

# International Fighting Day Against War Danger

English Edition

Unpublished Manuscripts — Please reprint

## INTERNATIONAL

Vol. 11 No. 39

## PRESS

23rd July 1931

## CORRESPONDENCE

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berlin SW 68, Lindenstraße 71-72. Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered post: International Press Correspondence, Berlin SW 68, Lindenstraße 71-72. Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Berlin. Telephone: Dönhoff 2856 and 2867.

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## The German Economic Disaster — a Symptom of the World Capitalist Crisis.

By Th. Neubaer (Berlin).

For eighteen months the capitalists and their social democratic lackeys in all countries have attempted to deceive themselves, and above all the people, regarding the character of the present crisis. The economic disaster which has now overtaken German capitalism and has filled the whole capitalist world with fear will put a final end to all the lying talk about „an ordinary business crisis“; in fact in the camp of the bourgeoisie itself increasing voices are heard proclaiming the approaching twilight of the Gods of the capitalist world, „the end of capitalism“ (F. Fried). Revolutionary Marxist-Leninism must give its analysis of the situation: the general crisis of the capitalist world system, which began with the world war and the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, has entered on a new stage.

What are the factors which give the crisis of German capitalism special importance as part of the capitalist world crisis?

1. Highly industrialised Germany, with its population of 65 millions, is closely and intimately bound up with the leading countries of capitalism. Its share in the total of world trade amounts to 10 per cent. The amount of American capital

invested in Germany is estimated at 6,000 million marks. During the bank crisis of the last few weeks it transpired that German bills amounting to 1,500 to 2,000 million marks are in circulation in England. The collapse of German capitalism would however not only mean gigantic losses for the United States and England but would have disastrous consequences also for Germany's immediate neighbours, Holland, Denmark, Switzerland etc.

2. The collapse of German capitalism would result in a severe shaking, and in the event of the victory of Communism even the shattering of the Versailles system, for the maintenance of which the imperialist big Powers, before all France, have for thirteen years made the greatest efforts.

3. The collapse of German capitalism would bring with it the danger to world capitalism of Bolshevism penetrating the heart of Central Europe, i. e., the highly industrial stronghold of capitalism itself.

These are, in the main, the reasons which have brought the big imperialist robbers together in order to „save Germany“. This rescue-action is a somewhat peculiar affair. The Young Plan was to have brought salvation a year ago. The Hoover

Plan a month ago was to achieve what the Young Plan could not achieve. This new rescue-action is to accomplish that which neither the Young Plan nor the Hoover Plan could achieve. But it is impossible to help bankrupt German capitalism to overcome its particular crisis merely by granting it fresh credits and new loans instead of doing away with the causes which were bound to lead to the particularly vehement crisis of German capitalism. The London Conference will only deal with the symptoms of the sickness of German capitalism; to remove its causes is beyond the power of international finance capital. Therefore the "rescue-action" is doomed from the outset to be equally futile as all its predecessors.

The causes of the special crisis of German capitalism, which have made Germany one of the weakest links in the chain of the imperialist world system, are as follows:

Upon the political foundation of the Dawes Pact there commenced in 1924, after 4½ years of war and four years of inflation, the reconstruction of German capitalism. According to the data of the Institut für Konjunkturforschung, in the five years from 1924 to 1928, 26,800 millions were invested in machinery and plant, 26,200 millions in replacement plant and 12,500 million marks in stocks of goods, that is to say a total accumulation of 65,700 million marks.

But how were these investments rendered possible? To a great extent as a result of the inflow of foreign capital. The Konjunkturinstitut reckons that up to September 1930 Germany's foreign indebtedness amounted to 26,100 million to 27,100 million marks, to which was to be set off German property abroad amounting to 8,800 to 10,800 million, resulting in a balance against Germany of 16,300 million to 17,300 million. A prominent company lawyer, Reichert, estimates the sum which international finance capital draws annually from German economy as a result of its indebtedness at about 1775 to 1860 million marks. That is about as much as the total of annual reparations payments! It is hardly necessary to emphasise what a depressing effect this constant outflow of capital has on the economy of capitalist Germany. But it is absolutely absurd for the "economic leaders" of the German bourgeoisie to wail now about the foreign indebtedness of Germany and to consider this as the greatest misfortune. German capitalism, if it did not wish to renounce entering the ranks of the big capitalist countries again, had no other choice than to borrow money which it was itself lacking.

The investment capital was also to some extent raised by inner accumulation, that is to say, it was squeezed out of the working masses. The amount of the total accumulation up to 1930, which was partly invested in Germany but partly also transferred abroad, must be reckoned at about 50,000 to 55,000 million. This tremendous exploitation of the working masses was only possible as a result of the heaviest pressure, with the help of rationalisation, high import duties, monopoly prices, wage reductions, cutting down of social expenditure, heavy taxes etc. The result was that the German home market was increasingly ruined, and this in turn was bound to effect industry and agriculture.

The tremendous investments in industry which took place in the years 1924 to 1930 in connection with the rationalisation have greatly altered the organic composition of capital, have greatly increased the proportion of constant capital. They were bound to become an enormous source of loss the moment the crisis began, when the apparatus of production was to a great extent laid idle (in some industries up to 70 an 80 per cent.) and the interest on and the amortisation of this idle capital had to be borne by the undertakings still working. The whole rationalisation, and not only, as the reformists maintain, its practical carrying out in detail, was from the capitalist viewpoint a bad investment, but it was unavoidable if German capitalism did not wish to give up every attempt to regain a place in the imperialist sun.

Fourthly, there should be mentioned, the German agrarian crisis, the result of which was that from year to year millions had to be raised as subventions to agriculture, partly in the form of direct State support, and partly in the form of enormous prohibitive import tariffs and similar measures, which for example forced up the home price of wheat to three times and the home price of sugar to four times the world market price. Professor Dessauer, a deputy of the Centre party, estimates the amount of these subventions to agriculture at 3,500 to 4,000 million marks a year.

In the last place we mention the reparation payments to the imperialist Powers, not because they were unimportant but because the German capitalist class, in order to divert attention from the other reasons of their bankruptcy, attribute the sole responsibility for the crisis to reparations. In the period from September 1924 to June 1930, Germany paid 11,072 million in reparations! This burden was shifted from the bourgeoisie on to the masses and has greatly contributed to the misery and impoverishment of the working people.

The German capitalist class cannot take refuge in the excuse that they have been driven by "outside forces" into the present disaster; the inner contradictions of German capitalism could not produce any other result; they also led to the political measures (Emergency Decrees etc.) with which the German bourgeoisie hoped to save itself, but which only served to aggravate the economic crisis.

One does not need to be a prophet in order to predict that the London Conference will not do away with a single one of the causes of the special German crisis. On the contrary, after the "rescue action" these causes will continue to work more strongly. The new credit (there is talk of 2,000 millions) means that in the future the amount of interest to be paid abroad will be increased by a further 180 millions. The losses of the banks, which run into thousands of millions, render it inevitable that the enormous "frozen" credits in industry and commerce must at any price be made fluid again. This will lead to a chain of serious bankruptcies in which a number of the largest undertakings will be involved. On the other hand, it will necessitate increased exports, which means that German goods will be sold at ruinous prices, for numerous firms will not be able to pay back their credits except by selling out their stocks of goods at any price they will fetch. The raising of the rate of interest, even if it should be gradually reduced again, means a further heavy burden on industry, which on top of all the other burdens will be shifted on to the working masses. The flight of capital, which mainly takes place by means of export of goods, will not cease, as its cause, the uncertainty of capitalist class rule in Germany, has not become weaker but stronger. After the panic of the last week or two the withdrawal of savings will still continue. Thus nothing will remain for the German bourgeoisie but either to seek further credits abroad or to open the door still wider to alienation to foreign capital. This is one side of the prospects for the next few months.

At the same time there is a further worsening of the situation of the proletariat and of the middle classes. They will

## C. P. Demands Presented to Prussian Government.

Berlin, 21st July 1931.

To-day the communist fraction in the Prussian Diet presented the following demands to the Prussian government:

1. The immediate re-establishment of the freedom of the press, of the freedom of meeting and demonstration. The immediate withdrawal of all the Emergency Decrees which limit or abolish any of these elementary rights.
2. The immediate withdrawal of all measures cutting down the rates of support paid out under the unemployment insurance scheme in Prussia and under other insurance schemes, including the cuts in the welfare support rates, in the general welfare work, in the pensions of ex-soldiers, and in the salaries of the lower officials.
3. The payment on demand of all claims made on all accounts held by the Berlin savings institutions.
4. The immediate withdrawal of the prohibition of the Red Front Fighters League issued by the Prussian government.

The fraction requests a detailed answer to all its demands from the Prussian government by the 22nd July 1931, and informs the government that the Communist Party will make its attitude towards the proposed People's Referendum against the Prussian government dependent on the answer.

The People's Referendum referred to by the communist fraction is the referendum which has been organised by the Fascist and German Nationalist Parties. Its fate at the moment is uncertain, but with communist support its victory would be made certain and the Prussian government overthrown.

have to bear the devastating consequences of the last weeks: the increased burden of interest, the growing unemployment, the increase in the cost of living, and before all a further reduction of wages and social services. Writing in the "Wirtschaftsdienst" of 17th July last, Professor R. Wilbrandt recommends the Chinese coolie wages as a model for the German bourgeoisie; one must now learn from the Far East, for it is now necessary to force the formation of capital with every means; "in any event the further limitation of consumption means in the last resort the reduction of the standard of living, of the great mass of the working class".

But it is one of the fundamental contradictions of capitalism, which must finally lead to its overthrow, that it knows no other means of saving itself than by ruthlessly impoverishing the masses, which it thereby itself goads on to annihilate capitalism.

The London Conference may perhaps by fresh credits give German capitalism the possibility of temporarily "normalising" to some extent its monetary circulation, but it will not remove but increase the enormous aggravation of the crisis of German capitalism.

## POLITICS

### Czechoslovakia Drawn into the World Crisis.

By S. Vaclav.

The oasis of "law and order", as the Czechoslovakian Republic is called by the bourgeoisie and the social democrats, is being more and more threatened by the waves of unrest and disorder. The bourgeois and social democratic press of Czechoslovakia, which also in regard to the question of the German economic disaster stands completely on the side of French imperialism, is endeavouring to pacify the broad masses of workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie by assuring them that no danger threatens the Czechoslovakian capitalist economy as the result of the German collapse. But these smooth words are already being refuted by hard reality.

The collapse of the "Nordwolle" textile undertaking was followed by the collapse of the biggest textile undertaking in Czechoslovakia, "N. W. K. Neudeck". It is generally known to what a great extent capital in the German speaking districts of Czechoslovakia is interwoven with German capital. But even if this were not the case Czechoslovakia would feel the results of the German bankruptcy very much, as trade with Germany and Austria comprises more than a third of the total foreign trade of Czechoslovakia.

But apart from the results of the German collapse the economic crisis in Czechoslovakia is steadily increasing. Building activity, it is true, has absorbed a part of the building workers who were out of work in the winter, — a circumstance which gave the social fascists occasion to spread illusions regarding an alleged decline in unemployment and an alleged overcoming of the worst of the crisis.

As a matter of fact however, the number of unemployed is steadily growing, and this mainly among the workers in the heavy industries: the metal industry and mining. Since the spring many thousands of miners have been discharged, and now there is a fresh wave of dismissals. In the Moravian Ostrau mining area alone fresh thousands of miners will be discharged in the next few days.

The same thing is happening in the metal industry: every day fresh works are being closed down and fresh hundreds or even thousands of workers thrown onto the streets. The largest metal works in Czechoslovakia, the **Witkovitzer Iron Works**, recently gave notice to 2000 workers. During the past twelve-month the **Skoda Works** have dismissed over 10,000 workers. The recent merger of the largest automobile factories, Skoda, Ceskomoravska, Kolben and Danek, likewise means that thousands of workers will be discharged.

The textile and glass industry of Czechoslovakia has been for a long time in a disastrous situation without any prospects of improvement. Even according to the opinion of leading textile industrialists the Czechoslovakian textile industry will never be able to attain its pre-war level.

This gloomy situation in industry is accompanied by an

equally gloomy situation in agriculture. The broad masses of the peasantry are burdened by enormous debts and taxes.

Every day brings fresh attacks by the capitalists on the standard of living of the working class and of the working peasantry. Every day brings fresh betrayals of these masses by the social fascists. General attack upon wages in all branches of industry, lockouts, intensification of factory terror — these are the remedies applied by the bourgeoisie. And in this the social democrats help them with **both** hands. With the "left" hand they carry out manoeuvres under pressure of the embittered masses. They organise demonstrations, meetings and even strikes of the textile workers, and at the same time, with the right hand, throttle strikes and vote for the granting of credits to the textile barons out of money derived from the tax-payers. They bring forward motions in Parliament to shorten the working time to 40 hours a week without wage compensations. They talk of export credits and the establishment of trade relations with the Soviet Union, and in practice conduct a furious incitement against the Soviet Union and support the intervention policy of the imperialists.

It is clear that the remedies employed by the bourgeoisie and the social democrats cannot have any effect. The discontent of the masses is growing, and finds expression in ever sharper forms. The fight of the Slovakian and Hungarian land-workers for an increase in their miserable wages is visibly increasing in intensity and, as the bloodbath in Kossuth shows, is crushed by the State power with the most brutal means. Dozens of strikes of building workers are taking place throughout the country under the leadership of the red trade unions. Big demonstrations, huge meetings in which worker delegates who have returned from the Soviet Union deliver reports, are proof of the growing enthusiasm of the Czechoslovakian workers for socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

The growing militant spirit among the masses clearly shows that the workers are not prepared to give way in face of the attacks of the bourgeoisie and that they are not deceived by the social fascist manoeuvres.

The **Communist Party** of Czechoslovakia is mobilising the working masses for the solidarity fight with the German proletariat. The C. P. of Czechoslovakia has ordered all its members to stand ready to support the German proletariat in its approaching hard fights. The campaign for 1st of August which is now proceeding will at the same time be a fight for the solidarity of the Czechoslovakian and the German proletariat. Hundreds of thousands of Czech workers and peasants will in the next few weeks demonstrate against the further enslavement of the German proletariat which the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie and social democracy are planning together with French imperialism. They will demonstrate for the common fight of the German and Czechoslovakian workers, for the German peoples revolution, as well as for the social and national emancipation of the working people in Czechoslovakia, for a Soviet Germany and a Soviet Czechoslovakia.

### The Imperialist Struggle for Greenland.

By P. P. (Stockholm).

The Danish-Norwegian conflict over Greenland has not arisen as a result of chance, although both sides maintain that this barren, sterile land is of very little value. The conflict began by some chauvinistic Norwegian fishermen occupying the Eastern part of Greenland which has for long belonged to Denmark.

Although Norway has "friendly relations" with Denmark, its government sanctioned this act of robbery, which is in sharp contradiction to the international law of the capitalist world, and it came to an exchange of Notes in which the social democratic government of "peaceful" Denmark energetically defended the interests of its exploiting class and protested against the occupation.

According to an agreement existing between the interested imperialist States, such land as is discovered in the polar regions belongs to that State whose possessions to the south lie nearest to the newly discovered country. As Norway does not possess any land north of Svalbard (Spitzbergen), and as the whole of Greenland belongs according to international law to Denmark,

this agreement is very unfavourable for Norway. It must attempt to extend its possession further northward. Social democratic Denmark, for its part, wishes to retain firm hold of that country in which hitherto it has not shown any particular interest.

Both Denmark and Norway are severely hit by the international crisis; both of them are seeking a way out and both are turning their attention to the polar regions. Here the Norwegian fishermen have long plyed their trade, although they formerly concentrated mainly on the South of the Arctic. In the last few years, however, they have transferred their main activities to the North and as the yield is not sufficient in the neighbourhood of Svalbard, they are turning their attention to the rich fishing grounds of East Greenland.

It is mainly finance capital and also the big fish canning and oil industry, in whose service the Norwegian fisherfolk carry on hard and dangerous work for miserable pay, which are behind this occupation. Although the whole of the vast country of Greenland belongs formally to Denmark, the Danish authorities have never taken any action against the small Norwegian fishermen, who for many years managed to earn a living by fishing in these waters. Now, however, when the Norwegian fishing industry has been modernised and rationalised by big capital, it encounters a powerful Danish rival, which under social democratic leadership and on the direct initiative of the social democratic Prime Minister Stauning is beginning to carry out systematically the hitherto neglected capitalist exploitation of East Greenland. Numerous "scientific" and economic expeditions have been sent out for this purpose. A specially equipped fleet, the most modern ship of which its big capitalist owners have given the name of "Th. Sta. Stauning", is to commence exploiting the fishing grounds of East Greenland. Here is one of the direct causes of the suddenly sharpened dispute. The fight for the possession of this desolate country is an open fight for the wealth of the Polar seas, in which fight the social democrats are just as energetic as the open reactionaries and semi-fascists in defending the "rights" of the exploiting class of their particular country.

## The Last Phase of Zionism.

By Leo Katz.

The 17th Zionist Congress which met on the 30th June last in Basle, to a certain extent represents the miserable end of a movement which for a time played a role not only among the Jewish community but also in European and Near Asiatic politics, and even now from time to time engages the attention of the British Cabinet and the Commissions of the League of Nations. True, Zionism will not be liquidated as an organisation, but after this Congress it will only lead a sham existence. Zionism — as the last Congress has clearly proved to many who still believe in it — is completely played out as an attempt to solve the Jewish question within the confines of capitalist society.

Zionism has been working in Palestine for half a century. It arose to some extent as a reaction to the pogroms in Tsarist Russia and anti-semitism in other countries. With the aid of philanthropic societies a number of colonies were set up in Palestine in the eighties and nineties of last century, which were only able to exist by means of outside help. In the year 1897 the various Zionist groups were drawn together into one organisation and the first Zionist Congress was convened at Basle. The programme formulated was as follows: Zionism strives to create for the Jewish people a legal home in Palestine. This formulation served to awaken among the Jewish petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals the illusion that Palestine was a completely unpopulated country only waiting for the immigration of the Jews. It was solely a question of raising by means of collections the necessary sums and getting the heads of State of the big Powers interested in the project. The leader of Zionism, Theodore Herzl, therefore approached Kaiser Wilhelm, the Sultan of Turkey, the Pope and the English government. But this play with diplomacy of course did not produce the slightest result. On the other hand, however, Zionism began to encounter as a rival the Jewish labour movement which was beginning to arise in the Jewish settlements themselves. Zionism attempted to quieten the class-consciousness which was

awakening among the Jewish working masses by means of nationalist phrases and by utopias about a growing "social" Jewish State in Palestine. It also succeeded in creating a labour wing, the "Paole Zion", which is affiliated to the Second International.

Up to the outbreak of the war the importance of Zionism was very trifling. During the war, when British imperialism was looking round for suitable cannon fodder, an agreement was arrived at between the Zionist leaders and the English government. The Zionist leader **Jabotinski** organised in Great Britain, France and the United States Jewish legions drawn from circles of Jews who had emigrated from Russia, Ukraine and Poland. These legions fought in the British army, in return for which Great Britain, in the famous Balfour Declaration of 2nd November 1917, promised Palestine to the Zionists.

Zionism entered on a boom period. The waves of nationalism rose high. Hundreds of thousands of Jewish workers and petty bourgeoisie, especially in the United States, were reached by Zionist propaganda, and vast sums flowed into the Zionist coffers. For British imperialism which had acquired the rule over Palestine and for whom Palestine was the gateway to India, and the whole Near East, Zionism was in the first years a great asset. Millions of pounds which had been raised by the Jews abroad flowed into the country, and the Jewish workers worked here for beggarly wages. Many of them were soon forced to recognise that they were just as much exploited in their "national home" as they were in Poland or Rumania from whence they had come. A Jewish bourgeoisie and a class of Jewish speculators arose, and the Jewish worker soon felt on his own back a twofold knout: that of the Jewish bourgeoisie and that of the English rulers. The Jewish worker was soon also compelled to recognise that the assertion that Palestine was an unpopulated country, was simply a legend. Every foot of soil had to be wrested from the poor Arab fellahin. A permanent guerilla war set in between the Jewish colonists and the Arabs. Within Zionism there arose a national-fascist wing which set its task of breaking the resistance of the Arabs who had been driven from the soil.

Oppressed by Zionism and by the British bourgeoisie, in 1929 the Arabs in Palestine rose in revolt. It came to bloody fights, as a result of which hundreds were killed. Finally the revolt of the Arabs was drowned in blood by the British military forces.

But this revolt meant at the same time a severe blow to Zionism from which it can never recover. Out of fear of an Arab rising outside of Palestine the Macdonald government was compelled to close the doors of Palestine to further Jewish immigrants. After long negotiations it allowed such a small quota to enter that there can be no talk of immigration. While Zionism formerly was able to record only trifling successes in regard to settlements, this sphere of work is now entirely closed to it.

To this there is to be added the fact that another country, **the country of the proletarian dictatorship**, has shown how the national question can be really solved and with it also the Jewish question. Under the auspices of the "Ozet" society and of the State "Komzet" there is being carried on in Russia a planned and systematic settlement of declassed Jews in the Ukraine, Crimea and Birobidshan. With scarcely a fraction of the huge sums which Zionism has squandered, the Soviet Union has achieved in a few years, on a sound socialist basis, far more than Zionism has accomplished on an unsound basis in the course of decades in regard to the settlement of Jews.

The Zionist Congress in Basle, which lasted more than two weeks, was confronted with the question: what to say to the masses in order not to have to confess bankruptcy. The delegates disputed over hair-splitting interpretations of the Balfour Declaration and as to whether the Arabs, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of Palestine, should be granted equal rights with the Jews. Here a fight over empty formulas took place between fascists and social fascists. In view of the fact that the gates of Palestine are bolted and barred, and not least that owing to the economic crisis Zionism's sources of income have completely dried up, the Congress was unable to put forward a serious programme of work. Zionism, which has for many years served to dope and delude many Jewish workers, is now at the end of its resources.

## CHINA

### The Defeat of Secret Counter-Revolutionary Machinations in the Chinese Soviet Districts

By Hung Chau.

With the co-operation of the broad masses various counter-revolutionary machinations in Soviet districts have been discovered. The Kuomintang makes use of the backward big peasants and petty bourgeois elements for the purpose of carrying on desintegrating work in the Soviet districts. These elements endeavour to find their way into the Soviet organs, to prevent the growth of the agrarian revolution and to divert the Red Army on to adventurous paths by means of sham radical phrases. They form secret organisations which strive to get the Soviet organs into their hands, and then by means of sabotage to discredit them in the eyes of the masses in the Soviet districts. Such an organisation, the so-called "A.B. League", was discovered in the Soviet districts in the province of Kiangsi. The members succeeded to some extent in entering the Soviets. They made propaganda against the distribution of the land and attempted to split the leadership of the Red Army and to prepare a direct revolt to overthrow the Soviets.

In the Soviet districts of West Fukien it was noticed that certain social democratic elements attempted to enter the Soviet organs and incite the red soldiers against their military leaders. They opposed the fight against the big land owners and defended the interests of the big peasants instead of the interests of the working population. These secret counter-revolutionary attacks caused great harm in these Soviet districts. Nevertheless the vigilance of the revolutionary masses brought to light these reactionary plans, and this organisation was completely annihilated.

Following this another counter-revolutionary organisation was discovered which worked in the Soviet districts of Kiangsi under the name of the "Association for the Study of Love". It was first discovered and destroyed in its place of origin, in the Soviet district in Siusuri in North West Kiangsi. The organiser of this association, which aimed at the overthrow of the Soviets, was a young woman. She had managed to enter the Soviet government in South Kiangsi. She succeeded by active work in posing as a good revolutionary. The Soviet organs reposed great confidence in her and after a time she was sent to North West Kiangsi in order to take part there in the Soviet government of Siusiu. Here she commenced her real activity. She soon succeeded by her energy, her lively and captivitating disposition and her beauty in gaining the sympathy of her colleagues.

In her leisure time, which she spent with her comrades, she on every occasion turned the conversation to questions of love. She soon evoked a lively exchange of opinion on these questions among the younger comrades. After she had thus made all preparations she expressed the opinion that a definite organisation must be formed for the study of love. Regarding the character of the organisation she declared: "our organisation shall engage in the study of Love. This study, however, shall be conducted among ourselves without outside interference. For this purpose the members must pay contributions and observe strict discipline towards the organisation." Soon after her arrival in the Soviet district of Siusiu she formed the so-called "Association for the Study of Love".

By means of this organisation she developed a lively activity. The association issued a periodical entitled the "Red Flower" and carried on broad propaganda work on questions of love. The main organisation set up in Siusiu soon commenced to form sections in other districts of Kiangsi. The whole association was organised after the style of a military formation. The members were divided into groups of ten. Conferences were held at which the programme was laid down. Secret signs and a secret code for correspondence between the members were arranged and the attitude of members towards outsiders or the Communist Party was determined. A plan was then issued for obtaining weapons; it was recommended that weapons and ammunition should be collected as far as possible from soldiers who had come over to the Red Army from the Kuomintang. The

association now made extensive preparations for murdering leading comrades of the Soviets. Regarding the social composition of the membership, it was decided that as many as possible big peasants, petty bourgeois, in fact all the backward elements, should be drawn into the organisation. In order to preserve the legality of the organisation the rumour was spread that it had been founded on the order of the Soviet Government of Hunan.

The chief aims of the "Association for the Study of Love" were as follows:

1. To control the Soviet organs by winning members from the Soviet organisations. To oust the real revolutionary elements from the Soviets.
2. To prevent the growth of the agrarian revolution. To advocate the slogan of expropriation of the land of all peasants in order thus to alienate the middle peasants from the revolution.
3. To induce the Red Army soldiers to remain passive in the fights. To incite the peasants against joining the Red Army and to prevent the strengthening of the Red Army. To inform the Kuomintang troops of everything happening in the Red Army.
4. To organise the young women under the cloak of the study of love. To spread the slander that the Communists are in favour of socialising the women, which would mean destroying love.
5. In the event of an attack of the Kuomintang troops on the Soviet districts, to support the white army and spread unfavourable reports on the situation of the Red Army. To create confusion in the Soviet districts. To murder the most responsible leaders in the Soviet districts.
6. The murder of Communists. To spread complaints against individual Communists and to demand that they be punished by the people themselves, in order by this means to shake the confidence of the peasant masses into the Communists.
7. To form a network of espionage of the military and political secrets of the Soviet districts and to reveal them to the Kuomintang army.

The so-called Association for the Study of Love was unable to carry out these counter-revolutionary plans. The Soviet Government and the organisation for combating the counter-revolution had long been aware of these secret machinations. The "Association for the Study for Love" was obliged to share the fate of the A. B. League and of the social democratic organisation. The leader of the secret counter-revolutionary organisation and her most faithful supporters received from the revolutionary court the punishment they deserved.

### The Rule of Gangsters, Murderers, Opium Dealers and White Slave Traffickers in Kuomintang China.

By Chen Po.

Shanghai, June 1931.

During the first two weeks of June the foreign and Chinese press reported important events connected with the opening of the ancestral temple of a certain **Tu Yueh-seng**.

Who is this Chinese named **Tu Yueh-seng**, and what do these apparently innocent newspaper reports in Shanghai mean?

**Tu Yueh-seng** is one of the three chief leaders of the notorious Gang of Shanghai, a feudal secret society known as the Green Circle. He is the chief Communist suppression officer of Shanghai. The Green Circle, founded in Shanghai decades ago, is headed by the three Chinese named **Chang Siao-ling**, **Hwang Ching-yung**, and **Tu Yueh-seng**. All of these leaders have at times been members of the French Municipal Council of the French Concession in Shanghai, and **Tu Yueh-seng** is today an official Chinese member in this Council. The Green Circle and its three chief leaders and their activities are known to every foreign official, every foreign or Chinese policeman, and to every Chinese official. It is a feudal organisation highly organised into seven ranks, and its ranks are known by various names and bound by strict discipline. All members are pledged to help each other, and the members, numbering tens of thousands of Chinese, include all the Chinese detectives and policemen of Shanghai, some Chinese bankers, many bank

clerks, business men, and some of the highest Nanking officials. When **Chiang Kai-shek**, present dictator of the Nanking Government, was a bank clerk in Shanghai and then a speculator on the Shanghai Stock Exchange, he became a member of the Green Circle, first as a „disciple“ of Chang Siao-ling, one of the chief leaders. General Chiang Kai-shek is still a member of the Green Circle, and he and every high Nanking official enjoy the protection of this organisation when they come to Shanghai.

The vast system of organised crime in Shanghai is the work of the Green Circle. Armed kidnappings, the vast opium traffic, gambling dens, prostitution which in China takes the form of human slavery, are all under the control of the Green Circle. The chief income of the Green Circle and the chief source of the vast wealth of Chang Siao-ling, Tu Yueh-seng and Hwang Ching-yung is from the opium traffic, organised in the International Opium Ring, and in which the highest French police officers, French Consular officials, high Nanking officials and military officers, and many other foreigners in China are organised and engaged. Every Chinese business house, big or small, must pay a tribute to this Green Circle before it commences business. Even small shops and restaurants must pay tribute, sometimes sums down to \$ 5 or \$ 10. If this is not done, they cannot exist. Large Chinese business men or bankers who refuse to pay tribute are kidnapped and held for ransom ranging into the hundreds of thousands of dollars, which their families generally secretly pay and refuse to inform the police.

Although the chief source of revenue of the Green Circle is from opium, tribute, prostitution and ransom, the gambling dens furnish another source of income. There are three huge, chief gambling dens under them in the French Concession, two smaller gambling dens for poor men, and the foreign gambling dens pay them tribute.

Other sources of income of the Green Circle leaders are from business houses—for they are big business men. Whang Ching-yung at present runs and manages the Great World Amusement House at the corner of Avenue Edward VII and Thibet Road in Shanghai. He and other leaders own or are heavy investors in banks and Government bonds; Whang owns the Great Theatre on Hankow Road, the largest feudal Chinese theatre, and all are heavily engaged in many other branches of business.

Every Chinese in Shanghai, however high, speaks openly of the rule of the „Big Three“ of the French Concession. Every politically informed foreigner knows of them but no foreign or Chinese newspaper in Shanghai will publish the truth about them—either because they fear that they will be murdered, or because they are in league with them. The Chinese and foreign press very often reports banquets given by these men at which high Nanking officials were guests, or banquets given by high Nanking officials at which these men were guests. On November 13th, 1930, the **Shanghai Minjhi Sinwen**, reported that the day before **Chiang Kai-shek** had granted an audience to Huang Ching-yung, Tu Yueh-seng and Chang Siao-ling when he returned from his ancestral home in Fenghua. This paper, as well as other Chinese papers, often frankly reports the role of the Green Circle in support of Chiang Kai-shek and his regime in Nanking in the mass execution of workers.

In 1927, when General Chiang Kai-shek reached Shanghai, he found that the working class had already armed itself and driven out the army of the reactionaries. He officially appointed Chang Siao-ling, chief gang leader, as the Anti-Communist Suppression officer. When this gangster came into action he employed all the gangsters of Shanghai, including the entire police and detective force. The mass murders of Communist and other revolutionary intellectuals that took place in Shanghai in 1927 was the combined work of the Green Circle under Chang Siao-ling's leadership, and of Nanking reactionaries. When Chiang Kai-shek was forced to resign and go to Japan at the end of 1927, the gang leader Chang Siao-ling and his secretary, Chen Chuen, also fell from power, temporarily. It is typical of the feudal and reactionary forces in China that this secretary, Chen Chuen, then became Professor of Comparative Religion and of Chinese Philosophy in Chinan University near Shanghai! This position he held until he became the secretary of Tu Yueh-seng, which position he now holds. When Chiang Kai-shek returned to power in China, the Green Circle returned to power.

On May 1st, the **Ta Kung Pao**, of Tientsin, the chief and the only independent Chinese newspaper in China, published the following telegram:

„Tu Yueh-seng, the famous Gang Leader of Shanghai was called by Chiang Kai-shek to Nanking, with other powerful men in the Foreign Concessions.“

Chiang Kai-shek called the Gang Leader, Tu, to Nanking and conferred with him personally. At that meeting Chiang advanced Tu Yueh-seng \$ 1,000,000 to begin with, and made him chief Anti-Communist Suppression officer of Shanghai, in charge of the organisation of a new Political Espionage Department. In return for this work of calling into action all of the members of the Green Circle, which means loafers, murderers, kidnappers, opium traffickers, and detectives of Shanghai; Tu Yueh-seng demanded official honour from the Nanking Government. And Chiang Kai-shek, on behalf of the Nanking Government, promised to give him this.

Now Tu Yueh-seng is Adviser to the Vice-Commander of the Air, Land, and Naval Forces of China; he is adviser to the Nanking Government; and when on June 9th, his ancestral temple was formally opened in Pootung, across the Whangpo River from Shanghai, he received official recognition and honour such as a king would appreciate. On June 9th, a huge and elaborate procession started from his home on Rue Wagner and passed through the streets of Shanghai. Prominent Nanking officials and business men took part in the ceremonies. General Chiang Kai-shek and Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang sent special personal tablets to be set up in the ancestral hall of Tu; and Dr. C. T. Wang, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Nanking Government, appointed his secretary, Mr. Liu Yun-fang, to go to Shanghai and participate in the ceremonies. The **North China Daily News**, the official British organ, and official organ of the Shanghai Municipal Council (of International Settlement), wrote a glowing account of Mr. Tu, calling him a „philanthropist“.

The Green Circle is now the chief agency used by the Nanking Government for crushing the labour movement and Communism in Shanghai. Tu Yueh-seng is the chief officer for the suppression of Communism. Since May 1st, when he and his colleagues held their conference with General Chiang Kai-shek in Nanking, the white terror has been intensified in Shanghai, and there have been hundreds of arrests of leading Communists. The month of May is the chief revolutionary month in China, and the foreign imperialists and the Kuomintang have forbidden all demonstrations. During the month of May, 60 Communist prisoners, said to be very important men, were sent to Nanking from Shanghai, and since then nothing more has been heard of them. It was known that one or two, to save themselves from torture and from death, betrayed their cause and went into the service of Tu Yueh-seng for Communist suppression. Many have remained firm and have been killed. Recently a whole group were buried alive by the Garrison Commander's Headquarters in Shanghai and many were shot in Nanking. And while this Murder Gang of Shanghai holds the fort against Communism, Gen. Chiang Kai-shek himself goes to the front to fight the Red Armies in Kiangsi. This is the Holy Alliance of the Gang leaders of Shanghai with the Nanking Government.

The fact that the Nanking Government finds in the vicious elements of the Green Circle its chief ally against Communism, is historically significant. It is doubtful if the Society of December the Tenth which Louis Bonaparte used to make himself Emperor, was ever so powerful or so vicious as the Green Circle which is the chief support of Chiang Kai-shek. For within the Green Circle are organised all that is vicious in Chinese society of Shanghai, opium traffickers, kidnappers, professional murderers, extortioners, slave dealers, men whose business is the buying of starving peasant women and girls and selling them into brothels throughout China. This organisation, whose members include the highest Ministers in the Nanking Government, and even the head of the so-called National Government, Chiang Kai-shek, is said to have at least 40,000 members in Shanghai. It is a highly organised institution, crime, with no opposition from the imperialist foreigners. The most serious fact however, is that the Green Circle is the right arm of Chiang Kai-shek in Shanghai in the exercising of white terror, and that Tu Yueh-seng is Chiang Kai-shek's chief agent and supporter.

**First of August: International Fighting Day Against War Danger****Broaden the Fighting Front Against the Broadening Front of Intervention!**

By Bela Kun.

The Sections of the Communist International have again this year decided to call upon the workers to convert August 1st into a day of struggle against preparations for imperialist war, primarily against preparations for military intervention against the USSR. The XI. Plenum of the ECCI. made it clear that in circumstances of deepest economic crisis in the countries of capitalism and of the sturdy success of Socialism in the USSR., military intervention is becoming more and more essential to capitalist countries, and the danger of military intervention has become a **direct danger** to the entire world proletariat. The fact that the international situation of the Soviet Union has improved of late, for the time being at any rate, does not in any way contradict this state of affairs. The dialectics of the historic process consist of just this "mutual penetration" of opposites and, with the given circumstances present, the conversion of one into the other opposite. The economic crisis is deepening in the capitalist world; side by side with this, the power of a Socialist State is developing; its popularity is growing among the broadest masses in capitalist and colonial countries. Around one pole we find the forces of capitalist exploitation and imperialist war; around the other, there are gathered forces fighting for the emancipation of the oppressed and exploited, and for peace among nations. The very same combination of reasons which brought about the temporary improvement in the international situation of the USSR., at the same time carries with it the pre-requisites, the stimulus, which further intensifies preparations for military intervention against the country building up Socialism, and raises these preparations on to a higher level.

The task of every Communist on the eve of August 1 is to bring to the consciousness of the oppressed and exploited masses, to the most backward sections of the working class and peasantry, the fact that **preparations are going on for military intervention against the USSR. under cover of a subtle pacifist policy on the part of the bourgeois and social-democratic parties; and to explain to them why it is that after every regrouping, and as a result of each of them, these preparations are lifted to a higher level and take place on a more extensive front.**

This is the more necessary today, because the revelation of the military intervention schemes made at the "Promparty" and Menshevik "Union Bureau" trials, the rigid peace policy of the workers' and peasants' government in the USSR., and the struggle of broad masses of toilers, alarmed at the almost tangible menace of war, for peace under the leadership of the Communist Parties, because all this has compelled the bourgeois and social-democratic parties to resort to new pacifist manoeuvres. The exposure of these pacifist manoeuvres are all the more necessary today, because the temporary improvement in the international situation of the USSR., in consequence of the growing inner-imperialist contradictions, of the growing revolutionary activity of the oppressed and exploited masses and the increasing successes on the field of Socialist Construction, of the increased fighting capacity of the USSR., may create in the minds of some illusions concerning a lessening in the danger of military intervention against the USSR.

World politics for the last few months can be characterised as a new wave of pacifist manoeuvres and at the same time as a sharpening of the inner-imperialist contradictions, both in the sense of a deepening of the contradictions, between those countries grappling in the throes of the capitalist crisis, and of those countries which are victoriously developing along the upward road to Socialism. On this background we find new attempts being made, inner-imperialist contradictions having been mitigated, to weld together in a firm united front those forces also — up to now disassociated by inner contradictions — which despite their common hatred towards Socialism, towards the USSR., despite their common fear of revolution, were not able until now to act jointly, let alone fight in a common cause.

The Pan-European plan put forward by M. Briand — the plan to muster all European and imperialist countries against the USSR. under the hegemony of France — has ended in fiasco. The force of Imperialist France, supported by the British Labour Government, was certainly sufficient to muster together into a military front all those countries bordering upon the USSR., but it was not sufficient to unite all the large imperialist Powers into a unit of struggle against the USSR., although their addition to the anti-Soviet Front is of decisive importance in connection with preparations for an interventionist war against the USSR. France, as the main defender of the predatory system of the Versailles Peace, has found it possible to draw both small and large vassal States into the anti-Soviet front created with the help of this system. France succeeded to create an armed camp against the USSR. from Rumania, through Poland, to Finland. She has organised an arsenal on a world scale in Czechoslovakia and Sweden to supply the anti-Soviet armies, which she can already muster. But she has not sufficient power to include Germany and Italy in the anti-Soviet front, and to create a united front against the Soviet Union on such a scale as would, from the point of view of world importance, counterbalance the increased power of defence of the USSR. resulting from industrialisation and the collectivisation of agriculture.

Industrialisation in the USSR., the liquidation of the kulaks as a class on the basis of collectivising agriculture, the increased popularity of the USSR. among the toilers of all capitalist and colonial countries — all this means not only an increase in the capability of the Soviet Government to defend itself at Home, but also, — in view of the menace of revolutions led by the workers and peasants in capitalist countries — a much greater element of risk for the rearguard of the imperialist army, connected with any anti-Soviet war. This risk cannot be laid entirely upon the shoulders of the border States even given the assistance of leadership by France and England.

In circumstances of deepening world economic crisis, the menace of bankruptcy in Germany and revolution inside the country, on the one hand, and the extreme consolidation of the fighting capacity of the USSR., which is successfully fulfilling the Five Year Plan, on the other, a more "liberal" state of affairs, is required both on questions of inner-European relations and in questions concerning the relationship between the United States and Europe, than that which France is capable of producing at the present moment, since she is the country which gets more benefit from the Versailles Peace than all other European countries and which enjoys the hegemony in Continental Europe.

At first the English Labour Government took upon itself the role of mediator between those States which are situated in hindmost position of the main anti-Soviet front, without curtailing the role of France, as **Organiser** of military intervention. Hence the efforts of Henderson in the early part of this year to establish peaceful relations between Italy and France by means of a naval convention. Hence the milder tone of Henderson in Geneva on the question of an Austro-German Customs Union and simultaneously, however, the support of France on vital questions concerned with the maintenance of the system of the Versailles peace. The meeting between the representatives of the English and German Governments in the country-palace of the "labour leader" MacDonald in Chequers to no less a degree aimed at the institution, for the time being, of tolerable relations between Germany and France. Although the steps taken by British capital, in giving a new lease of life to the Vienna "Creditanstalt" (the proposal of credits to the extent of 1½ million Austrian shillings) which was almost strangled to death by France, were not accepted by France as a friendly act, nevertheless these steps were a definite link in the chain of unifying English policy, which objectively saved France, as the best organiser of the anti-Soviet war, from an

outburst on the part of the European bourgeoisie of universal indignation.

Finally, on the arena of European politics we again find **American capital in the person of President Hoover**, who has so long been expanding on the subject of "prosperity". The long-term credits offered to Germany by American capital, and the risk of losing them as a consequence of the approaching bankruptcy of Germany, the interests of American export in the countries of impoverished Europe, the fear of a German revolution and to no less a degree the necessity for Hoover of raising his tarnished prestige before the presidency elections — all these factors compelled President Hoover to make a gesture worthy of Wilson — to launch his **plan for the postponement of the reparations and inter-alled debt payments for the period of one year**. This was indeed a Wilson-like gesture in a double sense! Hoover is seen in the capacity of **Europe's pacifier**, à la Wilson with his 14 points; he **at the same time arrives on the arena in the midst of preparations for military intervention against the USSR.**, in order to give the casting vote — just as Wilson, by the interference of America in the world war, decided the issue of the world war — in the work of extending and consolidating the united front against the USSR.

There is no doubt that the Hoover plan will not mitigate the crisis on a world scale, and will not lessen the crisis and class contradictions in Germany, where all the prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis are ripening. The 1,500 million marks postponed payments, covered by the Hoover plan, are not capable of making the slightest difference to the deficit budget of the German Government. They can still less improve the catastrophic situation of German national economy; and it is certain already that in any case these 1,500 millions which will be invested by German finance capital, cannot in the slightest improve the position of the German workers and toiling masses. **This is not even a blow at Young Plan, let alone its destruction.** It is enough to remember that even Brüning expressed doubt that the carrying out of the Hoover plan would lessen the crisis of German economy, and declared that the emergency decrees must remain in force as previously. Only ardent advocates of the capitalist system — the social-democrats — are trying to use this plan to awaken up the illusion in the ranks of the international proletariat, that the united forces of American capitalism, the English "Labour" Government, and French and German social-democracy can bring about an alleviation of the catastrophic position of the working class. The true meaning of the Hoover plan — besides defending the long-term credits advanced by American capital to Germany from the impending proletarian revolution, besides weakening the tendency towards the formation of a European front against American capital — consists in the future, not far distant prospect of **drawing** Germany into the anti-Soviet front.

For the whole world proletariat the Hoover plan signifies the complete recognition by international Imperialism of the fact that **the armed forces of the Border States** are only sufficient for a "little war" against the USSR. But a "little war" even in present conditions, from the point of view of the bourgeoisie, cannot solve the historic contradiction between Socialism and capitalism. This is why it was found necessary to convert the "little war" into preparations for a "big" war, in the true sense of a **world war** against the Soviet Union. Inner-imperialist contradictions, the growth of revolutionary activity among the toiling masses in capitalist and colonial countries, and the rapid development of Socialist construction and the power of the Soviet Union, have postponed intervention against the USSR. But for the capitalists this compulsory postponement of military intervention means only that preparations for war have been lifted to a **higher stage**. In preparing for war on a European scale France will continue to maintain its role of **organiser of war and the military leader of the anti-Soviet front** — she has been prepared for this by her armed forces, and by the creation by her of a system of military allies to surround herself. But the role of supreme guide and leader in the work of broadening the anti-Soviet front and of preparing for a big war is more and more obviously being taken over by America.

This, together with the revelations in the Soviet Court concerning preparations for intervention, accounts for certain changes in the methods to be used in connection with military intervention. **New pacifist manoeuvres** were necessary to screen the **transition** from preparations for a "little" war to preparations for a "big war". Phrases concerning "friendship

among peoples", concerning disarmament, will have to be used more extensively than of late.

Of course, the Second International is the most suitable agent for this empty hypocritical cant. The organ of the advocates of the assistance rendered by Rothschild to Austria — the Vienna "Arbeiterzeitung" — is already offering the Second International as the "saviour of Germany". The German "left" social-democrats are already wagging their tongues in connection with the Hoover plan: on the basis of this plan they have issued a call to the C. C. of the Social-Democratic Party, asking the latter to "demand" the annulment of the Emergency Decrees (which it seems were necessary yesterday but are not needed today). At the last three national congresses of Social-Democracy (in France, Germany and Poland), the "left" social-democrats uttered many platonic declarations against military intervention. And the Second International forwarded to the Vienna Congress a resolution passed by the Commission on Disarmaments of the Social-Fascist International, informing them of the "campaign for world disarmament". This "campaign for world disarmament", of course, is represented as being nothing more than a campaign to collect signatures for a petition to the League of Nations — a campaign organised by the Second and Amsterdam Internationals; whereas the true meaning of this campaign is given away in its chief slogan: "War threatens us from the East, from the Bolsheviks". In the resolutions concerning this "campaign for world disarmament", of course, no single word is to be found concerning the policy of peace conducted by the USSR, of the repeated suggestions of Litvinov at the Geneva sessions in the interests of maintaining peace. Such slogans as the "friendship of peoples" and "disarmament" serve merely as an addendum to the various Geneva conferences, where the united front against the USSR, is being formed; as an addendum to manoeuvres like the Hoover plan, the meaning of which in the long run amounts to the reinforcement of the anti-Soviet front on all sides.

Simultaneously with the preparations for a war of intervention, like the "big war" against the Soviet Union, diligent work is being carried on in connection with the Hoover plan to prevent the successful achievement of the Five-Year-Plan. The "Bergwerkszeitung" and the "Daily Express" write that the Hoover Plan contains a **political condition** which amounts in the long run to the obligation of Germany to join in the boycott of Soviet goods. The Paris correspondents of the American press are writing that France demands that those sums of money which will be freed in Germany as a result of the postponement of payments be not utilised for crediting Soviet orders.

Side by side with this, of course, there is a continuation of the correspondingly vile anti-Soviet campaign of the Social-Fascists. The toilers of Europe are still being fed with awful stories about "Soviet dumping" and "forced labour". With joy the social-democratic press seized upon the news that during the Franco-Soviet trade negotiations, the radical Cailleaux, in a provocative form, proposed a plan for French capitalist trading monopoly as against the Soviet **Socialist** monopoly of foreign trade, in order to complicate trading relations between the U.S.S.R. and Germany. "Vorwaerts" published base lies to the effect that the wages of German workers are falling because the U.S.S.R. is concluding agreements to supply goods at low prices.

Provocation against the peace policy of the Soviet Union still continues. Demonstrations against the Soviet Union are increasing in Finland. In Middle Asia, in Afghanistan, the agents of British imperialism are diligently working against the Soviet Union. Litvinov's proposal concerning a treaty of economic non-aggression which he made at the Geneva conference, at which certain imperialist Powers at first attempted to exclude the U.S.S.R., was actually turned down by the Powers with the approval of international socialdemocracy. The oil kings of the United States are arranging a new case against the Soviet oil undertakings and their lawyer in the American court will be the famous social-democratic pillar of the Second International in the United States, Morris Hillquit. In France, Russian whiteguards continue to organise, and secretly tour those countries where — as for instance in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria — remnants of the whiteguard armies continue to exist as organised units, supported by the respective governments of those countries. The organisers of works of treachery and espionage — the Russian Mensheviks — not only enjoy the



hospitality of the Second International, but also the special protection of the German social-democratic authorities.

The toiling masses of all capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries are perfectly justified in starting a decisive struggle against preparations for war. The cost of these preparations for a „big war“ against the U.S.S.R. will constitute a heavy, intolerable burden upon the toiling masses.

Of all the existing branches of industry, the war industry alone is prospering, and wages there have been reduced to a minimum, because the capitalists are able to use the crisis in other branches of industry, and in agriculture, to bring pressure to bear on wages in this industry. Schools are being closed down in several countries (Poland, Rumania). The children of the workers and peasants are doomed to illiteracy. The rates of benefit paid for unemployment, sickness, and for incapacitated workers, are being lowered in the interests of inflated war budgets. The war against the Fatherland of the Proletariat is being prepared at the expense of the starving toilers, and will be waged at the cost of their life-blood.

Our preparations for a militant August First and for carrying out demonstrations on this day must correspond in nature to the increased preparations for military intervention. The weak point on August 1 in 1929-30 was that the campaigns were in the nature of narrow party demonstrations, and the broad masses of workers and peasants were not sufficiently mobilised. This year this day of struggle must be organised and conducted in the form of the widest possible united front of all serious class-conscious workers, in the form of an alliance between the working class, the peasantry and the petty-bourgeois strata in the towns. More intensified preparations for war must be counteracted by a broader fighting front against imperialist intervention against the U.S.S.R. The ring of defence formed by the proletariat and peasantry around the U.S.S.R. must be extended to correspond to the attempts being made to develop the Imperialist fighting front against the Soviet Union. If the bourgeoisie and its mainstay, Social-fascism, are hailing this year as „Hoover's Year“, then the proletariat, the peasantry and all the toilers of the world are fully justified in converting this year into one of defence of the Soviet Union from increased preparations for war, into a year of intensified struggle for a revolutionary issue of the crisis, against capitalism, against fascism and against social-fascism. The First of August must be estimated as the prologue to the unfolding of this intensified struggle.

## August 1st 1931.

By Harry Pollitt (London).

In no country is there more need of a great international campaign against the danger of war and armed intervention against the USSR., than in Britain, where the most pernicious pacifist and disarmament propaganda has been allowed to go on without being effectively challenged. The widespread propaganda of the churches, Quakers, ILP., No More War Movement and such bodies, coupled with the unity of the three capitalist parties in advocating the League of Nations as the instrument through which war can be abolished, has had the effect of deluding wide circles of the population into believing that there is no war danger, and that the revolutionary working class movement in its anti-war meetings and demonstrations is simply trying to frighten the masses.

But to-day, as the economic crisis grows in intensity, the capitalist nations—defeated and victorious countries alike—are again engaged in mad and feverish war preparations; so that it is more necessary than ever to carry on revolutionary propaganda against war on the widest scale, and to focus the attention of the masses of workers on the imminent danger of imperialist war.

In every capitalist country to-day—in none more so than in Britain—fierce attacks are being levelled against the workers' standards; wages are being ruthlessly slashed, a terrific increase in the speeding-up process goes on daily, old-established workshop customs and practices are completely disregarded and a drive is being made against all forms of state expenditure on social services. This steady driving down of the workers and the lowering of their standards is accompanied by a rapid increase in expenditure on all forms of armaments and war preparations, particularly those concerned with chemical, mechanical and aerial methods of warfare.

It is a striking commentary on the present international

situation, and the clearest exposure of the hypocrisy of the so-called pacifist propaganda of capitalist governments, that the Soviet Government, the Government of what is described as „Red Russia“, the Government which, according to its enemies, stands for violence and bloodshed, to-day is the only Government in the world which steadily pursues a peace policy, and has, on countless occasions, made its declarations in favour of peace.

It is necessary at this moment, to recall that it was comrade Litvinov, the representative of the Soviet Government who, in 1927, caused a flutter in the thieves' kitchen at Geneva by coming forward with a proposal for complete disarmament, and it was the peace-loving labour Prime Minister, Mr. MacDonald who, when a delegate at the Birmingham Labour Party Conference in 1928 had the temerity to refer to the Russian disarmament proposals, declared he was sick and tired of hearing about the Soviet proposals.

Such facts need to be burned into the minds of the working class, particularly those members of the I. L. P. and Labour Party who, still believe that the policy of Labour is a policy of peace. Never was there a greater myth. The recent congratulations showered upon the War Minister, Tom Shaw, the increased budget expenditure on armaments, (especially on the air fleet) which now reaches a total of £ 110,000,000 a year, the great air pageants, naval displays, military tattoos, large scale army manoeuvres, the efforts made by Henderson at Geneva to secure a united front of the imperialist powers against the U. S. S. R., these are only a few of the inescapable facts which show the unity of the three parties in preparing for war.

There are still thousands of workers who believe that the present Foreign Secretary, Arthur Henderson, is the friend of the working-class, but it is this same unspeakable Henderson who has carried out, since he became Foreign Secretary, the policy for which he became famous in 1917, of leading the drive in the League of Nations for the creation of an anti-Soviet bloc. When in 1917 Henderson was chosen by the coalition government as the stool pigeon to send to Russia to try to persuade the Russian working-class, in the name of the Second International, to reenter the imperialist war, he was chosen because the government knew their man. Just as they know him to-day; and just as to-day they are creating the impression that he is the strongest Foreign Secretary this country has had for years; for Henderson, in alliance with the rest of the Cabinet, is carrying through a policy at Geneva and in regard to the colonies, of a character that Baldwin or Lloyd George would never be able to get away with. And at the very moment that the Labour Government is professing its pacifist aims, it is carrying out the most bloody suppression in the colonies and brutally reducing the workers' standards at home.

The workers of Britain must be roused to a consciousness of how acute the war danger has become, of the need to spread the widest possible propaganda amongst the workers in the factories and in the unions, in order to build up an actual fighting resistance to imperialist war. The wages of the workers are being reduced by millions while the expenditure on war preparations is being steadily increased. In this connection the following figures are worthy of note:

War expenditure (in million dollars)				
	1914	1923	1928	1930
England	385	520	581	537
U. S. A.	285	580	761	847
France	280	258	350	457
Italy	131	135	253	249
Japan	97	234	221	234
Total for 1914: 1,188		Total for 1930: 2,324		
Spent out of every £ 100: —				
France	£ 70			
U. S. A.	£ 80			
England	£ 70			
Poland	£ 67			
U. S. S. R.	£ 9			

These figures show in millions of dollars the increased expenditure on armaments since 1914. What it comes to is this, that after the „war to end war“ costing countless millions of lives and inflicting terrific burdens upon the working classes in the defeated and victorious countries, the whole world is rapidly heading for a new imperialist war. But the greatest danger is that the capitalists will endeavour to seek a partial solution of some of their immediate difficulties by attacking the U. S. S. R. through one of the Border states, and that this is

no figment of the imagination can easily be seen when consideration is given to the following extract taken from an article in "The Popular Science Monthly" of May 1931 headed "Soviet Slaves Rebuild Red Russia" which says: —

"Some weeks ago, during a session of the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva, Switzerland, delegates from twenty-eight countries met behind closed doors to consider means of averting the dangers that would threaten the rest of Europe and the United States if Russia should become the great red world power the Soviet want it to be."

("Popular Science", May 1931, Vol. 118, No. 5.)

Here we have a so-called impartial scientific journal calmly telling the world that there has been a secret session at which delegates from 28 countries came together in order to consider how they could unite their forces to attack the U. S. S. R.

Miners, engineers, dockers, builders, cotton and woollen textile workers and unemployed, now facing attacks on all their existing standards, must to-day learn that in the degree that they can unify their forces to beat back the capitalist attacks, so are they preparing the working class movement more effectively to fight against the war danger.

To-day we must show the workers that only in the measure that we perfect our organisation in the daily struggle, widen our contacts and build up the revolutionary movement, can we effectively prepare for general strike action in the event of war. And it would be folly to wait until war actually breaks out, or until the crisis takes on a more acute form. Now is the time to prepare the workers to face the alternative with which they will be presented — in the event of war between the capitalist Powers or armed intervention against the USSR. — of once more shooting and being shot by fellow-workers of other countries in the interests of capitalism, or using their arms in the defence of the Socialist Fatherland of the workers of the world and the overthrow of the whole capitalist system. These are questions that inevitably arise when one considers how the fight against war can be conducted, and the Communist International in launching this campaign leads the working class of the whole world in the fight against war.

## The Labour Government Prepares for War.

By William Rust (London).

In Great Britain, the August 1st campaign, is being conducted under the central slogan of "fight against the Labour Government, which wages war on the workers at home and prepares war against the Soviet Union". The whole drive of the campaign must be to expose the real policy of the Labour Government, and to destroy the legend that it is an unwilling minority coerced by the Liberals and Conservatives.

The sharpening of the capitalist offensive, and the growth of working class resistance at home, coupled with the intensely critical international situation is causing such a wave of feeling against the Labour Government, that the Labour leaders are increasingly falling back on the "lesser evil" argument, as the sole justification for claiming the support of the workers. Moreover, the leaders of the **Independent Labour Party**, who are supposed to be in bitter opposition to the government, are everywhere propagating the "minority" and "lesser evil" lie in order to conceal the Labour Government's direct responsibility for war preparations.

The economic and financial collapse of Germany, followed by a sharpening of the antagonism between the imperialist powers and a new drive for the strengthening of the anti-Soviet bloc, has revealed the immediate menace of war in such sharp forms that no one can ignore it. Even **Fenner Brockway**, chairman of the I. L. P., is constrained to admit that the situation contains "all the possibilities here of a renewed European War". From this fact, Brockway draws the conclusion that the Labour Government must be kept in office, because a Tory Government would be worse. This is also the advice tendered by that flabby intellectual **Mr. H. G. Wells**.

At the very moment when the imperialist policy of the Labour Government is entering its most critical stage, and when Britain along with other imperialist powers is carrying out an avowed counter-revolutionary policy aiming at throttling the German revolution and destroying the Soviet Union, the leader of the "left" I. L. P. calls on the working class to support the Labour Government for fear that a Tory government would be returned. And to strengthen the argument, he has the audacity

to draw in India as an example and declare that India's demands will never be satisfied by Baldwin.

But who piloted the Dawes' Plan through the British House of Commons? The first Labour Government. Who fought for the Young Plan and the last ounce of tribute? The second Labour Government, and its "Iron Chancellor", Snowden.

The Labour Government has a direct leading responsibility for the catastrophe now threatening the masses throughout the world. And today it continues its deadly handiwork and joins in the desperate attempt to prop up German capitalism with the starving bodies of millions of workers and peasants.

If only the crime of Versailles could be laid at the door of the Labour Government, it would indeed be enough. But in addition it can be demonstrated that both in office and out of office it has participated not only in the general mapping out of imperialist policy but also in the direct application of the planned measures for imperialist war.

British troops are now in **Burma**, waging a bloody war against the rebels who have been driven by starvation to take up arms against British imperialism. The war is on and communiques are regularly published in the British press. From the War Office in London, a Labour Minister, **Tom Shaw**, a luminary of the Second International, directs the operations. In **China**, "Labour" gun-boats are firing every day against the Soviet districts, says the "North China Daily News".

"All fleets are cooperating. The British and Japanese, who bear the heaviest responsibility, provide the largest number of gunboats; next to them come in consequence the Americans, the French and the Italians."

**Mr. A. V. Alexander**, representative of the Co-operative Society, and First Lord of the Admiralty, sits in the office in Whitehall, and discusses the plan of campaign with his advisers. This labour leader is in charge of the war on China.

Are they an unfortunate minority waging the wars because of Liberal and conservative coercion? If so, it is strange that they have never even protested or promised that a Labour majority Government would withdraw its troops and sailors from India and China. And although **Fenner Brockway** argues that a Tory government would be worse, Messrs. **Shaw** and **Alexander** claim that they are doing this job efficiently and nobody could do it better. **Fenner Brockway**, being a highly cultured pacifist gentleman, will appreciate with a much greater relish than the ignorant Chinese peasant, the delicate difference between being blown to pieces by a Labour and Conservative shell.

During the Labour Government's period of office, new air bases have been built in Persia and Iraq, within flying distance of Baku. **Vickers** have built munition works at Constanza in Rumania, and a British Admiral also visited the same place in order to superintend the building of a new naval base there. This visit was described in the capitalist press as "Rumania, with eye on Russia, sees to her Navy".

There is no doubt that the Labour Government did these things not because it is a minority, but because it carries out a deliberate and conscious capitalist policy. It would do the same if it had a majority. Can **M. Brockway** explain how it would have been worse if the Conservative General who went to Roumania had been sent by a Conservative Government instead of a Labour Government?

If the only prospect before the British workers was either a Labour or a Tory Government, then the future would indeed be a terrible one. But the August 1st demonstrations are the living proof that another factor exists which **Brockway** and the other labour leaders have left out of their calculations—an independent working class movement, the historical force which under the leadership of the Communist party has the power to smash capitalist governments whatever their labels may be, and to found a new order of society based on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Throughout the world, the August 1st demonstrations have this deep revolutionary significance, they are the challenge of the creative masses under the banner of the Communist International, to the old, dying and bankrupt society. And in Britain, where the revolutionary awakening of the masses is beginning, the mobilisation in defence of the Soviet Union and against imperialist war must be conducted in this confident spirit and directed against the Labour Government and all the rotten manoeuvres to which it resorts in order to conceal its counter-revolutionary policy.

## The War Plans of American Imperialism.

By Harry Gannes (New York).

At the present moment the greatest share of the American war preparations are against the Soviet Union. Yet beneath the surface of the united front with Great Britain on Hoover's war debt payment postponement plan, which seeks to save American and British billions from the threatened economic and political collapse of German capitalism, we see the sharpening imperialist rivalries. In Latin America the struggle for hegemony goes on sharper than ever. The battler for markets is not for a moment lulled by the soft words of MacDonald or Hoover about "co-operation" of the imperialist powers.

In the very midst of the joint pressure of the United States and Britain against France, to force French imperialism behind the train of Wall Street, there was a sharp exchange over the question of military supremacy and the preparations for the next imperialist war. Ramsay MacDonald in a speech in the House of Commons in the early part of July, 1931, accused the United States government of spending a greater amount for land and naval armaments than Britain. This was met with a sharp reply by Senator David A. Reed of Pennsylvania, a crony of none other than Andrew W. Mellon, billionaire Pennsylvania magnate and leading figure in the Hoover government. Reed, replying to MacDonald's excuse for rapid arming of British imperialism, declared that Britain seeks to hide this fact, for, as Senator Reed said, "in Great Britain neither army nor navy appropriations include the cost of the Royal Air Force, on which Great Britain is spending \$ 102,000,000 this year". (N. Y. Herald-Tribune, July 6, 1931.)

A furious anti-Soviet campaign is being waged in the United States in preparation for war against the Soviet Union, and as an auxiliary to Hoover's European plan of struggle against Bolshevism. In the United States, the Republican National Committee, taking its cue from Hoover's speech at Indianapolis, Indiana, in the latter part of June, makes Bolshevism the leading issue in the United States. A special letter to the Republican press, praising Hoover's keen insight into the leading problems of the day, and giving these papers the policy of the Hoover administration, there is the following statement:

"Shall we stand by that system (capitalism) and remain America, or shall we regiment the population into a bureaucracy, and direct every man as to what he may or may not do, and become another Russia?"

"There is the real issue. Individualism or collectivism, capitalism or communism, Americanism or Bolshevism, the Republic or the Soviet?"

Nor is this anti-Soviet campaign confined to the Republican Party. On July 4th, Senator Royal S. Copeland of New York, a leading figure in the Democratic Party, wholeheartedly supported the anti-Soviet war campaign. Indeed, he outlined the plan of Wall Street for war against the Soviet Union. He said:

"If I had my own way, I would place an absolute embargo against the entrance of all Russian products into this country."

Asked later to explain the full significance of this statement, he elaborated by declaring this should lead to counter-revolution in the U.S.S.R. and that the imperialist powers would then intervene. The *New York Times* reporter who interviewed Senator Copeland states the senator's views on the anti-Soviet war as follows:

"He said (Senator Copeland) he believed that eventually such a wall (world embargo) would be erected. This would be followed by an uprising in Russia, and the other countries of the world would then step in and restore order."

On the very same day a more strategically placed high American official advanced the same view, appealing to the president of France, Doumer, to enter the anti-Soviet war front under Wall Street leadership. At the 4th of July celebration in Paris, Ambassador Walter E. Edge, after conversations with Andrew W. Mellon, then also present at the celebration, called for an economic boycott against the Soviet Union. The *New York Times* correspondent in Paris, commenting on this startling speech, wrote:

"The Ambassador's reference to Soviet Russia, which he did not mention by name, although it was clear that the reference was to that country, was one of the most striking of his address and was interpreted as possibly presaging some proposal for economic action of a defensive character against Moscow."

To further the propaganda in the United States for this war campaign which is being forged by the entire force of the imperialists in the United States, a special committee of "100 prominent Americans," has been organized by Mathew Woll, one of the leading figures of the American Federation of Labor. This committee lacks only Socialist members. However, the Socialist Party, through its leading members is giving the anti-Soviet war campaign full support. Morris Hillquit, one of the most influential figures in the American Socialist Party going so far as to declare that the Soviet oil fields were illegally socialised by the masses in Russia and should be returned to their former Czarist owners, especially as the United States imperialist government does not recognize the Soviet Union. This act appeared so crude to some of the more clever war mongers of the Socialist party that a cry of protest was raised, but immediately stifled as Hillquit was on his way to confer with other leaders of the Second International on the anti-Soviet campaign.

The head of this committee of 100 is ex-ambassador to Germany, James W. Gerard who on May 18, 1931, at a pacifist (!) gathering in New York declared "We are at war right now with the Soviet Union!" (New York Times, May 19, 1931.)

American imperialism is preparing for war at a furious pace. This summer new military camps are being opened. In Arkansas one camp for the training of farm boys for war which has been closed since the last World War was this year re-opened.

The largest airplane manoeuvres ever held in the United States took place early in the summer of 1931. Over 670 planes took part, carrying on their war games over the greater part of the country at the cost of \$ 6,000,000. The military expenditures for the year 1931, not counting pensions, and the like, were over \$ 772,984,000.

Just recently the United States navy let contracts for naval armaments amounting to \$ 55,000,000. At the same time Admiral Pratt, chief of operations announced he would apply to the forthcoming congress for funds for the building of a new aircraft carrier, costing over \$ 50,000,000 as well as several new 10,000 ton cruisers, and a host of other naval fighting ships.

At the same time, the United States army is being prepared for war, special efforts being made to mechanise it. At Fort Eustis, West Va., hundreds of thousands of dollars are being spent in experiments with the latest mechanised war apparatus. Over 200 mechanised vehicles are housed at Fort Eustis, with experiments on wireless manning of these new deadly machines going on.

American imperialism is preparing for war. The capitalist press in the United States is instilling the minds of the masses with propaganda for war against the Soviet Union particularly.

## Friedrich Engels on World War.

From an unpublished letter by Friedrich Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht.

The following extract is taken from a letter by Friedrich Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht dated February 23, 1888. Referring to a speech by Bismarck in which armaments were touched upon, Engels in his letter raises the question of the possibility of a European war and points out its probable course and outcome. The prospects outlined by Engels were verified in 1914-18 with remarkable accuracy.

In the works of Marx Engels and Lenin there are many instances of such scientific forecasts based on a profound study of contemporary problems with the aid of the revolutionary method of dialectical materialism.

Marx Engels Institute.

F. Engels to W. Liebknecht:

London, February 23, 1888.

... How things will turn out when it actually comes to war it is impossible to foresee. Attempts will no doubt be made to make it a sham war, but that will not be so easy. If things turn out as we would like it, and this is very probable, then it will be a war of positions with varied success on the French frontier, a war of attack leading to the capture of the Polish fortresses on the Russian frontier and a revolution in Petersburg, which will at once make the gentlemen who are conducting the war see everything in an entirely different light. One thing is certain: there will be no more quick decisions and triumphal marches either to Berlin or Paris.

## Appeal of the League Against Imperialism.

To all anti-Imperialists!

The danger of an imperialist war has become more imminent in the last few months. More feverishly than before are preparations being made for a war against the Soviet Union. The economic crisis throughout the world is becoming daily intensified, and its effects are throwing the Imperialist world into a chaotic situation from which there is no way out. The whole system of imperialist exploitation is being threatened with extinction.

Everywhere, in the colonies as well as in the imperialist countries, the masses are exposed to unspeakable misery and starvation. The oppressed masses are attempting to find a remedy for their intolerable sufferings. Ever larger sections of the masses are being involved in the struggle against the imperialist system of exploitation and oppression.

In their effort to stem the rising tide of struggle for colonial and national liberation the imperialists are resorting to the most violent measures of barbaric oppression. In their efforts to weaken the disastrous effects of the economic crisis that is developing inspite of the intensified exploitation of the colonial workers and peasants as well as of the workers and peasants of their own countries, the imperialist governments are organising to provoke a war against the Soviet Union, the only anti-imperialist State in the world, where 150 free nations live peacefully together. In these war preparations the Imperialists are mobilising the colonial peoples and especially the colonial youth, to serve as cannon-fodder.

These war preparations are being carried on not only in the European countries bordering on the Soviet Union, but also in the Asiatic countries oppressed by the Imperialists. The North West frontier of **India** is being fortified on a gigantic scale, new strategic railways are being built; the air-fleet, with special squadrons of bombing planes, is being organised for the special purpose of invading Soviet Territory; the Indian army is being mechanised with a special view to field service in the North West; special depots are being created for gas-war fare. In **Afghanistan** British Imperialism is financing and arming Nadir Shah, as an ally in the war that is being prepared. In **Persia** the army is being re-organised by British instructors; the government of Riza Chan is assuming a growingly hostile attitude against the Soviet Union and in favour of British Imperialism, while the deputies of the medjlisse have, during the last few months, been openly carrying on anti-soviet war agitation.

The whole British imperialist policy in the Arabian countries — the construction of the Haifa-Bagdad railway, the treaty with Iraq, the organisation of Northern Iraq as an air-base — aims at supplementing the chain of war preparations in the near-eastern countries bordering on the Soviet Union.

The imperialists have also been carrying on an ideological campaign of slander and lies against the Soviet Union. The latest provocation is the allegation of the existence of "slavery" in the Soviet Union. Our answer to the imperialist campaign of slander is that slavery and forced labour exist only in the imperialist colonies and imperialist countries and that only by the overthrow of Imperialism can we actually abolish slavery and forced labour in these countries.

Under these circumstances it is urgent to develop a strong international action of emphatic protest against the imperialist war preparations and to mobilise all the means at our disposal to prevent the realisation of this criminal scheme. It is especially important to develop a campaign in defence of the **Chinese revolution** against which Chiang kai shek is now mobilising a powerful offensive.

All anti-imperialists must also fight for the liberation and self-determination of the nationalities and national minorities of Europe whose subjection and oppression by foreign powers are being maintained by the system of violence embodied in the Versailles Treaty. The latest manoeuvre of President Hoover aims at saving the imperialist world from the increasing crisis and at maintaining the essential provisions of that Treaty.

We further call upon all anti-imperialists to organise, on the **first of August**, simultaneously throughout the world, immense anti-war demonstrations of the exploited masses. The first of

August must be made an emphatic protest against the imperialist system of "divide and rule". Everywhere, in all countries, the broad toiling masses have to be mobilised against the imperialist war preparations: for the complete independence of the colonies; for the unrestrained right of self-determination of all oppressed nations and national minorities in Europe; for the immediate withdrawal of all imperialist troops from the colonies; for the dissolution of the native imperialist troops and for the arming of the toiling masses; for the liberation of the imprisoned Garhwali riflemen, who refused to shoot upon the Indian people and were betrayed by Gandhi; for the defence of the Soviet Union, for the protection of Soviet-China: We must win over the soldiers of the imperialist armies in China to go over to the Red Army of the workers and peasants. We must mobilise the masses in support of the Indian revolution, in support of the Indo chinese revolutionary movement, in support of the liberation and unification of the Arab countries, in support of the awakening Negro masses, and, in general, in support of all the oppressed in all countries!

Under these slogans all the anti-imperialists, all the oppressed peoples, together with the powerful army of the international proletariat will struggle against the imperialist war preparations and against imperialism and march forward in the struggle for social and national freedom.

International Secretariat

International Youth Secretariat

of the

League Against Imperialism

" and

For National Independence.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Fight for the Complete Freedom of the Scottsboro Defendants!

To the Anti-Imperialist Youth of All Countries!

The international solidarity of the toiling masses has temporarily saved the eight American Negro young workers from being burned in the electric chair. The protest and indignation of the masses that was expressed in a tremendous international movement achieved this first victory.

The white ruling class of America was forced to grant the appeal to the higher court, but this court is the instrument of the same imperialists who convicted the eight young Negroes in Scottsboro, Alabama, in the first place.

The Negro masses, who in the United States live under conditions amounting practically to chattel slavery, are beginning to organise under revolutionary leadership, in order to fight against the system of slavery. To stem this rising revolutionary movement the American imperialists resort to all kinds of terrorism, to lynching and legal murder.

The International Youth Secretariat of the League Against Imperialism and for National Independence calls upon all anti-imperialists, especially the anti-imperialist youth of the whole world, to struggle to save the lives of these eight Negro children, whose only crime was that they were children of the working class of an oppressed nation.

The first victory for the lives of our young comrades was won through the international struggle that has been developed, and only through developing and broadening this struggle, to involve ever broader masses, can we win the lives and freedom of the Scottsboro defendants

Fight for the complete freedom of the Scottsboro defendants!

Fight against the slavery and forced labour of the Negro youth!

Down with the American lynch system!

Long live the struggle of the oppressed youth of all countries in the struggle for social and national emancipation!

League Against Imperialism.

## Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

# Soviet Union Holds Second Place in World's Tractor Production.

By N. Ossinsky.

In the heat of the fight an interesting and important fact has again been left unnoticed: In the first half of 1931 the Soviet Union advanced to second place in the world in regard to output of tractors. It is possible to ascertain the total result for the half year in so far as we have the figures regarding the work of the Putilov Works and the Stalingrad Works. This result shows the above fact.

In the year 1930 Ireland occupied second place in the world in the output of tractors; the Ford factory in Cork produced 17,000 machines.

At that time the Soviet Union occupied third place with an output of 13,400 tractors, while Germany held fourth place with less than 13,000.

In the first six months of 1931 the giants of Leningrad and Stalingrad have constructed 14,344 machines; that is 1,000 more than in the whole of 1930, or 84 per cent of the Irish output in the whole of 1930. As the monthly output of tractors in the Soviet Union amounts at the present time to 3,500 and is bound to increase still further, we shall already in the month of July catch up to the total annual output of the Irish Ford factory, and with the second half year's quota far exceed it.

It is interesting to analyse the figures of the monthly production of our two tractor factories in the past year. They show the following picture:

	1930 Total	1931 Total	1931 Putilov Works	1931 Stalingrad Works
January	288	1,614	909	705
February	422	906	346	560
March	583	2,054	1,400	654
April	954	2,706	1,900	806
May	1,142	3,527	2,004	1,523
June	1,263	3,537	2,028	1,509

In the year 1930 only the Putilov Works were working during the first six months. In addition to the Putilov Works a small number of tractors were built by the tractor department of the Kharkov Locomotive Factory (we have no figures regarding the output of tractors by this factory in 1931). In the year 1930 production increased uninterruptedly, but the absolute figures still remained low. Production in 1931 shows declines both in regard to the total sums and in the output figures of both factories. In February there took place in the Putilov Works the installation of new machinery and equipment in connection with the extension and partial reconstruction of the factory. In this transition month the output showed a decline, and then a very big increase. In the Stalingrad Tractor Factory February and March were months of April, and Factory February and March were months of decline and especially in May, this factory became the object of special attention and care. Thereupon the works began to flourish and increased its output by nearly 100 per cent, although it has not reached its full capacity, which is greater than that of the Putilov Works. The output of the Putilov Works still surpasses that of the Stalingrad Works.

Thus our tractor production has made great progress, a fact which we commend to the attention of the American press, which is trying to prove that we are incapable of producing tractors.

It is very instructive to examine the figures of the two first quarters of the years 1930 and 1931 and of the first six months of these years.

	Total 1930	Total 1931	Putilov Works 1931	Stalingrad 1931
First quarter	1,293	4,574	2,655	1,919
Second Quarter	3,359	9,770	5,932	3,838
The half year	4,652	14,344	8,587	5,757

In the first six months of 1931 the Soviet Union produced more than three times as many tractors as in the the same period of 1930 (in the first quarter three and a half times and in the

second quarter three times as many). In the second quarter both factories at least doubled their output. Altogether, the Putilov Works has turned out 8,500 tractors; the Stalingrad Works has supplemented this tractor park with over 5,500 "Internationals".

With regard to the prospects for the near future it must be mentioned that the duplicate of the Stalingrad factory, the Kharkov Tractor Works, will commence working before long. As Comrade Swistun, the manager of the Kharkov Tractor Works, declared, the works have not only been built, but 1450 of the 2488 machines (60 per cent) have already arrived. 1263 machines, that is over 50 per cent, have been installed. Of course the factory will start working only when it is quite complete.

On May 1st we wrote in the "Isvestia": "We must completely surpass Ireland and Germany, outstrip all outputs in Europe and approach the level of production of the United States.

It must be emphasised that in order that these proposals shall be fully realised it is necessary to continue to force the production in Leningrad and Stalingrad. The monthly production given in the first table shows that in June the output of both factories remained at about the May level (2,000 and 1,500). The level of the Putilov works is relatively good. But even if it is higher than that of the Stalingrad factory it does not yet secure us the production of 32,000 machines which the Putilov workers have promised for the year 1931. In order to complete this task by the end of the year an output of 4,000 tractors a month must be attained: in any event the output must be immediately increased from 2,000 to 3,000. As regards the Stalingrad factory, it must make further progress while consolidating the production hitherto reached. To remain at the same level of production must be regarded as a decline. The energetic expansion of production in both factories is all the more necessary as we are approaching the Autumn sowing campaign.

Thus we have already achieved second place in the world. There now commences the struggle for the first place, the struggle with the United States. This task is a hard one and not to be solved at once. We will solve it however, and we can begin to tackle its solution already in 1932.

## Foreign Seamen in a Soviet Village.

By D. Miller

Archangel, which 13 years ago was the scene of a landing of an international counter-revolutionary army of intervention, was witness on July 4 to a stirring manifestation of international solidarity and proletarian enthusiasm. The occasion was an excursion for foreign seamen in the port organised by the Archangel International Seamen's Club to the collective and State Farms in the neighbouring village of Holmogorsk.

The excursion was organised by the Club workers at the request of the seamen themselves, who stated that at the height of the "Archangel slave labour" campaign in the international bourgeois Press, Holmogorsk was given a prominent place on account of "the terrible conditions of the forcibly-collectivised farmers", and the fact that one of the biggest prison-camps was situated nearby which housed the prisoners who were "forced to work in the timber-yards and the local electric-station".

The American, Belgian, Norwegian and English Press, the sailors from these countries corroborated, had given it out to the world that 80,000 convicts were imprisoned at Holmogorsk.

Just over 200 seamen from the ships of 11 nationalities lying in the port participated in the excursion, for which a special boat was chartered, which, brightly decorated with militant slogans in various languages, left Archangel at 10 p. m. and reached Holmogorsk at 8 a. m. to the accompaniment of a vociferous welcome by the assembled villagers.

In order to cover as much ground as possible, the seamen, after a short meeting with the delighted peasants, split into three language sections and proceeded to visit a collective farm, a State farm and the village of Fomonosov respectively.

During the course of a long day the foreign seamen thoroughly explored the farms, asking en route many scores of interesting questions.

The houses of the collective farmers were visited as well as the childrens schools and kindergartens, the hospitals and the several clubs and peasants' reading rooms.

The seamen were very favourably impressed with the equipment of the communal kitchen and bakery, the more so as soon afterwards they sat down to table with the peasants in their communal dining room to partake of a hearty Russian dinner, which everybody voted a real treat and a welcome change from the usual ship-board meal of frozen meat.

The visitors were greatly interested in the Soviet-manufactured tractors and in the modern, hygienic housing of the farms' live-stock. The peasants proudly displayed one of their cows which had earned distinction as the champion milk-giver in the Soviet Union, yielding 11,600 litres annually.

In reponse to the questions of the seamen, the peasants, both individually and collectively, repudiated the statements of the capitalist press, stating that at no time had there been a convict camp in the vicinity, and they added, "as to our terribly conditions, you have seen for yourselves and can judge".

After a photograph had been taken of the whole company and much milk-drinking, a great farewell meeting was held.

Representative spokesmen from the seamen of the various nationalities made short speeches full of enthusiasm and admiration for what they had seen.

"We can now appreciate the depths of the capitalist lies about the Soviet Union "slave-labour" and the "terrible suffering on the collective farms" — declared a Scandinavian fireman.

"Now we can really understand what a "kolhoz" and a "sovkoz" is — said an English ships carpenter; previously we didn't know. A Spanish seaman said that "it was now quite clear that the peasantry had gained very much from the Soviet government and it would be an example to the oppressed peasantry in the West". He added that he had never seen such good conditions on a farm. On the spot a resolution was written by the seamen, adopted unanimously and signed by all seamen present. The resolution showed that the seamen had drawn important conclusions from their stay in the port and from the excursion.

The resolution declared that no longer would they believe the slanders of the capitalist Press about the Soviet Union, and that they would inform all of what they had seen whilst in the Soviet Union; that they would struggle against the war danger and would refuse to transport troops or munitions against the socialist Soviet Union.

Finally, the resolution pledged all signatories to join the revolutionary seamen's opposition movement and to work for the building of the new revolutionary seamen's and harbour workers International in their respective countries.

As the ship pulled out the seamen crowded the deck and joined the peasants in singing the Internationale and shouted such slogans as "Rot Front!"; "Long live Moscow!"; "Vive la révolution mondiale!"; "Zito to kommunistisko Koma!"; "Hip, Hip, Hurrah! Three cheers for the Five Year Plan!"

## New People's Commissariat Formed.

Moscow, 12st July 1931.

The press publishes to-day a Decree of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union for the formation of a new People's Commissariat for municipal affairs in the R. S. F. S. R. The new People's Commissar will be **Comrade Komarov**, the son of a peasant, born in the former Gouvernement of Tver. Komarov was a metal worker and took part in the revolution of 1905. As a worker in the Putilov works he joined the Bolshevik Party in 1909.

The Decree points out that the tremendous industrial development has made a reorganisation of the municipal undertakings urgently necessary. The old towns must now be developed into socialist towns and made the basis for an improvement of the cultural and hygienic standards of the workers and for the building up of a new social life.

## IN THE CAMP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

### The Second International and the Intervention War Against the Soviet Union.

By P. R. Dietrich.

The Congress of the Second International will commence on July 25. Ten years have passed since the heroes of the 2½ International, **Karl Kautsky, Otto Bauer, Hilferding, MacDonald** etc. met for the first time in Vienna in order to reconstruct the International, which had collapsed as a result of the war. It is probably in order to celebrate this anniversary that the IV. Congress of the refounded Second International, in which Otto Bauer, Hilferding and consorts peacefully sit at the same table with the war and Kaiser socialists **Vandervelde, Henderson, Thomas, Wels, Blum** and consorts, is being held in Vienna.

The Vienna International of the year 1921 called itself the "International Working Union of Socialist Parties", and embraced those social democratic parties which during the world war had left the Second International but had not joined the Third International. From its birth the Vienna International was a hopeless abortion. It declared in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but in practice it supported the treacherous policy of the social imperialists. Hilferding, Crispian and Dittman had scarcely left Vienna when they made preparations to join the social democratic party of Germany. The path of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany has become the path of the whole of the Vienna International. **The political platform on which this process took place was that of the social imperialists.**

The resuscitation of the Second International took place at the **Hamburg Congress in the year 1923**. At that time the **War in the Ruhr** was already in its fourth month in Germany. During the deliberations of the Congress news arrived of the **Anglo-Russian conflict**, which led to the first imperialist intervention. This placed the Congress in a situation which rendered it impossible to carry out the anti-Soviet incitement planned by its managers. The latter eagerly endeavoured to get out of this awkward situation as quickly as possible without adopting a definite attitude. The resolution on Soviet Russia adopted by the Hamburg Congress, in spite of its reservation, expresses the deep hatred of the social democratic leaders. With the hypocritical argument of upholding the Soviet Union as a "pillar of revolution", the Hamburg Congress supported the demands of the "Russian socialists", those scoundrels who in alliance with the generals organised and supported the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union. These demands are:

1. Immediate cessation of all persecution of socialists and other political opponents among the workers and peasants of Russia and of Georgia, which is occupied by Russian troops. Immediate release of all persons who have been arrested, sentenced or banished on account of propaganda of their political convictions;

2. Complete renunciation of the system of a terrorist Party dictatorship and the transition to the regime of political freedom and democratic self-government of the people.

This protest meant **open solidarity with the Georgian Mensheviks who shamelessly had offered their services to the imperialists**. It means **open solidarity with the intervention Powers** and approval of their criminal plans, in spite of all the sham protests against the "efforts of the imperialist Powers" which are contained in the first clauses of the decision of the Hamburg Congress.

The Hamburg unity Congress met with only a feeble response from the working class; but still less response: was aroused by the **Marseilles Congress**, which was held in the year 1925. A German bourgeois paper wrote the following regarding this Congress:

"That which took place in Marseille was not a meeting of enthusiastic revolutionaries but a gathering of staid party leaders, who besides the red cocarde wear the national colours."

In **Marseille** the socialist leaders gave full vent to their hatred of the Soviet Union which they had had to hold back in Hamburg. The Congress, in its resolution on the war danger

in the East, openly accused the Soviet Union of war criminality. We quote:

**"The Labour and Socialist International is conscious of the fact that the war danger would be considerably reduced if the decision on war and peace in the Soviet Union did not lie in the hands of its dictatorial power, but in the hands of the peoples of the Soviet Union themselves. Therefore the International emphatically supports the efforts of the socialist parties of the Soviet Union to render the regime in the Soviet Union more democratic and to establish political freedom."**

This demagogic assertion has remained up to the present a stock-in-trade of the social democratic incitement against the Soviet Union. The international bourgeoisie made use of it as a pretext for the military preparations for intervention. In regard to the question of the fight against the intervention danger, the resolution of the Marseilles Congress is much weaker than that of the Hamburg Congress. The resolution states:

**"The International only recently declared most emphatically that it is the duty of all socialist parties, in particular of the socialist parties of the great world Powers and of the Border States, to fight against any aggressive policy directed against the Soviet Union and to promote the establishment of peaceful political relations and normal economic intercourse with the Soviet Union . . . . The Congress welcomes the improvement in the international position of the Soviet Union which has taken place since the last Congress in Hamburg chiefly as a result of the action of the Labour and Socialist International (!). This fact gives the International the right (!) to call upon the Russian people to strive for the restoration of full political and economic freedom in the Soviet Union and to oppose any aggressive and annexionist policy of its own government, as well as any propaganda aiming at the forcible interference in the inner affairs of other countries."**

The policy of the Marseilles Congress was orientated towards the farther stabilisation of world capitalism and the preparation for the overthrow of the Soviet government, for the purpose of converting Russian territory again into part of the capitalist economic system. For this purpose the parties of the Second International did everything to spread pacifist and democratic illusions by glorifying capitalism and by a shameless campaign to discredit the Soviet system. The "theoretical" material for this campaign was supplied by Kautsky who submitted to the Marseilles Congress a pamphlet entitled, "The International and Soviet Russia", which was the dirtiest pamphlet that had been written against Bolshevism up to then. It is true, Kautsky some years later surpassed the Kautsky of 1925 by his latest book: "Bolshevism at a Deadlock". In both these writings Kautsky openly calls upon the imperialists to carry out an intervention against the Soviet Union.

Three years later, in the year 1928, the Second International held its III. Congress in Brussels, which opened with a shameful incitement against the Soviet Union. Vandervelde, in his opening speech, gave the keynote. He thundered against the "dictatorship", whose home policy consisted of a series of cruelties and whose foreign policy led to the strengthening of the bourgeois governments and to the weakening and splits of the labour parties, upon whom alone the Russian revolution could rely. After Vandervelde the Menshevik Abramovitch came forward and shouted:

**"We come from countries where the proletariat and the lower masses of the people are deprived of all rights by the dictatorship. We must fight with all energy and determination against this dictatorship."**

He was followed by Dan, who demanded **an offensive struggle against Communism:**

**"The Bolshevik dictatorship is in a state of agony and has become a source of war-danger."**

The main attack against Communism was contained in the "Manifesto" of the Congress, addressed to the workers of the whole world and described as a reply to the new programme of the Communist International. This "Manifesto" states:

**"The Congress of the Communist International in Moscow has just adopted a programme which declares the advent of imperialist wars as inevitable and bases its whole**

hopes on the assumption that a new world war will be followed by a new forcible revolution. It is madness to turn the hopes of the working class to new wars instead of uniting all the workers of the world in the relentless struggle against a recurrence of bloody barbarism."

The concluding sentences of the Manifesto contain a hypothetical appeal for unity

**"on the basis of a proletarian world policy, which is based not upon the hopes of a new war but upon the recognition that it is necessary to defend democracy wherever it is threatened, to restore it wherever it is destroyed and to render it an instrument for the liberation of the working class."**

Can there be a more open scorning of the proletarian masses in the capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries than the summons from the mouth of the Ministers Vandervelde, MacDonald, Henderson, of the Minister of the German capitalist Republic Hilferding etc.: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!"

The deliberately lying character and the impudent deceit of the leaders of the Second International has nowhere found such a crass expression as at the Brussels Congress.

Ten years have passed since the Conference of the Vienna Working Union; a short time in the history of the labour movement and yet of great decisive importance. In these ten years the Second International true to its war tradition, has developed into an instrument of war of intervention against the Soviet Union. It has not confined itself to supporting the "moral" crusade of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union, but openly collaborated in the preparation of military intervention. The active support of the Menshevik saboteurs and wreckers, the Boncour military law, the German armoured cruisers A. and B., the military preparations of British imperialism in the Eastern Border States, in Palestine, Mesopotamia, Afghanistan, Persia and India under MacDonald as Prime Minister, and Henderson, the Chairman of the Second International as Foreign Minister, the granting of fresh millions for imperialist armaments by the social democrats in all countries — that is the true countenance of the peace-loving Second International.

The social democratic party congresses which took place for the preparation of the Vienna Congress in Czechoslovakia, Poland, France and Germany were marked by an increased incitement against the Soviet Union. The Vienna Congress will continue this policy. A leading social democratic organ in Germany, "Freies Wort" (Free Word) has already set this task to the Vienna Congress. It demands "active anti-Bolshevism" and open acknowledgment that the Soviet Union is the enemy. This organ, which voices the opinions of the Executive of the German social democracy, states:

**"It seems us to be superfluous for the social democracy repeatedly to assert that it is not collaborating in any intervention policy against Russia."**

Hence the author of this article calls for a **"passionate" alliance with all anti-Bolsheviks**, no matter to what parties they belong.

This war-cry against the Soviet Union will meet with response in the camp of the Second International and beyond it in the camp of world imperialism. Vienna will furnish proof of this.

## The Congress in Vienna.

By Emile Vandervelde.

M. Vandervelde's article is published under the above title in the July-August issue (No. 7/8) of the periodical organ of the Austrian social democracy, "Der Kampf". We publish the following extracts just as they stand in the original article; only the sub-headings have been inserted by us. Ed.

### The Most Important Question of the Congress: Disarmament.

**"The facts themselves are pushing the question of disarmament into the forefront. It will dominate the Congress at Vienna. It is true, the Congress will also have to discuss the question of unemployment, which will be treated from the point of view of the immediate measures to be adopted in constant contact with the International Federation of Trade Unions. It will serve for an exchange of opinion on the general situation, it will render possible an exchange of experiences regarding**

participation in the government or the exercise of government power which have been made in the Scandinavian countries, in Belgium and Spain, in Germany and England. But there is no doubt, the question, the big question of the Congress, which for the rest is closely connected with the two preceding questions, will be the question of disarmament.

At the same time the Congress is not concerned in the first place with examining this question from the technical point of view: that is the task of the special disarmament commission of the Labour and Socialist International which is entrusted with this investigation and is carrying it on in cooperation with the International Federation of Trade Unions. What an International Congress can do in this sphere is, in the first place, by its deliberations themselves and by the demonstrations which accompany them, lend expression and emphasis to the common will of all socialists; to demonstrate in all clearness wherein the views of the internationalists differ fundamentally from the views, even the pacifist views, of those who consciously or unconsciously stand in the first place on the basis of national interests."

#### What Shall the Congress Decide?

"The internationalists alone come together in order, jointly and unanimously to demand a peace which is something else than that armed peace, that fight with pieces of gold, that „immobile war“ — whose battles consist in armament credits — of which Bismarck at one time spoke. But they have a prospect of leading their cause to international victory only if the individual parties of the International, not merely by speeches, not only by Congress decisions but by deeds, often involving the risk of unpopularity, in fact even social patriotic secessions — one can observe what is now taking place in France after the Party Congress — without wavering, set up the united front against the danger of war and for complete, simultaneous disarmament under international control. It will be the chief task of the Congress at Vienna to unify and before all to extend, to strengthen, to lend irresistible force to the actions already begun in this respect.

In view of the strength which the various socialist parties possess, their direct and indirect influence on the governments, the tremendous force which the will of the masses not to tolerate any war and in the event of war nevertheless breaking out to turn it into a revolution, lends them, they are in a position, if they are really determined, to prevent the disarmament congress proving a failure."

#### Which Parties Shall Carry This Out?

"Let us be quite frank: one must have lived through the years which followed the world war in order to know how difficult it is, even in socialist circles, to bring to triumph against the national special interests the point of view of the common interests of the workers of all countries.

I call to mind, for example, the fights which had to be fought out in the year 1923 in the General Council of the Belgian Labour Party in order to get the whole of the party to raise a protest against the march of the French and Belgians into the Ruhr district. And if it is argued that the Belgian workers at that time were still under the influence of war psychology, which was understandable after the occupation of the country, the sufferings they had undergone, I could quote fresh examples from all countries which prove to what an extent today, when the social democracy has become a real mass party, we are up to the neck in social patriotism.

Some time ago, in the Belgian Chamber, when we fulfilled our international duty in the fight against the war credits, a socialist deputy declared that he had never shaken hands with a German since the war; almost at the same time one of our German comrades declared in a Committee of the Reichstag that in the question of national defence he was on the side of General Gröner against the Communists; and one must have read the speeches which were delivered at the last Congress of the French party in Tours in order to see what resistance Léon Blum, Lebas, Vincent Auriol or Paul Faure have to encounter, when they endeavour to bring about unanimous decisions in the same question of national defence."

#### What Leaders are to Carry out the Decision of the Congress?

"There is scarcely one of the big parties of the International which has not in one or other form taken part in the government. It is a socialist head of the Foreign Office of the British

Empire who next year will occupy the chair at the Disarmament Conference. It is the leaders of socialist governments, here Branting there Stauning who for the first time initiated a comprehensive one-sided reduction of the military expenditure of their countries. It is socialists who stand at the head of the Prussian government in the front ranks of the fight for the defence of the Republican achievements (? Ed.) And as under the changing circumstances, in Belgium, in Finland, in the Baltic States, in Austria and in the majority of the German provinces, socialists have been in the government, it can be said without exaggeration that the majority of the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International are former or future Ministers."

(Editorial Note: Whose Ministers were or are they? Ministers of their bourgeoisie who bloodily crush the rebellion of the working class, who prepare the way for fascism, who take part in the preparations for intervention against the Soviet Union. In view of the discontent of the workers with the policy of the social democratic parties it is intended that the Vienna Congress shall furnish proof that the Second International would seriously take up the fight against the danger of imperialist war, against unemployment etc. Hence Vandervelde's radical phrases.

In the government offices, in the secret political conventicles and also in the Parliaments, these "labour leaders" employ a different language, a language which is fully in accordance with their social fascist practice.)

## THE NEGRO MOVEMENT

### The International Conference on African Children.

By J. W. Ford (Geneva).

The International Conference on African Children which closed at Geneva on June 25 fully confirmed what the representative of the **League Against Imperialism and the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers** declared on the floor of the Conference: "This Conference is trying to conceal the fact that the dreadful fate of the African children is due to imperialist Exploitation". . . . "It is imperialist barbarism in the colonies, and in particular in Africa, that is the immediate cause of the terrible death rate among African Children. . . . Imperialist exploitation keeps them in ignorance, exploits their youthful energies to exhaustion and death, . . . threatens the population of Africa with extermination." "These facts you are attempting to conceal and shut up!"

The discussion that arose on the "prepared reports" and the fact that every effort was made to keep the representatives of the Africans from telling **the truth about the African Children** showed this very clearly. There were nineteen pamphlets prepared beforehand as the basis of discussion, dealing with such topics as "Still-birth and Infant Mortality, preventive measures and remedies" "Education with regard to preparing children for Life." "General Conditions of work for children and adolescents" etc.

The reporters were slave-driving doctors, preachers, industrialists, old women missionaries, government officials, etc. The doctors talked about the suffering of the mothers at child birth, about the "prevalence of syphilis, gonorrhoea" and other diseases; the missionaries wanted more mission schools and bibles; the industrialists wanted more "legal" means of enforcing Forced Labour conditions on the natives. The labour "leaders" supported the industrialists. One "labour" leader, a Mr. Harris of the British Labour Party, declared that he was against the mass education of the natives. Each Governmental official was trying to show the good side of his government in colonial exploitation.

The pamphlets and reports skilfully concealed the facts about the terrible high death rate among the African Children, about the tremendous high death rate among the whole population. They ignored the fact that malnutrition of mothers, lack of sanitation as well as compulsory labour in advance stages of child birth and ruthless exploitation was the cause of high mortality. The "forgot" to say anything about the educational system (or what is called educational system) being subservient to imperialist exploitation.

Despite the fact that the invitations to the Conference offered a **Common Platform** for the pooling of experiences and the ex-



change of ideas" the representatives of the African people had forcibly to wring out of the organisers sufficient time for a representative to give the **truth about the African Children**. One of the Negro representatives from the Gold Coast was called a liar from the platform when he stated facts about the ill-treatment of the natives in his country by the white missionaries. The representative of the League Against Imperialism and the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers was chosen by the Negro delegates to make the report.

He had not spoken two minutes before he was interrupted and declared out of order, the chairman shouting: "Sit down, sit down!" a priest on the platform came up to eject him. The representative of the League refused to budge and told the chairman that he would not sit down until he had completed his speech. There was commotion in the hall. The chairman, realising that greater disturbance would ensue if he tried to prevent the reports, allowed the speaker to proceed.

The speech based on the memorandum of the League Against Imperialism and the International trade Union Committee of Negro Workers, endorsed by the Negro delegates, was a pitiless and scathing exposure, backed up by quotations from various documents, of the brutal oppression and savage treatment of the Negro population of Africa by the imperialist exploiters and their agents, and completely showed up the whole hypocrisy of the conference, the organisers of which were supposed to be concerned about the well-being of the African children. It was a terrible story of the enslavement and gradual extermination of the black population, out of whose sweat and blood the white invaders amass huge fortunes.

All these facts are of course ignored by the so-called Saviours of African children. That is why the representative of the League declared that the African people must not have any faith in the Conference: that there was no remedy without the abolition of imperialist oppression and domination. Attention was called to the fact that in the United States nine young Negro boys from 14 to 20 years of age have been sentenced to the electric chair on frame-up charges. That is the method of imperialism in dealing with Negro children.

The League Against Imperialism and the International Trade Union Committee pointed out at this conference that only by an uncompromising, determined and ceaseless struggle against imperialism and its lackeys could the toiling masses of Africa win their freedom; and that this struggle must be conducted by fighting for the right of the workers and peasants of Africa to organise, for freedom of trade unions and the right of assembly, for higher wages and better working conditions, for a working day of not more than 8 hours for adults and 6 hours for young workers, for special labour protective legislation for women workers and young workers, for the complete abolition of all forced labour, contract labour and all other systems of disguised slavery; by driving out of their country all labour recruiters and tax collectors; refusing to pay hut, poll, head and other taxes imposed by the imperialist exploiters. Their demands must also include leave with pay for expectant mothers before and after child birth, and the abolition of labourious work for women and children altogether; the return of all confiscated land to the natives, the elimination of illiteracy, establishment of free universal education and the abolition of child labour; free medical attention for women and children at the expense of the State—free hospitals and dispensaries; the introduction of obligatory unemployment insurance for all unemployed workers, to be paid for by the State; grants to be given out to unemployed workers in case of sickness, etc., free rent for all unemployed workers, abolition of hut taxes altogether; free fuel, potatoes, milk etc., for children of unemployed workers to be paid for by the State. They must organise defence against all forms of terror, refuse to serve as cannon-fodder, fraternize with soldiers of opposing armies in case of war, join in international solidarity with the workers and all oppressed people against imperialist war. They must fight for the right of self-determination, for the complete independence of all Negro colonies from imperialist rule, for the defence of the Soviet Union.

There were 7 Negro representatives present. Although they voiced their protest by united action, most of them were not determined and sufficiently militant against these fakery. This is explained by their social composition. Two of them were school teachers, one a lawyer from the Gold Coast, one a law student in London, one from America representing a fraternal organisation, one representing an East African organisation but now residing in London.

## FOR MARXISM

### Marx and Engels to August Bebel.

Note by the Editor of the "Inprecorr".

The following document is an extract from a letter of Marx and Engels which appeared in "Prawda" of 19th June, prefaced by the following statement by the Marx-Engels-Institute:

"The extract published below is taken from a long letter from Marx and Engels to Bebel, written in the second half of September or first half of October 1879. The occasion for this letter was the growth of opportunist tendencies in the ranks of the German social democracy, in particular the publication of an article by Schramm Höchberg and Bernstein in the "Jahrbuch der Sozialwissenschaften und Sozialpolitik" (Year Book of Social Science and Social Policy). This article, entitled "Retrospective Survey of the Social Moment" and signed x x x, aroused the indignation of Marx and Engels and compelled them to confront the leaders of the German social democracy with the question whether the propaganda of such views was compatible with membership of the revolutionary proletarian Party.

Schramm, Höchberg and Bernstein in their articles only anticipated the ideas which have become the guiding principles of the German social democrats and of the whole social-fascist II. International. Engels made comments and critical notes to extracts from this article which are of great interest even today. These notes are a direct blow in the face of the theoreticians and politicians of present-day social democracy.

In his memoirs Bebel mentions this letter, but does not quote a single line from it. The letter was never published and these extracts are here printed for the first time."

Engels to Bebel.

London, September/October 1879.

Dear Bebel!

... In the meantime we have received the Höchberg Annual, which contains an article: "The Socialist Movement in Germany in Retrospect", which, as Höchberg himself told me, was written by the three members of the Zürich Committee. Here we have their authentic criticism of the movement up to now and therefore, their authentic program for the policy of the new organ, as far as they are concerned.

Right at the beginning they say:

"The movement which Lassalle looked upon as being preeminently political, and to which he called not only the workers but all honest democrats, and at the head of which the independent representatives of science and all men imbued with a true love of humanity, should march, was, under the presidency of John Baptist Schweitzer reduced to a **one-sided struggle for the interests of the industrial workers.**"

In the opinion of these gentlemen, the Social-Democratic Party should **not** be a one-sided workers' party, but a many-sided party of "all men imbued with a true love of humanity". Above all, it should prove this by dropping its crude, proletarian vehemence, and "cultivate good taste" and "learn good form" (p. 85) by placing itself under the leadership of educated, philanthropic bourgeois. Then also the "low behavior" of certain leaders will give place to respectable "bourgeois behavior", (As if the outwardly low behavior, which is meant here, were not the least with which they can be reproached!). Then also "**numerous adherents** from among the **educated** and propertied classes will make their appearance. But these must first be won if the agitation conducted is to have **tangible success**". German Socialism has attached too much value to winning the **masses** and in this has neglected the work of carrying on energetic (!) propaganda among so-called upper strata of society". Then, "the Party still lacks men fit to represent it in the Reichstag". It is "desirable and necessary that the Party be represented in the Reichstag by men who have had the opportunity and leisure to become thoroughly familiar with the pertinent matters. The ordinary worker and small master have not, with rare exceptions, the necessary leisure for this". Hence, elect the bourgeois!

In short: the working class cannot emancipate itself by its own efforts. For this it must place itself under the leadership of "educated and propertied" bourgeois, who alone "have the opportunity and time" to become familiar with what will benefit

the workers. Secondly, they are to be won over by energetic propaganda.

But if the upper strata of society or the well-meaning elements of the upper strata are to be won over, great care must be taken not to frighten them. And here the three Zürichers think they have made a consoling discovery:

"Precisely now, under the pressure of the anti-Socialist Law, the Party is showing that it does **not intend** to go the road of violent bloody revolution, but is determined to travel the road of lawfulness, i. e. of **reform**". Thus because the five or the six hundred thousand social-democratic electors (one-tenth to one-eighth of the electorate), who, moreover, are scattered over the whole country, are wise enough not to ram their heads against a brick wall, do not try to carry through a "bloody revolution" when they are outnumbered by ten to one, then this proves that they pledge themselves for all time not to take advantage of any great external event, or a revolutionary upsurge suddenly called forth by it or even of a **victory** of the people, won in the conflict growing out of it!

If Berlín should prove to be so uneducated as to make another "March 18th," then the social-democrats, instead of taking part in the struggle like "scoundrels, with a barricade mania" (p. 88) must "take the path of lawfulness", must calm down, clear away the barricades, and if necessary march with the glorious army against the raw, uneducated, one-sided masses. But if the gentlemen declare that this was not what they mean, then what do they mean?

But this is not the worst.

"The more quietly, objectively and deliberately it (the Party) criticises the existing situation and makes proposals for changes, the less likely is it that the clever chess move (played when the anti-Socialist Law was introduced) with which the conscious reactionaries were able to scare the bourgeoisie with the Red bogey, will be repeated." (p. 88)

In order to remove the last trace of fear from the bourgeoisie, it must be clearly and convincingly proved to them that the Red bogey is in fact only a bogey, that it does not exist. But what is the secret of the effectiveness of the Red bogey if it is not the fear with which the bourgeoisie is filled before the inevitable life and death struggle between itself and the proletariat; before the inevitable outcome of the contemporary class struggle? But if we abandon the class struggle, the bourgeoisie and all "honest men" will "not be afraid to go hand in hand with the proletarians;" and the ones to be cheated will be the proletarians!

Let the Party prove by its humble and submissive conduct that it has once and for all abandoned the "improprieties and excesses" which called forth the anti-Socialist Law! If the Party voluntarily promise to act strictly within the limits of the anti-Socialist Law, then certainly Bismarck and the bourgeoisie will be good enough to repeal this law, for it would then be superfluous!

"Understand us correctly", we do not want "to give up our Party and our program, but we think that we will have enough to do for many years to come, if we turn our whole forces and all our energy to the realisation of definite, achievable aims which must be attained at all costs before it is possible to think of achieving the more far-reaching aims." Then the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and the workers who "are now frightened away by the far-reaching demands" will line up with us in masses.

The program is not to be given up, it is only to be postponed—indeinitely. It is accepted, but not actually for oneself, for one's own lifetime, but posthumously, as an heirloom for one's children and grand-children. In the meantime, "all forces and energy" must be devoted to all kinds of tinkering and patching of the capitalist social system, in order to make it appear that something is happening, while at the same time nothing is done to scare the bourgeoisie.

This then is the program of the three censors of Zürich. It leaves nothing to be desired in regard to clarity; particularly for us, because since 1848 we have heard a great deal of phraseology of this kind. These are the representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, who are afraid that the proletariat, under the pressure of its revolutionary position in society, might "go too far". Instead of decisive political opposition—general collaboration; instead of fighting against the government and the bourgeoisie,—attempt to win them and persuade them; instead of firm resistance to ill-treatment from above—submissive subordination and admission

that the punishment was deserved. All historically necessary conflicts are explained as misunderstandings and all discussions end with the declarations;—in essence we are all agreed. Those who in 1848 called themselves bourgeois democrats can now quite as easily describe themselves as social democrats. Just as in the case of the democratic republic, the overthrow of the capitalist system is regarded as something in the unreachable future, but having absolutely no significance for present-day practical politics; it is permissible to collaborate, to compromise and to take up philanthropy to one's heart's content. And the same applies to the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie! On paper the class struggle is recognised because it is no longer possible to do otherwise, but in practice it is hushed up, smoothed over and weakened. The Social-Democratic Party **must not** be a workers' party! It must not bring on itself the hatred of the bourgeoisie or of anyone for that matter; it should above all, conduct propaganda among the bourgeoisie. Instead of laying stress on far-reaching and what are in our generation, unattainable aims which frighten the bourgeoisie, it would be better if it turned all its forces and energy to petty-bourgeois, patching reforms which would strengthen the old social system, and thereby, perhaps, turn an inevitable catastrophe into a gradual and if possible, peaceful process of dissolution.

These are the very people who while making a pretence of restless activity, not only do nothing themselves but try to prevent things from being done—except prattling. These are the very people whose fear of every action in 1848 and 1849 hindered the movement at every step, and finally brought it to defeat, who see reaction and are then astounded to find themselves in a blind alley where neither resistance nor flight is possible, — the very people who wish to banish history from their narrow Philistine horizon, but over whose heads history always proceeds in its course.

In so far as their worthiness as socialists is concerned, it is already sufficiently criticised in the *Manifesto*, in the chapter, "German or True Socialism". When the class struggle is shoved to one side as something disagreeable and "rude", the only thing that remains as the basis of socialism is "true humanitarianism" and empty phrases about "justice".

In a petty-bourgeois country like Germany, such ideas certainly can be justified,—but **outside of the Social-Democratic workers' party**. If these gentlemen formed a social-democratic petty-bourgeois party, they would be perfectly within their rights; one could then deal with them, form blocs with them according to circumstances, etc. In a workers' party, however, they are a corrupting element. If there are reasons why they should be tolerated for the time being, then the duty is **only** to tolerate them, to give them no influence in the party leadership and to bear in mind that a rupture with them is only a matter of time. Moreover, the time seems to have arrived. It seems to us incomprehensible how the Party can tolerate the writers of this article in its midst any longer. But if the party leadership should fall more or less into the hands of such people, then the party will be simply castrated and this will be the end of proletarian resoluteness.

So far as we are concerned, there is only one way open that corresponds with our whole past. For almost forty years we have emphasized that the class struggle is the immediate driving force of history, and that especially the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the greatest lever of the modern social revolution. We cannot possibly march together with people who wish to eliminate the class struggle from the movement. At the inauguration of the International, we clearly formulated the battle cry: the emancipation of the working class must be the action of the working class itself. Thus, we cannot march together with people who openly say that the workers are too uneducated to emancipate themselves and must be freed from above by the philanthropic bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. If the new party organ takes up the attitude indicated by the ideas of these gentlemen, which is bourgeois and not proletarian, then, however much we may regret to do so, there will be nothing left for us to do but openly to declare ourselves opposed to it and to sever our connection with the German party which we have till now represented abroad. It is to be hoped that it does not come to that.

This letter is intended for the information of all five members of the Committee in Germany, as well as Bracke . . .

As far as we are concerned there is nothing to prevent this letter from being brought to the notice of the Zürich people.

## XI. Plenum of the E. C. C. I.

# Speech of Comrade Losovsky in the Discussion on Comrade Manuisky's Report.

Comrades, the development and deepening of the world economic crisis brings us face to face with a series of tactical problems with which I would like to deal.

But before going into the role of the Comintern and R.I.L.U. Sections in the leadership of the economic struggle, I want to touch upon a series of questions of a more general character. The first of them — is whether the present economic crisis which is developing on the background of the general capitalist crisis, is the last crisis, in other words, whether we can say that for the bourgeoisie there is definitely no way out of this crisis?

If we approach the question from the historical point of view then, of course, the general capitalist crisis means that the capitalist system is doomed. **But this certainly does not mean that the present world economic crisis which is steadily developing, is the last crisis, that it will lead directly to the struggle for power and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship in all the large capitalist countries.** If capitalism can no longer revert even to the period of relative stabilisation, this does not after all mean that it has explored all the avenues, and that conjunctural vacillations and changes are quite impossible. „There are no absolutely helpless situations“, — said Lenin in this respect at the II. Congress of the Communist International.

Now, more than ever, one must follow closely the dynamic of the class struggle. Particularly important is now the role of the **subjective factor**, and therefore our attention must be concentrated on the manner in which the Comintern and R.I.L.U. Sections are utilising the present crisis, so as to place the bourgeoisie in a helpless situation.

The most characteristic fact in the given phase of the class struggle is the frenzied attack of the bourgeoisie on the elementary needs of the workers, and the counterattack, true, only in some sectors, on the part of the proletariat. The present relation of forces is as clear as daylight: the employers, the Socialist parties, the reformist trade unions and the bourgeois state on one side, and the Comintern and R.I.L.U. Sections with the masses who are following them, on the other.

The fundamental strategical task facing now the Comintern Sections is—to make clear to every proletarian this distribution of forces, to make every proletarian understand, on the basis of the daily struggle, **the strike breaking role of social democracy and the reformist trade unions**, and to get away the masses of organised and unorganised workers from the influence of our chief enemy in the working class—social democracy.

Capitalist rivalry affects detrimentally all categories of workers, and this creates favourable premises for drawing the whole working class into the defensive, and subsequently, also into the offensive struggle. But to be able to do this, we must first of all destroy the prejudices which have still a strong hold not only on the minds of considerable strata of workers, but even **on the minds of many functionaries in our parties and trade unions.**

A prejudice inherited from pre-war social democracy is: “in the period of crisis economic struggle is impossible.” Comrades! you are all aware that the whole policy of contemporary social democracy is built up on this proposition, this is also the point of departure of all ex-Communists, from Brandler down to Trotsky.

In the struggle against the Rights and Trotskyists we issued from the beginning the slogan: “Economic struggle **inspite** of the crisis”, which is an acknowledgement that the depression and the crisis create a certain number of additional difficulties in the struggle. But some of the functionaries of our Parties and Red Trade Unions have laid hold precisely of these **additional difficulties**. In the meantime **the development of the crisis and the deepening of the class struggle** have shown that this formula of “inspite of the crisis” is inadequate, that the offensive of the capitalists creates also a series of **additional possibilities**, and further, that at a definite stage of the development of the crisis and class struggle these additional possibilities outweigh the difficulties which are created by the enormous unemployment.

Experience has shown that the formula “economic struggle **inspite** of the crisis” no longer answers the purpose, that it must be replaced by another: “Economic struggle **because** of the crisis”. This does not, of course, mean that we must not take into consideration the additional peculiarities and difficulties which are encountered, in connection with the crisis, in this or that industry, in this or that country. No. It means something different. We must concentrate on giving free play to the struggle, on overcoming, uprooting in our ranks scepticism, a happy-go-lucky style of work, excessive reticence and reserve, for on this depends the line of development of the immediate class battles.

The question of the significance of the economic struggle in the present epoch was brought up long ago by the Comintern. Thanks to Lenin this question loomed big at the III. Congress of the Communist International. At that time, Zinoviev, Radek and Bukharin were “veering to the left”. And when Radek brought forward his first draft thesis on tactic (Radek told me this the other day) Lenin, having read the thesis, said to him: “Excellent thesis, only that everything in it should be written the other way round” (Laughter). What then was the fundamental idea so drastically expressed by Lenin? What was it that Lenin wanted then to emphasise? Lenin wanted to emphasise **the necessity for the communist parties to concern themselves with the immediate needs and everyday demands of the workers.** It is in this sense that Lenin introduced a series of formulae into the revised theses. For instance, on the importance of the elementary demands of the workers for the general class struggle of the proletariat, it is said in the theses:

“The revolutionary substance of the present epoch consists precisely in the fact that the most modest vital demands of the toiling masses are incompatible with the existence of the capitalist society, and that in this way the struggle for these demands develops into a struggle for Communism”.

You see, how clearly the question is put—“the struggle for the immediate demands develops into a struggle for Communism”.

The same resolution contains also a series of extremely important propositions which it will be very useful to record; for already at that time the question was raised about independent leadership of economic struggles, and about the manner in which the masses can be won for our side on the basis of our leadership of these struggles. This is what we read in the same resolution of the III. Congress of the Comintern:

“This independent policy: defence of the vital interests of the proletariat by its most active and conscious section cannot be crowned with success and cannot lead to the awakening of the backward masses, unless the aims of the struggle grow out of the concrete situation, unless they are intelligible to the broad masses, unless the broad masses see in these aims their own aims, though they are still unable to put up an independent fight for them.”

This resolution, as we can see, is quite up to date. Already at that time it placed before the international Communist movement got only the question of the significance of the struggle for the vital interests of the workers, but also the question of methods for the conquest of the masses, on the basis of this struggle. Was there here **separation of politics from economics? Certainly not!** Resolute struggle for economic demands, connecting the defence of the elementary demands of the workers with the offensive against the capitalist order, this is precisely the present policy.

I will deal now with the problems placed before us by the economic struggles since the time of the X. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

Between the X. Plenum and the present there was the V. Congress of the R.I.L.U., which, as you know, summed up the activity of the R.I.L.U. and Comintern Sections with regard to leadership of economic struggles. I will therefore deal only with questions which have arisen in connection with the development of the economic struggles after the V. Congress.

The characteristic feature of this period is the considerable growth of the economic and political struggle which runs parallel with the growth and deepening of the world economic crisis.

With regard to the number of workers drawn into strikes and the stubbornness of the strikes, **Britain** is ahead of all the countries. But I must make at once the reservation that neither the Party nor the Minority Movement is responsible for this. We have to do in Britain with a situation when hundreds of thousands of workers come out on strike against the will of the "Labour" Government, against the trade union leaders, but also without leadership on the part of the Communist Party and Minority Movement. Our Party and the Minority Movement are not **inside** the struggle but come into it from outside. In the face of the movement of hundreds of thousands of workers, they are still a small sectarian group which comes generally too late with its advice of which the workers do not yet take heed.

In the British Party and in the Minority Movement the influence of trade unionist traditions is still very strong. Reverence for the trade union, for trade union legality is deeply ingrained in the minds of many Communists. They have not yet digested the tactic of independent leadership of economic struggles.

The danger consists in the fact that many functionaries of the Minority Movement vote for resolutions, for independent leadership, but do not wish to up this into practice. This is the worst form of creeping opportunism in practice: formal agreement with, and practical sabotaging of the R.I.L.U. line.

What has the Party done to overcome this opportunism? What has been done to exterminate trade union prejudices? Very little. In Britain there has not even been a proper discussion what independent leadership of economic struggles means. This question was not discussed because the leading comrades of the Minority Movement deliberately isolated the Minority Movement of Britain from the international experience and decisions of the Congresses and leading organs of the R.I.L.U.

There were in the British Commission of the R.I.L.U. comrades who insisted on recognition being given by us to certain achievements of the Minority Movement. I was and still am against this. In the best case, these achievements can be measured by millimeters (movement for the Charter), whereas the mass movement goes forward, if I may say so, by kilometers, and therefore, the gap instead of decreasing, increases, and the lagging behind becomes more and more dangerous. That is why it is incumbent on us to sound the alarm, to compel the Minority Movement to turn about face to the masses, to build up factory groups, to put life into the work of these groups, to convert the Minority Movement into a mass organisation, to develop the work within the trade unions where millions of workers are still to be found. This is the crux of the matter.

From the weakest link I will go now to the strongest—**Germany**. Here, too, we must point out from the start the extremely slow development of the revolutionary trade union opposition. When I say—extremely slow, I mean to emphasise by this the correlation between the organisational growth of the R.T.U.O. and the political influence of the Party. The figures given here by Comrade Thälmann are not exactly cheerful: only about 150,000 R.T.U.O. members, including 50,000 odd in the independent trade unions; 30,000 in the unemployed groups, and about 70,000 in the factory and works groups. Are we justified in saying that we have a mass trade union organisation in Germany? Certainly not! For Germany this is not a mass organisation but **very modest steps on the road to the establishment of a mass trade union organisation**.

Organisationally, we are behind the times, behind the demands of the moment. This finds expression in our failure to draw broad masses into the strike movement, to lead mass economic struggles, with some exceptions, such as the Berlin Metal Workers, the Ruhr Miners, in the fact that only a small percentage of the unemployed are organised by us, despite the obvious sympathy of broad masses of unemployed for us. Finally, this finds expression in the extremely slow development of the revolutionary trade unions set up by us, etc. The reasons of such a slow organisational development of the Trade Union opposition, and of the slow growth of our Red Trade Unions is, I think, chiefly the fact that the R.T.U.O. appears before the masses as **the Trade Unions Department of the Party**, that we do not pay sufficient attention to the crystallisation of an active body of

non-Party workers, that the R.T.U.O. has not yet demonstrated its ability to lead mass struggles. We can record considerable successes in Germany, but these successes do not come up to the mark, the R.T.U.O. coordinates only one thirtieth of those who voted for the Communist Party at the Reichstag elections. The Party has already won the confidence of the masses in the struggles, but not so the R.T.U.O., and the fundamental task consists in pushing forward the R.T.U.O., as a mass non-Party organisation, in raising the prestige of the revolutionary trade union opposition in the eyes of the masses, in securing for it the confidence of the masses, in trying to secure firm Communist leadership through the fractions, and in always bearing in mind that the R.T.U.O. is not a duplicate of the Party but an organisation intended to draw the broad masses of workers into the struggle against capitalism.

I will deal also with trade union work in some of the countries, using as a criterion the measure of our Parties' and R.I.L.U. Sections' leadership of the economic struggles of the proletariat.

Of all the R.I.L.U. Sections in the Capitalist countries, the Unitarian Confederation of Labour in **France** is the largest. Throughout its existence, it has led many economic struggles, but its structure and methods of work are so obsolete that lagging behind the mass movement is very noticeable here. First of all we must say that despite hundreds of Comintern and R.I.L.U. decisions, the basic work of our Trade Unions has not substantially changed, it continues to be as primitive as before. The basic organs do not lead an independent life, they stagnate: they frequently do not know what is going on in the factory, and when they do know, they do not pay sufficient attention to it. Instead of becoming the centre of the discontent of the masses they frequently erect a wall between themselves and the workers. The work of the leading organs is preeminently of an agitational and propagandist character, hence the result: a considerable loss of members in a whole series of federations. True, the beginning of 1931 is marked by a certain growth of some of the federations, but this growth is so insignificant that the losses of 1930 have not yet been made good.

To show up the shortcomings of our trade union work in France, I will give you two examples—the question of unity and the miners' strike.

The opposition in the unitarian trade union came to an understanding with the left elements in the reformist Confederation, and began a noisy agitation for the fusion of the two Confederations. The manifesto of the 22 found an echo not only among a certain section of the functionaries, but also among the workers. But what was done by the Unitarian Confederation to repulse this attack which was made under the banner of unity? That the action of the 22 was an attempt to disorganise the ranks of the Unitarian trade union movement, was not made a secret of, and that the artful rascal and swindler, Dumoulin, started this business for the disorganisation of the revolutionary trade union movement, is selfevident. But this is not the question, the question is that our opponents have hit on something which is a tender spot with every worker. And yet, our comrades did not take this campaign seriously enough. They frequently act on the assumption that if we have to do with a clumsy manoeuvre, the masses are sure to see through it, and instead of an immediate reply to this manoeuvre, instead of taking into their hands the initiative with regard to unity, and take up the offensive against the opposition on the basis of the struggle for unity, our comrades maintain a defensive position, lose precious time, and let a considerable number of trump cards pass into the hands of the agents of reformism. The Comintern and the R.I.L.U. had to interfere, so as to remind our comrades of a well known fact, that only the Unitarian Confederation of Labour is for unity, that it must advocate a single confederation, and that it is incumbent on us to tear the initiative out of the hands of our opponents. It is on these lines that the Unitarian Confederation of Labour came forward with a special declaration on the unity of the trade union movement based on class struggle. However, this action which made a deep impression among the workers, was not fully utilised by the Communist Party and by the Unitarian Confederation. A unity resolution was certainly published, but subsequently the trade union and Party press forget all about this resolution: yet, it should have been made the pivot of our whole activity during the coming period. (To be concluded.)