow me to convey, on behalf of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., hearty fraternal greetings to the Chinese proletariat which is fighting heroically for its liberation. I assure you that we accept this gift as a symbol of our solidarity in the struggle for the ultimate liberation of the proletariat and the whole of mankind. Let me assure you that in this fraternal fighting union, the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. will never forget its duty to the proletariat of China, just as it did not and will not forget its duty to all oppressed and exploited and all those who are fighting for their liberation.

Long live fraternal proletariat union!

Long live the struggle of the proletariat against the capitalists of all countries!

Long live the final liberation of labour from the capitalist yoke! (Applause.) (Comrade Tomsky receives the banner sent by the Chinese workers.)

Greetings from Soviet Peasants

MELNITCHANSKY: Comrades, during the Tenth Anniversary celebrations, we had here peasants from all parts of our Union. Some of these peasants have sent a

delegation to this Congress, with the request that it be allowed to address you. I call on Comrade Baskakova, a peasant woman, to address you. (Applause.)

BASKAKOVA: Comrades, the working peasantry of our great Soviet Union sent from the most remote corners its delegates to the Red capital to celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution, together with the Moscow proletariat and our government. The same peasants and delegates have instructed me to convey their hearty greetings to the World Congress of Friends of the Soviet Union. (Applause.) Comrades, through you our working peasantry greets the workers and peasants throughout the world, whose representatives you are. Comrades, you have come here to participate in our celebrations. You have come to see our achievements, our ten years' work. You, who are our friends, are in sympathy with our great festival, the festival of the proletariat and the peasantry. You have witnessed the enthusiasm of the Moscow proletariat in all our demonstrations. Similar scenes happened in all the towns and villages of our Soviet Union. What is the cause of this enthusiasm? The cause is: that the proletariat and the peasantry had, as you know, to put up a hard fight for their freedom. Our enemies will probably fail to understand the meaning of our rejoicing. But you know the heritage we received from tsarist Russia. We seized power when the tsarist government was already tottering to its fall, when the imperialist war had already wrought great destruction in our country. But, nevertheless, we were able, with the help of our leading party, the Bolshevik Communist Party, and together with the working class, to set going our peasant farms, factories and works. Those who have been here and those who will come here in future can see that this is so. We cannot, of course, compare ourselves with America or with other bourgeois countries, which did not participate in the great war. But we, who owe everything to our own efforts, rejoice at every new crèche and every new collective farm and commune, because they are our own Socialist achievement, they are part of our Socialist construction.

Our enemies say: What has the Soviet régime given you? I am not going to enumerate everything the Soviet régime has given us. As a peasant woman, I will merely say what the Soviet régime and the November Revolution have given the peasantry. Formerly, we peasant women were not much

better than cattle, whereas now, according to our Soviet legislation, peasant women are the equals of men at elections and in agrarian associations. Peasant women have political rights and can be elected to Soviets. The fact that 600,000 peasant women participate in the Soviet Government shows that peasant women make use of their rights, and for all this they are grateful and loyal to the Soviet Government and the Communist Party, for these are the results of the November Revolution.

I think that this Congress, which is the Congress of our friends, will make the union between the workers and the peasants throughout the world stronger than before. It will show to world capitalism that the workers and the peasants of the Soviet Union enjoy the friendship of the workers of the world, that we want only to live in peace and friendship with you, and that we hope that your friendship is not merely lip service, but will be expressed in deeds, that you will not allow your bourgeois rulers to attack us and to make war on us. But if, against our will and wish, we are drawn into war, the working peasantry of the Soviet Union will instruct the Communist Party to resist the enemies who dare make an attack on our Soviet Union.

You could also see our celebrations in all towns and villages throughout the Soviet Union. Why do we rejoice so much? Because the proletariat and the peasantry did not find it so easy to acquire their freedom, as you surely know. You know what we inherited from tsarist Russia. We took power into our hands when the tsarist government was declining and when the imperialist war had already ruined the country.

Comrades, I think that the time has come for deeds and not words, that you who have seen the state of affairs here, will go back to your countries and tell the truth about us. We are also interested in the victory of the foreign proletariat; we know what world capitalism is, we know that fighters for the revolution are lingering in prison and we have not forgotten the recent execution of Comrades Sacco and Vanzetti. We think that the foreign proletariat and peasantry must produce their own champions, must follow our path, side by side with us, and must overthrow their bourgeois governments so that, together with us, Soviet power may be established throughout the world.

Long live world revolution!

Long live alliance between the workers and peasants throughout the world!

Long live the world November. (Applause.)

Presentation of Banners from Workers of Ivanovo-Vosnesensk

MELNICHANSKY: In a few more minutes this part of the ceremony will be over. Then we will have the speeches translated. I will now call on Comrade Murylin, the representative of one of our biggest industrial centres, Ivanovo-Vosnesensk, to address the Congress. Ivanovo-Vosnesensk workers have sent two banners for the French and British delegations. Comrade Murylin will present the banners to Comrades Lawther and Canonne, who are requested to come to the platform.

MURYLIN: Dear comrades of the French and British delegations, please accept these banners from us as a mark of solidarity between our workers and the workers who have delegated you to our Soviet country.

You have seen for yourselves how our workers live. You have seen our achievements and you have witnessed the enthusiasm of the masses on the day of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution. We, Ivanovo-Vosnesensk workers, have accomplished much. We can say with just pride that we have been successful in all the spheres of our national economy and of our social and political life. We are justified in saying that what we have done in the last ten years shows that the working class is well able to construct a Socialist society. Without the help of merchants, landlords and the bourgeoisie, the working class of our country is managing its affairs very well. We are convinced that the workers in your countries will understand and appreciate our work and achievements, that ideologically they will be with us.

Let this banner be a strong link between the workers of our country and the workers of the world. Let this banner be a symbol of the struggle for working-class unity. Let this banner be a proof that the country where workers rule, and rule well, without the bourgeoisie, is the Soviet country. Let this banner help to organise the masses of your countries for a relentless struggle against capitalism.

CANONNE: Comrades, on presenting this banner to the workers of France, I will say to them: the workers of the Soviet Republic do not forget that the French are the sons

of the Commune and that they are waiting impatiently for the time when they will prove this by taking their stand side by side with the Russian workers. (Loud applause.)

CHAIRMAN: There is a suggestion that we take six more speakers and continue the debate, then the vote will be taken on the resolution and the procedure will end to-night. If it is rejected then we will carry on to-night and the debate will be continued to-morrow. Italy wishes to oppose the suggestion.

There is another suggestion that in the event of the proposition being carried, that of the six speakers, then those on the list who have not yet spoken will hand in their speeches and they will be included in the report.

Italy opposed the suggestion.

GALILEO (Italy): Comrades, it has been proposed to close the list of speakers. On behalf of the Italian delegation, I propose to keep it open. This is a very interesting discussion. These eight comrades must be given an opportunity to speak, the delegations interested in this question must be allowed to express their opinion, and I therefore propose to keep the list of speakers open.

CHAIRMAN: The suggestion is that we only have six more speeches, and then the vote will be taken. Those who are on the list will hand in their speeches.

Those in favour of that suggestion please put up their hands.

Who is against? (Pause.)

The suggestion of having only six more speakers, the others handing in their reports and then the vote taken on the resolution to-night, has been carried.

Comrade Jensen, of the United States, has the floor.

JENSEN (American Trade Union Delegation): Comrades, in the report and discussion to-day the position of the imperialist powers of the world and their attitude towards the U.S.S.R., the Soviet Republic, has been clearly stated. We, in America, can realise what that means. It means the annihilation of the only republic that is in existence on the face of the earth to-day. We also realise just what the position of the imperialist, capitalist institutions of the United States is in so far as the Russian Government is concerned. They will constitute the bitterest foes of the Soviet Republic that exist, not only because of their position

as far as our labour disputes in the United States are concerned, but because of the position they have adopted in relation to the Latin American and Pacific countries, also their position in relation to the situation in China and Nicaragua. You can see from that just what you can expect. It is absolutely essential that the Latin American workers line up with the United States workers and do all in their power to put a stop to such a state of affairs.

We, of the American Trade Union Delegation, are in a position to pledge ourselves to do all in our power to get all the workers, organised as well as unorganised, to protect the U.S.S.R., the Workers' Republic, as against the capitalist organisations which are the followers of the capitalist system.

DORDJIEFF (Tibet): Dear fellow workers, I greet the U.S.S.R., which has invited us to this Congress on behalf of the Buddhists of the East, and particularly on behalf of the Tibet Commune. We, Buddhists of the East, brought up on the principle of preservation of the narrow frontiers of the national State and on everything which compels men to lead a secluded family life and fosters hatred and ill-will against others, have always believed in the coming triumph of peace and brotherhood. The best and most eloquent confirmation of our faith and prophecies is the birth of the U.S.S.R., the great and—up to the present—*only* workers' State in the world. We, Buddhists of the East, have followed steadily and calmly the ten years' development of this workers' State. And what have we seen? We have ascertained that the workers of the U.S.S.R. have succeeded in solving, in the best possible manner, the question of combining highest modern technique with culture, one of the most important questions which would have led to great conflicts and sanguinary collisions under the capitalist conditions of the old Russia. The workers of the old Russia—the numerous peoples of the Russian Empire have transformed the country into a palace of brotherhood and unity between these peoples. Here, capitalists can no longer oppress the masses and drive them into fratricidal war. The workers of the U.S.S.R. are making big strides towards brotherhood and peace and are obtaining better conditions of life for millions of workers. National oppression has ceased, and even the smallest nations have their own place and manage their own affairs within the U.S.S.R. What then are our conclusions? First of all, the example of the workers of the

U.S.S.R. points the only possible way to national self-determination, the only way to abolition of war and establishment of a genuine brotherhood of peoples. Secondly, the existence of the U.S.S.R. and its further consolidation are the only guarantee of general peace and a help to all peoples in their struggle for brotherhood and peace. Thirdly, none of the peace policies and organisations, such as the League of Nations, have a sound foundation, and make only confusion worse confounded because of lack of true knowledge and understanding. We, millions of Buddhists in the East, call on all who have not yet grasped this truth to endeavour to do so and to rally around the U.S.S.R. If the work of this Congress is based on these ideas, which are gradually welding together the workers of the world and all friends of peace and brotherhood between nations, it will do good, but not otherwise. Only then shall we get the support and sympathy of millions of Buddhists in the East and of peoples in other parts of the world. In conclusion, I proclaim on behalf of hundreds of millions of Buddhists, and particularly on behalf of the workers of the Tibet Commune, the slogan: "Hands off the U.S.S.R.!"

RUFINO CROSAZ (Chili): Comrades, when we are discussing the question of the coming war, Latin America and its immediate fate must not be overlooked. The fact is that Latin America is the happy hunting-ground of imperialists, particularly of the British and North American imperialists, who have found here a favourable ground for exploitation and expansion. They have become the masters of all the wealth of these countries of Latin America, and not only of the wealth, but also of the life and labour of these peoples. They interfere in national politics and determine the international policy of the countries of Latin America. Their influence is particularly strong in Chili, Peru and Bolivia. Naive people in these countries think that the League of Nations can settle the conflicts between these countries, but this is a deception, for the League of Nations is in the hands of imperialist Great Britain, and it is not the League which will settle these disputes. Moreover, if these disputes concern the United States of North America, the latter declare that the League of Nations has nothing to do with them. The policy of the United States determines the life of these Latin American countries, which are carrying on at present a fierce trade, industrial and financial

war among each other, this frantic competition being generally initiated by the Americans and the British. As soon as any of these States want to shake off the influence of the imperialists, the latter do not confine themselves to threats, they have recourse to armed intervention. In this respect, the Yankees behave in Chili as if it were a conquered country. They have made it their vassal, and by financing the governments of Chili, Bolivia and other countries, where the monopoly of railways and all the other wealth of the country is in Yankee hands, they are practically the masters. The guns provided by the Yankees are used not only in conflicts between countries, but also against the workers of Chili, Peru, Nicaragua and other countries. The future war in the Pacific is bound to affect the fate of the countries of Latin America. Therefore, I declare on behalf of the delegation of the countries of Latin America, that we consider the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics the bulwark of peace. Comrade Crozas concluded his speech by cheering the Soviet Union and world revolution.

COLOMER (France): Comrades, I bring you proof that no honest revolutionary worker can refrain from assisting the U.S.S.R.

I am here as the representative of Paris anarchist workers, sent by them to participate in the celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the November Revolution. (Applause.)

Comrades in the international trade union movement know that for a long time I have been one of your adversaries at the congresses of the C.G.T.U. and in the international movement—I was an adversary of the dictatorship of the proletariat as practised by the Russian Bolsheviks.

But in the face of the national situation in France and the international situation, I realise that it is my duty and the duty of all proletarians who do not want to become the accomplices of international capitalism, to rally to the Red banner of Soviet Russia. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

I know very well that it is easy to dream and to make fanciful plans for revolution brought about as if by magic. But it is much more difficult to put these dreams and plans into practice. We are rallying to your admirable movement just because you are practical men of action. It is your revolutionary Bolshevik practice which has hitherto prevented war. Yesterday it was November 11th, the anniversary of the armistice. The armistice was due to the fact that about

a year previously you had created an anti-war movement throughout the world by overthrowing not only tsarism, but its accomplices, the accomplices of capitalism, i.e., the Social Democrats in Russia. (Loud applause.)

We have realised—and I say this on behalf of a group of anarchist comrades in France—that it was impossible to be near you without making common cause with you within your revolutionary ranks, under your red banners. (Loud applause.)

We realised that if we did not do this, we would become consciously or unconsciously the accomplices not only of French, but also of international Fascism. (Applause.)

This division of the proletariat desired by our obnoxious Poincaré Government, which is unfortunately a fact in France, we want to do away with, and that is why we say: all workers, regardless of their tendencies, must certainly bring about trade union unity, but, in the meantime, they can and must bring about, regardless of what trade union organisations they belong to, revolutionary unity, and they cannot do this unless they march side by side with you who are putting into practice Socialism in this country. (Cries of (Bravo, and loud applause.)

My time is nearly up and all I have to say is:

I came to Russia; I have seen what your social structure is; here you are working, you do not rest content with talking and imagining. Here power is in your hands, in the hands of the proletariat. Many things are certainly still wanting, the Soviet Russia of to-day is not yet able to give the workers all the happiness which Socialism can give. But the important thing is—you have in your hands the instruments for the work of construction, you have the will to construct, and this is what really matters.

Having seen all you have done in the social and cultural sphere, we are prepared to tell our comrades in France whatever their political tendencies may be: the work which goes on there in Soviet Russia is not only for the benefit of Russian workers, it is for the benefit of the workers of the world. (Bravo, and loud applause.)

This common good, this treasure of yours, must be defended by every means possible. It cannot be defended in this or that way; it can and must be defended in one way. You must be against any war which wants to destroy Russian Socialism, and if you want to be against this war, you have

only one means: you must yourselves make a social revolution and overthrow capitalism. If, in spite of all our efforts and our propaganda, the order comes for general mobilisation, French proletarians must not rest content with being pacifists, with being against war in principle, they must refuse to be among those who consent to attack Soviet Russia, to destroy the Socialism which is being built up by the Russian workers. (Bravo, and loud applause.)

We, who are among the few French anarchists who, in August, 1914, refused to go to war, to participate in the world slaughter for the benefit of the French capitalists, will say to those who are of one mind with us: it is not enough to reply to the order of mobilisation in France by an individual NO, the reply to French mobilisation against Soviet Russia must be a collective refusal. (Bravo.)

The national war, the imperialist war, will have to be transformed into civil war. Insurrection must be our reply to the mobilisation order. (Hear, hear! Applause and cries of bravo!)

I am sorry to detain you a little longer, but I have been ask to read the following declaration which I would like you to adopt unanimously:

"At the moment when Italian Fascism is sentencing to 24 years' imprisonment workers whose crime consists in having organised themselves to defend their daily bread, at the moment when the big trial of a hundred Communists is to begin, among whom are all the members of the Communist parliamentary group, tried for their political activity, brought within the jurisdiction of the emergency law, some of them being in danger of a death sentence, the Congress protests against the brutal repression exercised by the Fascists against the Italian people.

"Being aware that the life of Professor Antonio Gramsci, deputy of the Italian Chamber, a man of considerable erudition, the theorist of the international labour movement, who is lying ill in the Fascist prison of Milan, is in danger, the Congress sounds the alarm to all workers and free people throughout the world, and asks them to initiate a united campaign against this new Fascist crime which is being prepared."

FAN NOLI (Delegation of the oppressed peoples of the Balkans): Comrades, there are two characteristic facts which cannot be too strongly emphasised and which constitute the

prelude to the war which is being prepared against Soviet Russia. I mean the campaign of lies and slander directed against the Soviet Union and the international Fascist movement, directed against workers in general.

Every one of Great Britain's imperialist wars was preceded by a similar campaign. Every one of Great Britain's adversaries has been denounced as the deadly enemy of civilisation; once upon a time, it was France, recently it was Germany, it is now the turn of the Soviet Union.

Those who have followed this campaign of lies and slander can have no doubts on this point. Imperialist Great Britain is organising a crusade to suppress the first workers' State, of course for the benefit of mankind, for Great Britain carries on wars only for altruistic aims. But there is an obstacle to overcome: the labour organisations who are opposed to war in general and particularly to war against the Soviet Union, the fatherland of all proletarians. This obstacle must be got rid of prior to any attack on the Soviet Union. The various Fascist régimes have undertaken this task. When it is accomplished, the imperialists will have elbow-room to act. This will be the last stage of the war preparations against the Soviets.

This criminal aggression must be prevented by us by any means at our disposal, and we are sure that we shall succeed.

First of all, in regard to this campaign of lies and slander, we must proclaim throughout the world that the Soviet Union is the only country in the world where slavery and exploitation of man by man are abolished in all their forms—(Applause)—where about one hundred different nationalities enjoy equal freedom and liberty, and that, if only from this point of view, the Soviet Union is the only civilised country in the world, an oasis of humaneness in a desert of barbarism and brutality.

To bear out our thesis, we have only to mention the names of some of the protégés of imperialist Great Britain, such as Primo de Rivera in Spain, Mussolini in Italy, Arnezogono in Albania, Tzankov and Lubitchev (?) in Bulgaria, the Serbian and Roumanian militarists, Chang Tso-lin and Co. in China—the bloodthirsty monster who is massacring workers and peasants, the sinister incarnation of white terror.

It is with such allies that imperialist Great Britain intends to save civilisation.

Secondly, we must enlighten the workers on the fate in store for them as soon as their governments have decided to make war on the Soviets.

Workers will be the first victims, for it is victory over them which is foremost in the minds of Fascists and reactionaries. They will make use of the pretext of wars against the Soviet to crush the working class, and the workers must not allow themselves to be crushed. On the contrary, they must defend themselves and must turn their arms against their age-long oppressors. Oppressed and colonial peoples must follow the example of the revolutionary workers. They have only their chains to lose. In a word, we must establish the united front of workers, peasants and the oppressed and colonial peoples.

Thirdly, we must enlighten public opinion in general on the absurdity of a military expedition against Soviet Russia. To begin with there is the climate and the enormous distances, which alone are almost insurmountable obstacles. The imperialist allies cannot expect to succeed where Napoleon failed. Moreover, one cannot fight with artillery against an ideal, and those who represent this ideal will know how to defend themselves against all their enemies. Driven to despair they will fight like lions and they will astonish the world by their heroism. We saw them filing past us—endless enthusiastic contingents—on November 7th, and we are convinced that they will be able to resist any imperialist and reactionary army.

Final victory rests with the Red Army!

Long live the Soviet Union! (Loud applause.)

DEPRE (France): Comrades, on behalf of the Socialist delegates and the whole French Delegation, I greet the workers of the U.S.S.R. who have fought so heroically for the revolution.

Big sections of our proletariat responded eagerly to the call of the "truth about Russia" committee. Over 1,000 workers have come to the U.S.S.R. from all parts of the world. What did they see here after the shameful campaign carried on by the bourgeois press?

They have found here an energetic population, working enthusiastically for the firm establishment of a proletarian State. We found everywhere during our investigations the necessary foundation for the erection of a Socialist State and the gradual improvement of the workers' conditions.

In a country reduced to mud and blood, the Russian revolution has been able to construct the only State where workers are truly free. That is why the capitalist world is alarmed; it realises that as soon as every worker in other countries knows the truth about the gains of the Russian proletariat, revolution will spread and will put an end for ever in all parts of the world to capitalist tyranny.

For many months we have been witnessing a struggle against the U.S.S.R., cleverly organised by the various States under the leadership of imperialist Great Britain. The duplicity and perfidy of those who give vent in Geneva to hypocritical pacifist sentiments will not succeed in diminishing the vigilance of the workers. We are not dupes of the League of Nations, where secret treaties which are bound to lead to a sanguinary conflict are elaborated behind the scenes.

The break-off of relations between Great Britain and the U.S.S.R., the recall of Comrade Rakovsky, arbitrary arrests of French Communists, imprisonment and assassination of Communists in most countries bear witness to this.

The capitalist world is alarmed at the prospect of a liberated Chinese people which is fighting for its independence. All the colonial peoples are expressing, more or less energetically, their desire for emancipation.

The proletariat wants to break its shackles, and because Russia has become to all the oppressed the symbol of the liberation of mankind, the capitalists of the whole world will attempt to destroy it.

You workers from all parts of the world, who are participating in this Congress, you who had the privilege of admiring the revolutionary achievements of Soviet Russia, you will not allow such a crime.

When you get back to your respective countries you will destroy the lies and slanders which have been spread about this country in spite of all the obstacles with which you will have to contend. You will tell everywhere what you have seen here.

If the capitalist world were to attack the U.S.S.R in order to throttle it, you would rise in defence of its achievements.

Should your efforts be of no avail, should you be unable to prevent this war, let the capitalists know that when we

French take up arms we will be found on the side of our Russian brothers to defend the only stronghold of the workers.

Long live the Red Army!

Long live the Russian Revolution!

Long live World Revolution!

CHAIRMAN: The debate is now closed and I want to propose the resolution which is now in the hands of every member of the Conference. And in so doing I want to point out to you that the steps that were taken by the British delegation have been justified in the two days that this Congress has sat. I think there has never been drawn together an assembly of this character, representing not only the larger countries, but the small ones everywhere, which has constituted itself in order to discuss the proposals which have been submitted to you. And now I desire to put the resolution to the vote. (Pause.)

Is there any other resolution or objection? (Pause.)

As there are no objections or other resolutions, I ask you to vote. Those in favour? (Pause.)

Who is against the resolution? (Pause.)

None. (Applause, "International.")

Comrades, the resolution now having been carried, I want in the first place to make one or two suggestions to you in order that the resolutions may bear the fruit which the British delegation believes they ought to bear.

1. All delegates will try to support and strengthen contact with those organisations on behalf of which they came to the Soviet Union.

2. All delegations will do their utmost to carry out the resolutions of the Congress in their respective countries.

3. The delegations, being representatives of the broad masses and the embodiment of the united front principle, should continue their work on return to their respective countries.

4. The organised delegations must find ways and means to carry the resolutions into effect with the help of district and national conferences, and to make the experience acquired in the Soviet Union the property of the broad masses.

Finally, we trust that those of us of every national delegation who have been privileged to take part in this International Congress, which, as I said before, is unique in the

history of the working class movement of the world, by the time another ten years have passed, by the Twentieth Anniversary of the Soviet Union, will be able not merely to praise and participate in the further development that we feel sure our Russian comrades will have attained, but will be able also to come here as representatives of workers in their respective countries who are freed likewise from the yoke of capitalism and exploitation. (Applause.) For that task and that aim our labours shall not cease for one moment. We go back to those parts of the world from which we have come in order to bring to an end the slavery that we know, and in order to help in every possible way that our Russian comrades can be helped by taking and following the lead and example that they have set for the rest of the world. (Hear, hear.)

In conclusion, therefore, on behalf of the British delegation we are pleased to have had the opportunity of calling you together in order to discuss and to hammer out these proposals which have been submitted to you, and we feel that just as we are determined to carry out the resolutions they will be adopted likewise by every delegation, and that the example that is being set in this assembly will be carried forward into every part of the world wherever workers are exploited and wherever capitalism at the moment rules. (Applause.)

I declare the Conference of the Friends of Soviet Russia is now closed. ("International.")

RESOLUTION ON THE TEN YEARS' ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE REVOLUTION

The representatives of workers, peasants, working intellectuals, co-operators and oppressed peoples who have met in connection with the Tenth Anniversary of the November Revolution, having come to Moscow, from all parts of the world, to the Congress of Friends of the U.S.S.R. and champions of peace among nations, after perusing the report of the President of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., A. I. Rykov, on the ten years' work of the Soviet Government, desire to express their satisfaction with the report presented to the Congress by the representative of the U.S.S.R. Government on the activity of this Government, and verified by the delegates by investigation with the fullest freedom. The U.S.S.R. is the only country in the world where the Government considers it desirable and even essential to account for its actions not only to the workers of its own country who have elected it, but also to the representatives of the toilers and oppressed of all countries. This form of international intercourse between the Government of one country and representatives of other nations, unheard of in the annals of international relations in capitalist States, is in itself a testimony of the historical greatness and a justification of the deed accomplished ten years ago which, in spite of all the efforts of imperialist governments to destroy it, remains as firm as a rock.

On behalf of the workers they represent, the delegations participating in the Congress declare their immutable solidarity with the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R., who have initiated the reorganisation of society on a new Socialist basis, a society where there will be no wars, no exploitation of man by man, no oppression by the ruling classes of some countries over other peoples.

On behalf of the toilers whom it represents, the Congress expresses also its readiness to defend with all the means at its disposal the conquests of the October Revolution against any attacks of the capitalist countries. On the strength of the careful study which its participants have made of life and conditions in the U.S.S.R., the Congress declares:

The years of economic development in the U.S.S.R. are a clear proof of the successful economic reconstruction on a socialist basis of the country ruined by war. On the strength of the experience of one-sixth of the globe it has been demon-

strated that Socialism is a practicability. The myth spread by bourgeois economists that the elimination of the stimulus of profit-making would turn upside-down all laws of economic development and lead mankind to moral and economic degradation has been exploded. The ten years' experience of the workers of the U.S.S.R. has demonstrated to the world the effect of new stimuli of economic creativeness of a Socialist and social character. Only in the U.S.S.R. are economic relations placed on a systematically planned basis, which is taking the place of the anarchy predominant in capitalist countries and which is gradually eliminating the "accidental" in economic and social relations. Therefore, the economic development in the U.S.S.R. is a victory of Socialism over capitalism. Industry is growing from year to year, and in spite of backward technique, the U.S.S.R. is becoming industrialised. The elements of socialised economy are systematically squeezing out private capital from the position it occupied at the introduction of the New Economic Policy. In industry and trade the Socialist element of the country's economy is steadily growing in strength. The intense concentration of wholesale and retail trade in the hands of the State and the co-operative movement gives great advantages to the workers and peasants as consumers. New factories are springing up. The worn-out plants in the old factories are being renewed. Speedy progress is being made in the electrification of the country, and the villages, kept in subjection under the tsarist régime, are developing economically. To millions of peasants throughout the world who in capitalist countries sought salvation hitherto from their miserable conditions in making common cause with capitalists and big land-owners, the experience of the U.S.S.R. in regard to the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, is opening new prospects. Agricultural co-operation plus socialised industry is revolutionising the countryside.

In no other country in the world is such care taken of the workers' material, cultural and political position. In the U.S.S.R. alone is the 8-hour day an unassailable achievement of the working class. The proposed introduction of the 7-hour day, in spite of the economic weakness of the U.S.S.R., is one more example of the determination of the Soviet Government to improve the position of the working class. Labour palaces, garden villages and rest homes for workers, sanatoria, protection of motherhood and childhood,

crèches, children's homes, clubs, libraries, these only indicate the fundamental tendency to raise the material and cultural level of the workers.

The country where under tsarism most of the population was illiterate is undergoing a gigantic cultural revolution. Ideas of solidarity and brotherhood of nations, respect for labour, and ideas of social justice are instilled into the minds of the young in school. Education, from the schools to the universities, has become accessible to workers and peasants, and the cultural level of the masses is growing day by day. In no other country in the world are such enormous sections of the population drawn into participation in the political and intellectual life of the country. The alliance between science and labour is a reality only in this country, which is slanderously represented by the capitalist world as the country of oppression directed against the intelligentsia and the educated sections of the population. Only in the U.S.S.R. is science genuinely independent. Here science is used not in the interest of a small group of people for the purpose of mass destruction by war, but it serves the interests of true civilisation and culture, i.e., the interests of the broad masses awakening to new social and intellectual life. If democracy means participation of the largest possible number of people in the everyday administration of the country, then democracy exists only in the Soviet Union.

To the oppressed peoples of the colonies, to all peoples disrupted by the post-war "peace treaties," to the national minorities throughout the world, the Soviet Union gives a vivid example of the possibility of a union between a whole series of nationalities of various degrees of culture, in the form of a federation of States based on genuine political and economic equality.

In the face of these achievements the participants in the Congress send the warmest greetings to all U.S.S.R. workers and peasants. They pledge themselves to defend in their respective countries the first Republic of Workers and Peasants, by all means; to struggle against war which is threatening the U.S.S.R. on all sides; to expose the intrigues of international diplomacy which is preparing such a war; to oppose in every case a break of diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R.; to insist on the recognition of the U.S.S.R. on the part of these governments which have not already done so; to support everywhere the initiative of the U.S.S.R.

directed towards disarmament (at the same time being aware that the imperialist warmongers will do their utmost to prevent disarmament); to join the struggle of the proletariat against imperialist wars; to defend the cause of oppressed colonial peoples against their enslavers, first and foremost the revolutionary movement of the toiling masses of China; and to fight for national and international unity of the trade unions based on the class struggle.

Long live the U.S.S.R.!

Down with the imperialist wars!

Long live militant solidarity of all exploited and oppressed in the struggle against capitalism!

RESOLUTION ON THE WAR DANGER

We, representatives of workers, peasants, co-operators, representatives of oppressed peoples, individuals engaged in art and science, education and literature, members of Socialist and other working-class political parties, Communists and members of national-revolutionary parties, all of us who have met at the Congress of the Friends of the U.S.S.R. in Moscow during the glorious days of the Tenth Anniversary of the November Revolution, consider it our duty to let the world know that:

We consider war against the U.S.S.R. a shameful counter-revolutionary act and the greatest of crimes against labour.

To carry on war against the Soviet Union is to carry on war against the working class and the peasantry in the interests of landlords and capitalists. To carry on war against the Soviet Union is to declare a crusade against Socialism in support of capitalism.

To carry on war against the U.S.S.R. is to carry on war against the workers of the whole world; to give a free hand to the blackest international reaction in the smashing of the organised labour movement in every country, and in crushing the liberation movement of the oppressed nations.

To carry on war against the Workers' State means to support ever-recurring imperialist wars, every one of them more reactionary, destructive and monstrous than the preceding one, threatening to reduce to ruins the achievements of technique, culture, scientific thought and art accumulated during thousands of years.

We call upon all honest citizens of all countries, and on all manual and brain workers, to relentlessly fight the war preparations against the U.S.S.R., the country where the proletariat rules, no matter whence this attack be directed, by whom it be supported and by what ideological slogans it be disguised.

The Congress declares that the international situation has become very acute of late. The post-war policy of the biggest imperialist powers has fully disclosed the true meaning of all the fine phraseology about "defence of the mother country," "just war," "last war," "war for freedom and progress," etc. This policy found expression in the predatory treaties (Brest-Litovsk, Versailles, St. Germain, Trianon, etc.). This policy was further expressed in increased exploitation and ruthless oppression in the colonies, the Latin American countries, etc., the population of which was not only more exploited than before, but was and is even now subjected to barbarous and treacherous raids by the imperialists whenever their colonies, which have developed politically, endeavour to throw off the yoke of their oppressors (Egypt, India, Syria, Morocco, Indonesia, China). The Congress denounces these acts of the imperialist governments and resolves to defend the oppressed peoples with all the means in its power, and first and foremost the great people of China who are heroically fighting against the joint forces of the imperialists and the internal feudal-bourgeois counter-revolution now under the banner of the Kuomintang which is exterminating the best fighting forces of the national liberation struggle of China.

The Congress declares that this policy of the ruling capitalist classes is inevitably causing conflicts between the capitalist States and a fierce struggle against workers' Russia. The Congress points out that the so-called "League of Nations" has shown itself in its true colours as a militant alliance of big and predatory capitalist States, an alliance directed first and foremost against the U.S.S.R. in a relentless struggle against the proletariat and Socialism.

The Congress also declares that, just as over a century ago, at the dawn of European bourgeois revolutions, the governing classes of Great Britain were at the head of the counter-revolutionary coalitions against revolutionary France, so to-day they are at the head of the "Sacred Union" of the capitalist States directed against the first Workers' Republic. The break by the conservative government of the relations

with the U.S.S.R.; the revolting acts of violence and outrageous executions of revolutionary heroes in China; the demand for the recall of the U.S.S.R. Ambassador from France; the press campaign against the proletarian State; the terrorist acts; the frantic growth of armaments; the diplomatic, financial and economic encirclement of the U.S.S.R.—all these factors point to the terrible danger of an attack on the victorious workers.

The Congress welcomes the peace policy of the Soviet Union and declares that war has been hitherto averted only owing to the firm will for peace exerted by the Soviet Government. The Congress declares that any capitalist government would long ago have taken up the sword if it had been subjected to such abominable acts of violence (directed by British imperialism) as were perpetrated against the organs of the proletarian State in London, Peking, Shanghai, Paris, and Warsaw (Voikov's assassination). The Congress declares that the confidence of the workers, peasants and the Red Army in the peaceful aims of their Government and the need to defend their revolutionary gains would mobilise the toiling masses of the whole of the U.S.S.R. to successful defence against any outside attack.

This Congress welcomes the initiative taken by the Soviet Government which has adopted a genuine peace and disarmament platform in connection with the Disarmament Conference convened by the League of Nations. It thinks that the main object of this conference is conspiracy of the powers to arm themselves against the U.S.S.R. This Congress therefore calls upon all workers and all honest opponents of imperialist war to support in every possible way the peace policy of the Soviet Government in order to expose to the full the deception practised by the League of Nations and by all organisations which are supporting it.

We, the representatives of workers and peasants, of the revolutionary intelligentsia and the oppressed nations send out a call for courageous support of the U.S.S.R. and of the Chinese Revolution. Only systematic organisational and agitational preparation for action can be recognised as an honest struggle for the cause of Socialism, for the abolition of capitalist wars.

The Congress calls upon all workers and peasants, all genuine advocates of peace, all true supporters of culture and

civilisation to prepare for the struggle by all means against war preparations directed against the U.S.S.R.

Our slogan is:

Manual and brain workers of the world, join your forces to fight:

Against the evil forces of capitalism!

Against barbarous imperialist wars!

Against the throttling policy of the imperialists in China!

Against intervention in the U.S.S.R.!

Against bloody Fascism.

With all means fight against imperialist war, protect and defend the U.S.S.R., the motherland of all workers, the bulwark of peace, the hearth of emancipation, the stronghold of Socialism!

COMPOSITION OF CONGRESS DELEGATIONS.

Trade Union Composition

Metallists	110	Leather Workers.....	10
Miners	36	Tailors	12
Textile Workers	33	Unskilled Labourers ...	33
Builders	35	Agricultural Labourers	49
Transport Workers	25	Miscellaneous	382
Municipal Workers	22	Unorganised	136
Printers	25		
Wood Workers	19	Total	927

Professions of Intellectuals Present at the Congress

Scientists	18	Engineers	7
Artists	10	Writers	27
Doctors	11	Journalists	27
Teachers	5	Lawyers	12

National Composition

Austria	50	Mongolia	6
America	46	Morocco	1
England	109	Norway	28
Argentine	7	Poland	12
Balkan Countries	5	Portugal	3
Belgium	38	Tibet	2
Venezuela	1	France	143
Germany	167	Philippines	1
Holland	6	Finland	22
Hedjas	1	Czecho-Slovakia	77
Denmark	25	Chile	1
India	7	Switzerland	20
Ireland	11	Sweden	37
Spain	1	Scotland	5
Italy	8	Esthonia	23
Canada	1	Equador	1
China	22	South Africa	3
Cuba	6	Java	2
Latvia	15	Japan	4
Brazil	1		
Mexico	9	Total	927

TWENTIETH CENTURY PRESS (1911), LIMITED,
(Trade Union in all Departments),
103, Southwark Street, London, S.E.1.—14/71
