

# INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 11 No. 38

16th July 1931

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

## CONTENTS

Appeal of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany . . . . .	706	<b>First of August: International Fighting Day Against War</b>	
<b>Politics</b>		R. Bishop: The August 1st Campaign in England . . . . .	715
R. Palme-Dutt: Anglo-American Antagonism and the Hoover Plan . . . . .	707	J. Berlioz: Preparations for August 1st in France . . . . .	715
Schasch: The Results of the Parliamentary Elections in Hungary . . . . .	709	Karin: The Colonial Army of French Imperialism . . . . .	716
Bjarne Jonson: The Elections in Iceland . . . . .	709	Earl Browder: Socialist Party of America Helps Prepare War Against the Soviet Union . . . . .	716
<b>China</b>		<b>The Labour Movement</b>	
S. N. Liu: Imperialism in the Struggle Against the Chinese Red Army in the Soviet Districts . . . . .	710	Harry Gannes: Strike of 40,000 American Miners . . . . .	717
International Solidarity with the Chinese Revolution . . . . .	711	Albert Moreau: The Meaning of the Girardot Strike in Colombia . . . . .	718
<b>Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union</b>		<b>In the International</b>	
J. Stalin: The New Situation and the New Tasks of the Socialist Constructive Work (Conclusion) . . . . .	712	Oscar Grossmann: The 11th Party Congress of the C. P. of Austria . . . . .	719
		<b>In the Camp of Social Democracy</b>	
		V. Knorin: The Vienna Congress of the Social Fascists . . . . .	720

## The Financial Collapse in Germany.

By Th. Neubauer.

Berlin, July 14th, 1931.

The collapse of the "Darmstadt and National Bank", which was compelled to suspend payment yesterday, has let loose the storm which is now raging with devastating violence throughout capitalist Germany. A few hours sufficed yesterday in order to bring about in all parts of the Reich, a general run on the banks, which were not capable of meeting this siege by panic-stricken depositors. The Reichs-government has decided that all banks must remain closed for two days; the stock exchanges and money exchanges were already closed yesterday. The panic has now seized the broadest masses. Germany has plunged into disaster.

The crisis of German capitalism has thus entered a new stage. Whilst hitherto it has been possible for the German bourgeoisie, with the aid of international finance capital, to confine the sharpness and severity of the crisis to the sphere of money and credit, where it did not immediately affect the masses of the people, the situation has now completely changed. The whole organism of German capitalism is seized by a conflagration; the whole of the working population is now profoundly stirred. The situation is becoming more and more critical!

In importance the Darmstadt and National Bank was the second of the large private banks of Germany, but as a result of the personality of its director, Jacob Goldschmidt, it was the most active and in many respects the leading bank. More than a quarter of the whole of German industry was connected with

it. The consequences of its collapse, therefore, cannot be anything else but a disaster incomparably greater than the failure of the Austrian Creditanstalt. For weeks, and right up to the late hours of Sunday night, every effort was made in order to avert its bankruptcy. But the rest of the German take over the guarantee for the Darmstadt and National Bank and Diskonto Gesellschaft are already so severely shaken that they are at the end of their resources. They had to refuse to take over the guarantee for the Darmstadt and National Bank as the Reichs government proposed, because they are not even in a position to obtain money for their own requirements. There remained nothing else but for the Reich — itself bankrupt! — to guarantee the deposits in the bankrupt Darmstadt and National Bank, without up to now having any idea how it is to obtain the necessary means for this purpose.

The government has arranged that all stock exchanges in the Reich shall remain closed on Tuesday and Wednesday. It is intended thereby to prevent them from becoming perfect bedlams and increasing the general crisis still further. It is desired to gain time in order to „pacify“ the population. But no German government was able to prevent all German securities, together with the German currency, from experiencing a collapse on the foreign exchanges (already on the first day the mark declined in value by 15 to 20 per cent. and in some cases 50 per cent.) Nor can the government of the Reich prevent this collapse of the mark from further greatly aggravating the situation in Germany.

The Reichsbank has imposed a drastic restriction on credit and dealings in foreign bills. How long will it be able to stand this? The first result must be that a great number of industrial and commercial undertakings, banks etc. will be deprived of absolutely necessary money and placed in a desperate situation; a whole series of serious collapses seems to be inevitable. The second result will be that public authorities and social insurance institutions will not pay out any money; that it will be impossible to obtain money for wages in trade and industry. It is impossible to foresee all the consequences.

A general moratorium is now being considered: it is to be connected with a general reduction of wages and salaries, rent etc.: this would bring the excitement of the masses to boiling point.

The Reichsbank stands helpless in face of this collapse. Last Saturday it lost about 100 million and in the whole of the last week about 400 millions marks worth of foreign bills. And now, after having used up the last 15 million dollar credit, it is without any reserves. Dr. Luther, the President of the Reichsbank, flew to London in vain: he was there referred to Paris. In Paris however, conditions were submitted to him, couched in the most brutal and insolent language. Briefly stated they are as follows:

1. Immediate cessation of the building of the "pocket" battleship.
2. Formal abandonment of the German-Austrian Customs Union.
3. A Franco-German Commercial Treaty in the interest of French capitalism.
4. Unconditional "agreement", i. e. complete capitulation to French imperialism.

These are conditions which the victor dictates to the vanquished in a war. These are conditions which can only be submitted to a completely crushed and defeated enemy! A second Versailles! Can the Brüning government put its signature to such conditions? "To give way to France would drag the government into the abyss and call forth the worst inner political fights" wrote the "*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*" in its Saturday edition. But has the German bourgeoisie any other course whatever than to accept these onerous conditions?

Brüning once again turned to Hoover and to MacDonald imploring their aid; they gave him to understand that he must come to terms with Paris. Brüning sought the aid of Mussolini; he replied with an appeal to the capitalist "world conscience" to fight against Bolshevism, but what could he do to help? On Sunday, von Hoesch, the German Ambassador in Paris, once again begged the French Prime Minister Laval for help. Laval refused, the German Chancellor must first do penance!

It is impossible to understand how after all this the German government could cherish the illusion that perhaps the meeting of the Bank for International Settlements, convened for Monday, would bring aid. Has the German Foreign Office not yet come to understand that the keys to the coffers of the Basle Reparations Bank are kept in Paris? Luther's request for aid was rejected by the B. I. S., and the German government was again referred to Paris.

The position of the Brüning Cabinet is profoundly shaken. Up to the moment Brüning has refused to sign the new "Versailles Treaty". He fears the pressure of national fascism. Certain circles of the German trust bourgeoisie are playing with adventurous plans which remind one very much of the Ruhr adventure of the Reichs-Chancellor Cuno in 1923. Foreign finance capital is being threatened with the consequences of a German inflation, with dumping and the sale of German goods at ruinously cheap prices, which would be bound to upset the whole world market. Paris and London are advised to consider what it would mean if the German bourgeoisie were compelled, for example to throw the nine million tons of coal lying at the pitheads in the Ruhr district, on the world market at knock-out prices. This is what the "*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*" already wrote in its Saturday evening edition. But it is probable that these circles also clearly realise that such a policy would mean suicide for the German capitalist class.

It is the general opinion that the Brüning Cabinet will not be able to remain in office for long. But what will happen then? There are voices demanding that the social democracy be invited to participate in the government. It would be ready, as it has always been in the past, to step into the breach for

the sake of German capitalism. On the other side the "*Deutsche Zeitung*" calls for a "national dictatorship", and the "*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*" demands a "national concentration Cabinet", behind which is concealed the plans for a directorate of Brüning, Hugenberg and Hitler. But would such a government have any other alternative than to capitulate? Even the national fascists with Hitler and Hugenberg would not be able to check the further collapse of German capitalism, but would only make it complete. They could not prevent the break-up of the capitalist class State but only accelerate it. They would stand isolated and helpless in face of the power of French imperialism and have no other choice than to creep under its yoke.

It appears as if Paris is deliberately aiming at such a solution as would compel the national opposition of German fascism to submit to a policy of fulfilment and subjection. A Cabinet with Hugenberg and Hitler at the head which accepted the conditions of French imperialism and then concentrated its whole force on suppressing the Bolshevik danger in Germany, would certainly be, in the eyes of Laval and Briand, an aim worth striving for.

But the revolutionary "danger" in German is greater than Paris seems to think. The masses have been brought into movement. They are beginning to realise how things actually are with German capitalism. The most shameful part in deceiving the working masses has again been performed by the social democracy, which yesterday issued an appeal to the workers, in which it deprecated the panic and recommended the workers and small shopkeepers to leave their money in the banks and savings institutes (in order that the big robbers could draw out theirs more easily) and called for a "fight against chaos". This appeal of the Brüning "socialists" will, however, only achieve the opposite: it will help the working masses to perceive the absolute rottenness and corruption of the social democratic leaders who are ready right up to the last minute to play the part of physician to dying capitalism.

The catastrophe which has now broken out over capitalist Germany and dragged into its vortex the social fascist and national fascist supporters of the capitalist State, is showing the masses of the working population in the plainest manner that there is no other way of salvation than the way of Bolshevism!

The fact that today the banks are collapsing, the trusts are tottering, the doors of the banks remain closed, and wages, unemployment benefit, poor law relief etc. cannot be paid out, is for the masses only one more reason for ridding the country as quickly as possible of the pest of this mortally sick capitalism. The spectre of inflation is again looming up in face of the population and driving it into a panic, but the working class, if it seizes power and exchanges the paper which the capitalist class can give it for the articles it requires, has no need to fear any inflation. If today the bourgeoisie stands isolated and helpless in face of French imperialism, a **Communist Germany would not stand isolated**. If today the German exploiting classes see no other way out than to sign the second Versailles, the German working class, when it has seized the economic and State power, will know how to defend its power, its liberty and Socialism! If the German capitalist society stands in deadly fear of the chaos which it has itself called forth — Communism can welcome this chaos as the birth of a new era.

Great decisions are approaching. The German working class must be prepared for them.

## Appeal of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany.

Berlin, 14th July 1931.

The Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany has issued an appeal, the most important sections of which we publish below:

Down with the capitalists!

Comrades, Workers, Toilers in the whole of Germany!

An economic disaster of enormous dimensions has broken out in Germany. A crisis such as the world has never seen before threatens to ruin the whole economic life. Numerous works and undertakings are at a standstill. More than four million unemployed are starving on the streets. German industry is only working 50 per cent of its capacity. The collapse of the Darmstadt and National Bank, in which were deposited over

2000 million marks, introduces a chain of financial collapse the end of which cannot be seen. Fresh hundreds of thousands of workers will in the next few days be deprived of bread. As a result of the gigantic bank collapse, which is already extending to the savings banks, the poorest of the poor, the unemployed, the invalids and pensioners are faced with absolute destitution, as the municipalities and boards of guardians will likewise shortly cease paying out benefit and relief. Millions of small savers are losing their savings which they have managed to scrape together by means of years of hard work.

The whole of the working population feels and realises that things cannot go on as they are. The working masses are filled with rage and indignation against those responsible for the economic disaster. The Communist Party was the only Party which issued a timely warning of the present development. The Communists predicted the inevitability of the catastrophe. The capitalists, together with their agents, are the sole parties responsible for the unprecedented misery and suffering, for the indescribable deprivations of the working people.

The kings of industry and bank magnates have in a criminal manner called forth the collapse. They cold-bloodedly organise the starvation of the whole people in order to secure their profits. The frivolous acceptance of the Young Plan, which enslaves the working masses of Germany for decades and hands them over to predatory foreign capital, has led to the collapse. The system of emergency decrees, which aimed at securing the bankrupt economy of the capitalists with all the means of coercion of State Power against the masses of the people, has contributed to the collapse.

Whilst the majority of the whole people are driven into starvation, a few thousands capitalists save themselves by transferring their capital abroad, by speculation manoeuvres and financial jobbery. The Brüning government issues fresh emergency decrees every day; the rich are left undisturbed; the poor are robbed of their last piece of bread, the last penny of their wages, the last penny of their benefit, their last savings.

Things cannot go on like this any longer. The working class must now deal in another manner than hitherto with the criminals and deceivers, with the exploiters and oppressors of the people. We Communists have always declared and repeat today with greater certainty of victory than ever before: there is only one way out of the crisis, only one means of escape from the catastrophe: the taking over of power by the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party means the expropriation of the banks, the expropriation of the industrial concerns and big stores, the expropriation of the big landlords, the cessation of all Young payments and reparations, the cancellation of foreign debts, the replacement of the bankrupt capitalist economy by a new and better one, by the socialist economic order under the leadership of the proletariat.

Workers and toilers of Germany! Do not tolerate any longer the crimes of a handful of capitalists! Do not allow yourselves to be misled any longer by the social-democratic and national-socialist leaders, these cowardly hirelings of the capitalists who share responsibility for the present crisis. We demand the arrest and public condemnation of the capitalists who are guilty of transferring capital abroad and who are responsible for the fraudulent bankruptcy; the securing of the deposits of all small depositors and the confiscation of all bank accounts exceeding 20,000 marks; the immediate confiscation of the whole property of all millionaires, huge salary receivers and the recipients of exorbitant pensions; the immediate opening of all factories which have been closed down, without regard to the profit interests of the employers; the confiscation of the stocks of food, stocks of clothing, footwear and other necessary articles for the purpose of distributing them gratis to the starving masses of unemployed and poor; the confiscation of the big dwelling houses, villas and palaces for the purpose of housing the homeless and suffering toilers.

Workers, employees and officials! Reply with mass strikes to the worsening of your conditions of living! Wherever wages are not paid out, immediately cease work!

Unemployed! By means of mass pressure enforce an increase in your benefit, the cancellation of the measures for cutting down benefit, and immediate relief action by the municipalities!

Small depositors! Secure the payment out of your hard earned savings!

We demand that an end shall be put to the unbearable system of emergency orders, wage reductions, cutting down

of unemployment benefit and relief. We demand that the police oppression of the workers which leads to ever fresh bloodshed shall cease. All prohibitions of demonstrations, meetings and newspapers of the working class must be done away with. The streets of the towns of Germany must be made free for the working masses, the unemployed, the swindled small depositors, the victims of the emergency order.

We further demand the disarming of the national socialists and Stahlhelmers, whose provocative actions threaten the lives of the workers. The Communist Party of Germany calls upon the working masses and all toilers to take up with the greatest determination the fight for their vital interests.

Down with the capitalists!

Down with the Young Plan!

Down with the Brüning government!

Away with the social-democratic and national-socialist deceivers of the people!

Long live the united front of the proletariat, the fighting alliance of all toilers in town and country!

Long live the fight for a free socialist Germany!

## POLITICS

### Anglo-American Antagonism and the Hoover Plan.

By R. Palme Dutt.

Already within the first weeks of its formulation, the Hoover Plan has demonstrated its character, not as a step to solution, but as a **deepening** of the antagonism of the present crisis of imperialism. What the liberal and social democratic illusion-mongers so loudly acclaimed at the outset as the triumph of „harmony” and „reason”, is now seen by all to be a new apple of discord. The only „harmony” in view is in fact the drawing together of the forces of imperialism against the working class revolution and against the Soviet Union. But even in this attempted common front the conflicts within imperialism are brought out all the more sharply, because of the sharpening of the issues. Just this double process gives the character of the situation following the Hoover Plan.

The Hoover Plan is the confession of bankruptcy of the older forms of attempted stabilisation through the Young Plan. In consequence, it re-opens every question and issue, and brings to burning heat, both the antagonisms of imperialism in crisis against the Soviet Union, and at the same time the inner antagonisms of imperialism. Both aspects of this process are essential to see in relation.

The long-drawn Franco-American struggle over the Plan has already illustrated this process. But this is only a beginning. Deeper behind these issues, and behind all the questions of the Hoover Plan, lies the central antagonism of imperialism in the present epoch, the Anglo-American antagonism. **As the sequel to the Hoover plan develops, the Anglo-American antagonism comes increasingly to the front.**

The Anglo-American antagonism on the debts question, not merely in relation to the immediate issue of debts, but using the debts question as a lever and instrument of wider strategy, has developed continuously over the past ten years, and now reaches a new and critical stage with the Hoover Plan and its sequel. On the one side, the United States has used the debts question as a weapon of financial power and penetration to develop and extend its control in European affairs; and has pursued at the same time a marked policy of differentiation, exacting severe terms from Britain and relatively lighter terms from the other European countries, thus seeking to break any common front. On the other side, Britain has used the debts question as a principal weapon of propaganda against America, and has made it the basis of repeated attempts to build a common European front against the American creditor.

British policy was expressed in the famous Balfour Note of 1922, which still remains the official line. The Balfour Note proclaimed two things. First, it advocated a general cancellation of inter-allied debts. This would obviously be to the advantage

of Britain and disadvantage of America, since Britain was both creditor and debtor, whereas America was only creditor. Second, and failing this — i. e. failing American agreement to this — it announced that Britain would not attempt to collect more on debts and reparations than would be necessary to pay America.

This line has been consistently presented in all British propaganda as the acme of "wise" "generous" "unselfish" and "humanitarian" statesmanship — as against the crass egoism of the American usurer. Its purpose has been throughout transparent. In this way the odium of the whole tributary system was to be pointedly turned against America, and a common interest built up in Europe under British leadership against the American "Shylock". On this basis increasing pressure could be exerted by Britain against America. In the words of the notorious passage of the Christian **Dean Inge** in his book "England":

"If the British flag were hauled down in the North American Continent, it is more than possible that the nations of Europe, enraged by the bloated prosperity and airs of superiority of 'the man who won the war' would combine to draw Shylock's teeth: and Great Britain, after losing Canada, would no longer have any motive to help a nation which in the circumstances supposed, would have finally forfeited its friendship."

Throughout these years Britain has made repeated attempts to force the American hand on the question of revision of debts. These attempts have met with steady American opposition. In the MacDonald-Hoover conversations in 1929 it was notorious that this question had to be ruled out as too delicate to be raised. In 1930 several reported British semi-official attempts met with no success. Throughout the first half of 1931 the flood of British suggestions, pleadings, hints to America from leading bankers, journalists, business men, etc., no less than the flooding of constant unfounded rumours that America was about to act, was ceaseless. But they fell on stony ground. Certain leading Wall Street influences, which were more vitally concerned with the risk to their investments in Europe, began to advocate a revision of the government debts as "good business" for America. But official policy stood firm. Notable was the scene at the International Chamber of Commerce biennial congress at Washington in May. The British delegation, supported by the German and Italian, openly urged cancellation of inter-governmental debts. But the American delegation steadily fought the attempt to raise the question, and compelled a meaningless compromise resolution. In fact, right up to the eve of the Hoover statement, the official negative attitude continued.

**The intensity of the German crisis gave to British policy the opportunity that it was seeking.** The immediate expression of this was the Anglo-German meeting at Chequers. Chequers openly addressed itself to America. It was followed rapidly by the Hoover statement. **Not only the direct menace of the German situation, but also the threat of a united Anglo-German front expressed at Chequers, combined to force the American hand.**

Delight in all British expressions over the Hoover statement was unbounded and universal — in contrast to the divided reception in the American press, with the under-current of suspicion in the chauvinist press that Britain was getting the best of the deal, and that "Sir Herbert" Hoover and Mellon, with his son being educated at Cambridge, were again showing "weakness" to Britain. British diplomacy was undoubtedly confident of having scored a point. Why? Not simply because of the moratorium. But because, as the British official press made abundantly clear, the essential Balfour line of the interdependence of debts and reparations, and the ultimate responsibility of America, was held to be established; and second, because the way was now judged open to a general revision. Britain lost no time in following up the Hoover statement with the suggestion of a general international conference on the question of debts, a suggestion that for the moment has only succeeded in reaching the limited realisation of the London Experts' Conference.

**But this means that the Hoover Plan, so far from solving anything, has only raised the larger questions now in front.**

On the one hand, the United States, in the explicit terms of the Hoover statement, definitely takes its stand against any question of cancellation or revision of the debts, or of their

interdependence with reparations. "I do not approve in any remote sense of the cancellation of the debts to us." "Reparations is wholly a European problem, with which we have no relations" (shades of Dawes and Young!).

On the other hand, British expression is no less definite in insisting that the present moratorium can only be regarded as a starting-point for a general revision and cancellation. As **Keynes** declared in an interview given in Chicago:

"The President deceives himself if he supposes that matters can stop at the point to which he has advanced them"

The "**Manchester Guardian**" welcomes the Hoover proposals, not only for their "immediate tonic effect", but because

"there is the ultimate possibility that they will lead to a reconsideration of all previous agreements"

The "**Observer**" declares for full cancellation at the end of the year:

"It would be far better for the world at large and for the causes both of prosperity and peace that the tributes never were resumed".

**What is to happen at the end of the twelvemonths? This becomes the new question expressing the present imperialist antagonisms.** Here Britain and America are openly ranged on opposing sides.

No less significant was the role of British policy in the midst of the Franco-American crisis. In the midst of this crisis, British policy came out, in the course of the "disarmament" debate in the House of Commons, with a series of emphasised successive pronouncements by MacDonald, Baldwin, Chamberlain and Churchill in turn in favour of French armaments and the French military position as essential to the stability of Europe and fully understood and recognised by British opinion. These speeches were received with a loud chorus of approval in the entire French nationalist and conservative press. The significance of this gesture was unmistakable, not only in relation to the anti-Soviet front with which the Conservative leaders openly connected their declarations, but also in relation to America, which expressly aims to connect the question of disarmament with the question of debts.

**The question of "disarmament", in direct relation to the question of debts, now comes increasingly to the fore as the further front of imperialist antagonism.** The United States endeavours to use the debts question in order to force a measure of reduction of armaments on its competitors, and even make this a possible condition of some ultimate agreement. Britain, on the other side, declares through the mouth of the pacifist MacDonald that it has already disarmed: "we have gone pretty near to the limit of example"; that French armaments are a special case, in great part justified; and that reduction of armaments must now begin elsewhere. Thus the stage is set for the "Disarmament" Conference of next February, the preparations for which already indicate the most intense point in the competition of armaments.

What is the relation of disarmament and debts? In fact, the relation is the opposite to that preached by the United States and Britain. The principal creditor, the United States, has the heaviest military expenditure, £ 133 millions last year (according to the League of Nations statistics); the second largest creditor, Britain, has the second largest, £ 111 millions; the third largest creditor, France, has the third largest, £ 95 millions. These three most heavily armed powers in the world now preach "disarmament" to the world in their debt, and to each other, while insisting each on the "minimum" character of their own armaments. The prominence of this question coincides with and measures the increase of the antagonisms.

The Hoover Plan and its consequences thus sharpen and bring to the front all existing imperialist antagonisms. What is the prospect of their reconciliation? Only to the extent that a temporary common front is forced in the imperialist camp by the urgency of the crisis and the question of action against the working class revolution and the Soviet Union. But in fact each process drives the other forward. The growth of the crisis at each stage increases both the antagonisms of imperialism and the antagonism of imperialism and the Soviet Union; and the growing pressure of both hastens the drive to war as the only outcome for capitalist policy.

## The Results of the Parliamentary Elections in Hungary.

By Schasch.

Parliamentary elections were recently held in Horthy-Hungary. Those who have any idea of the "Parliamentarism" of the fascist Bethlen system would not be surprised when they read the news of the result of the election and the "great victory of the government". It was generally recognised that the elections in Hungary could not under the existing conditions result in anything else but an overwhelming majority for the government, and that only so many seats would be given even to the semi-fascist or social fascist sham opposition parties as would suffice to maintain the appearance of a Parliamentary regime. The electoral law, according to which four-fifths of the deputies are elected by open ballot and only one fifth by secret ballot, and the system of recommendations, which even in that one-fifth of the constituencies renders the secret ballot illusory and enables the government to permit only those parties which are docile to it be elected, have achieved the desired result. The state of the parties in the new parliament is as follows:

Unity party (government party) . . . . .	156
Christian Party (which supports the government) . . . . .	32
Non-Party . . . . .	17
<b>Opposition</b>	
Non-Party Opposition . . . . .	6
Democrats . . . . .	7
Independent Small Farmers' Party . . . . .	11
Social democrats . . . . .	14
Race-defenders (fascist opposition) . . . . .	2
Total	245

Thus of the 245 seats the government has at its disposal 205, while the "opposition" has only 40. But figures alone do not give any correct picture of the situation.

What is most striking is the **big decline in the participation in the election**, especially in Budapest and its environs. Whilst at the municipal elections which took place at the end of last year 95 per cent of the electors went to the poll, the present participation was only 74 per cent. The most important reason for this lack of interest in the election is that at the municipal elections the opposition parties, headed by the social democrats, carried on a big agitation and spread democratic illusions. The small participation in the Parliamentary election was above all an expression of the instinctive protest of the workers, who are becoming more revolutionary, against the fascist dictatorship, its social democratic supporters and the parliamentary farce.

Unfortunately — owing to the inadequate agitation work of the C.P. of Hungary — these working masses turned away from the government parties and the social democracy, but did not take the second and **decisive** step and turn to the C.P. of Hungary. This is also the explanation why the Communist Party polled fewer votes than at the time of the municipal elections (5000 as against 8000 at the municipal elections).

Secondly, in spite of the most ruthless terror, the election strikingly demonstrated that the social basis of the fascist dictatorship has become very much smaller, particularly in the rural districts. For even though the government succeeded by means of the open ballot in obtaining 185 seats in 200 constituencies, the shrinkage of its social basis is confirmed by the fact of the big increase, in spite of the greatest terror, of the oppositional vote, and the fact that the semi-fascist independent small farmers party managed to obtain three seats even in districts in which voting takes place openly. The exceedingly severe economic crisis and the circumstance that the dictatorship is endeavouring to shift the burden of the crisis not only on to the industrial proletariat but also on to the working population in the villages, have brought about a decided swing to the Left in the rural districts.

It is significant that in those constituencies in which the ballot is secret the opposition polled a majority of votes against the government party. This fact throws a vivid light on the "freedom" of the elections. The relation of the class forces is illustrated by the fact that the government party and the parties which support the government, in 1931, at a time of acute crisis, were able to poll more votes in Budapest and the neighbourhood and in those constituencies with the secret ballot than they did in 1926. The explanation of this is to be found in the fact that

in Hungary which has already seen a proletarian dictatorship — this historical fact and the accentuation of the class antagonisms have increased the class-consciousness not only of the proletariat but also of the bourgeoisie and caused the middle strata, out of fear of Communism, to support the government.

The social democracy in general polled more votes than in 1926 and at the last municipal elections. The progress made by social democracy in the provinces is due to the shrinkage of the basis of fascism in the village. It is significant, however, that in the most important industrial towns in the provinces, for example Salgotarjan, Pilisvörösvar, Dorog etc., the social democratic party were not even able to obtain the necessary number of signatures in order to put up a list of candidates. It is to be recorded that the social democratic party lost workers' votes and won bourgeois votes — a fact which demonstrates the change in the social basis of the social democracy. In spite of everything it must be admitted that **the social democracy has succeeded in maintaining its position**, a fact which in the present situation of the revolutionary upsurge means a **success for social fascism and a defeat for the Communist Party**.

The C.P. of Hungary is undergoing a serious organisational crisis. The sudden elections were a hindrance to the party. It was late in commencing its election campaign and conducted it feebly. It was a mistake that the revolutionary workers' bloc came forward in only two constituencies of Budapest and that we thereby from the commencement neglected to carry out a mobilisation of the masses in the neighbourhood of Budapest. On the other side there were seen left exaggerations in the legal agitation.

In spite of all these mistakes **the Party undoubtedly succeeded in achieving serious positive results in the course of the election agitation and organisational work**. We have made a definite step forward in utilising the legal possibilities; thousands of legal leaflets were issued. We have also again obtained a footing in the most important works and factories and drawn new sections of workers into the Communist movement.

When it is remembered that fascism and social fascism carried on a united and furious incitement against the C.P. of Hungary and the workers bloc (wholesale arrests, confiscation of leaflets, prohibition of meetings, denunciation of the workers' bloc as a Bolshevik organisation by the S.P. of Hungary etc.), that in the whole election campaign chief attention was directed to suppressing the Communist movement and preventing the revolutionary masses from expressing their opinion, it is obvious that the C.P. of Hungary and the workers' bloc, by successful mass agitation, to a certain extent thwarted the plans of the reaction.

The working and peasant masses of Hungary are realising more and more clearly that they can repel the offensive of capital, ameliorate their misery and achieve their emancipation only by means of themselves, by their revolutionary fight. They are therefore more and more coming to recognise the C.P. of Hungary as their class party and are rallying round its flag. The Party will be their leader in the fights which can be expected in the Autumn and Winter against the fascist dictatorship and its social fascist supporters.

## The Elections in Iceland.

By Bjorne Jonson (Reykjavik).

The general elections to the Icelandic Althing, which took place on the 3rd. July, ended with a victory for the Progressive Party which is the governing party. As will be remembered, when this party lost its majority in the Althing a few months ago it dissolved the Althing, although this represented a breach of the Constitution, and arranged a general election with the consent of the Danish King. The result of the elections demonstrates how antiquated and unjust is the present election system although it is praised by the social democrats as highly democratic. Thanks to this unjust electoral system the government party has obtained 23 of the 43 seats in the Althing, although it polled hardly more than one-third of the total votes at the elections. Although the communists received three per cent of the total votes polled, they obtained no seat in parliament. The voting was as follows:

The Progressive Party . . . . .	13,833	(9,880)	and 23 seats.
Independent Party . . . . .	17,222	(13,966)	and 15 seats.
Social Democratic Party . . . . .	6,318	(6,247)	and 4 seats.
Communist Party . . . . .	1,175		
Labour group . . . . .	833		and 1 seat.

The Progressive Party won 3 seats, the Independent Party lost 2 seats and the social democrats lost one seat. A characteristic feature of the elections was the definite progress made by the Progressive Party (which is mainly a party of the prosperous peasants) in the towns where they had formerly very little support. In the capital Reykyavik the Progressive Party received 1,300 votes as against 2,600 polled by the Social Democratic Party.

Most of the new supporters of the government party are recruited from the ranks of the workers who have been disappointed with the coalition policy of the social democrats and have fallen victim to the demagogic phrases and bombastic promises of the government party. Since it obtained power with the assistance of the social democrats three years ago, the Progressive Party has done absolutely nothing for the workers. It has carried out no social reform of any kind, but a considerable section of the toilers regard it as the coming power "which will abolish poverty and establish order as Mussolini has done in Italy". The leader of the Progressive Party, the former Finance Minister Jonson, is generally referred to as the "Mussolini of Iceland".

In view of the fact that the Communist Party is still organisationally weak (it was founded only last Autumn) its vote at the elections must be regarded as very considerable for a first attempt. Even so, its vote does not represent its real influence because the electoral age is very high in Iceland and the party has considerable influence amongst the working class youth. The social democrats, who have previously supported the Progressive Party in parliament and will probably continue to do so as the government has no majority in the First Chamber of the Althing, did everything possible to prevent any united front of the workers at the elections. For instance, even in those constituencies where it had no chances, the Social Democratic Party put forward its candidates against the overwhelming majority of the workers, and in this way played two seats into the hands of the conservative Independent Party which would otherwise have fallen to the Communist Party.

The international economic crisis is beginning to affect Iceland more and more severely; a considerable part of the productive apparatus is idle and poverty is on the increase. Together with the government the employers are preparing a general attack on the wages and working conditions of the proletariat. Under these circumstances it should be possible for the Communist Party with real mass work to extend its organisational basis, and to free large masses of the workers from the demagogy of the bourgeois and social democratic parties and lead them back to the path of the revolutionary class struggle.

## CHINA

### Imperialism in the Struggle Against the Chinese Red Army in the Soviet Districts.

By S. N. Lin (Shanghai).

The Chinese revolution which grows from day to day and steadily embraces new masses of workers, peasants and the working population in general, deals a deadly blow to the rule of imperialism in China. In the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution in China, the creation of a Red Army and of Soviet districts, the establishment of a territorial basis of the Chinese revolution and its armed forces, together with the consolidation of the hegemony of the Chinese proletariat in the person of its Party — the Communist Party of China — compel imperialism to strain every nerve for the struggle against the Chinese revolution.

When it comes to suppressing the revolution, the various imperialists forget their internal antagonisms and internecine disagreement, called forth by the strong desire of every one of them to get rid of his rivals, and secure for himself the best bits from the Chinese booty. The British, French, American, Japanese and other imperialists are united in their attack on the common enemy — the Chinese revolution. They give active help to the ruling reactionary classes in China in their endeavour to crush

the revolution, they supply them with money, arms and military experts. German, British, American, Japanese and French military advisers work out for the Kuomintang generals plans for military operations against the Red Army and Soviet districts.

In the beginning of 1931, a large party of British naval military advisers was expected to arrive in China. These advisers will act as instructors in the operations of the Chinese warships against the Red Army. Furthermore, the Kuomintang is impatiently waiting for the well-known Austrian fascist leader, Major Papst, who is to let it have the benefit of his rich experience in the organisation of fascist forces. At the end of last year, Chiang-Kai-shek instructed the Chinese ambassador in Germany — Tsiang Tso-lin — to invite another group of military advisers, to train his "model" troops, who were being prepared for the attack on the Red Army and the Soviet districts.

However, the participation of the imperialists in the struggle against the Chinese Red Army and the Soviet districts is not confined to this. The imperialists deal directly and very brutally with the Chinese revolutionary masses, bringing into play cruisers, torpedo boats, aeroplanes, in a word, they mobilise against them their whole military power. There are many facts to prove this.

The bombardment of Soviet Canton by foreign warships in December 1927, sealed the fate of the defenders of the Commune. The bombardment of the town of Luchow in Kiangsi in February 1930, by French aeroplanes, compelled the Chinese Red Army to leave this town. On July 27th 1930, the heroic Red Army, with the help of the peasant masses and the urban workers, defeated the army of the Chinese generals and occupied the capital of Hunan, Changsha. On July 30th, American and Japanese warships appeared before the town, and the bombardment began. It lasted two days. When the water in the lake began to recede, the gunboats left. But on August 4th, the water rose again. Nine foreign gunboats and three aeroplanes renewed the bombardment, as a result of which the Red Army retreated.

The occupation of Changsha by the Red Army had an enormous influence on the upsurge of the revolutionary movement throughout China, and spread panic among the ruling classes. Not only the Kuomintang government but even the so-called "left" Kuomintang headed by its leader, Wang Tsin-Wei, discarded all hypocrisy and demagogic phraseology about China's "sovereignty" and Kuomintang struggle against the imperialists, by means of which they endeavoured to deceive the masses, and frankly demanded armed intervention from the imperialists. "The occupation of Changsha by the Red Army" — Wang Tsin-Wei tried to prove — "is not only of purely Chinese but also of international importance". What else could this argument on the part of Wang Tsin-Wei mean but a desperate appeal for imperialist armed intervention in China?

The bourgeois press in China which publishes daily sensational news about "Red atrocities", about missionaries being made prisoners by the Reds, also appealed to "all the civilised nations to unite", in order to crush the "Communist peril" in China, in other words in order to drown the revolutionary Chinese workers and peasants in their own blood.

Here is a sample of what the Shanghai British reactionary newspaper "North China Daily News" says in its issue of December 1930:

"The game (i. e. the attack on the Red Army) is of an international character. All the fleets are co-operating. The British and Japanese who bear the heaviest responsibility, provide the largest number of gun-boats, next to them come in their sequence the Americans, the French and the Italians."

The organ of the Japanese imperialists in Shanghai, "Nitzzi Nitzzi Simbun" openly declares in its columns that:

"In the consideration of questions regarding a united attack on the Red Army, first place belongs to the United States which has the unanimous support of the other powers. Great Britain has expressed its wish to follow the example of the United States, and in the event of their joint action, Japan will take the same measures."

However, the imperialists do not need much persuasion and reminding when it is a question of attacking the Red Army and Soviet districts. Of course, they never miss an opportunity of

making use of them and parading as "defenders of mankind against the Communist barbarians". But even without these appeals, they fully understand what a danger to them is the revolutionary movement of the Chinese toiling masses who have risen under the leadership of the Communist Party of China against Chinese landlord and bourgeois reaction and imperialism, and they are therefore prepared, at any cost whatever, to crush the Chinese Red Army which is the guardian of the conquests of the revolution. According to the statistics of the Customs House in **Hankow**, in the course of only two months (September and October) 1930, foreign warships bombarded 107 times the Red Army on the bank of the middle Yangtze.

The struggle against the Red Army is extolled by the bourgeois press as a "deed of honour", and every shell fired at the revolutionary Chinese workers and peasants is received by it with stormy applause.

"The American sailors together with their British and Japanese colleagues", writes "**North China Daily News**" in its issue of November 11th, 1930, "have this winter daily practice in shooting at a live target on the bank of the middle Yangtze, and all the participants in the protection of the Yangtze have become, thanks to this, the crack shots of the navy."

This same article goes on to say:

"However, fights between the foreign troops and the Chinese Communists have been so frequent during the autumn and winter that they have lost the attraction of novelty". The reports of the commanders of ships operating against the Communist bandits are monotonously uniform: We attacked the Communist bandits on the river bank; they answered our fire. There are no casualties on board. No information available about the number of casualties on the river bank."

"**North China Daily News**", November 11th, 1930:

The gunboat which escorted the British passenger boat in October 1930, bombarded both banks on which were about 2,000 Communists, for 48 hours, and departed only after it had exhausted its whole ammunition!

"On March 25th", says the **Japanese Telegraph Agency**, "the Japanese gunboat 'Kotaka', on the way between Wuhan and Ichang opened fire against the Red Army units on the southern bank of the Yangtze"...

Such incidents happened daily in the districts where the Red Army is operating. When the Red Army was marching on **Fuchow** in the **Fukien** province, the Japanese sent there specially a whole squadron.

But how does social democracy in their respective imperialist countries react to this open armed intervention of the imperialists in China? Neither the MacDonal "Labour" government in Great Britain, nor the social democrats in the other capitalist countries, nor the Second International have expressed by a single word, not to mention deeds, their protest against the brutal measures of the imperialists against the workers and peasants in the colonies and semi-colonies. More than that, the European and American social fascists openly support the colonial policy of the bourgeois governments, and make common cause with the Kuomintang hangmen in China. The well-known Social-Democrat, Emile **Vandervelde**, the minister of His Majesty, the King of Belgium, and leader of the Second International, who has recently visited China, writes in his article "My Chinese Impressions" published in the "**China Critic**":

"There is complete coincidence between the programme of the Kuomintang and the programme of the Socialist International, usually called the Second."

The international proletariat must absolutely take up the defence of the Chinese revolution, the defence of the Red Army and Soviet districts. The workers in all the countries, under the leadership of the Communist Parties, will offer the necessary resistance to the capitalists and their lackeys — the social-fascists, and the foreign sailors who, at the behest of the imperialists, must now shoot on the revolutionary masses in China, will raise the Red Banner, like the French sailors in 1919 in Odessa, and will turn the mouth of their cannon against the enemies of the Chinese revolution.

## International Solidarity with the Chinese Revolution!

To the Comintern and R.L.L.U., to the Proletariat and toiling masses of the U.S.S.R. and the whole world.

Dear Comrades!

The rapid growth of the Soviet movement in Kiangsi, Hunan, Hupeh, Fukien, Honan, Anwei and other provinces of China causes panic in the ranks of the imperialists, the Kuomintang, the militarists, the re-organisationists headed by Wang Tsin-Wei, the liquidators headed by Chang Du-su, the socialdemocrats headed by Den Yan-da, the Rights headed by Lo-Chang-lun, the chauvinists, the Russian White Guards and all the other varieties of the counterrevolution in China. The imperialists give direct help to the Kuomintang and control its army of 300,000 men and its navy.

The failure of the first Kuomintang campaign against the Red Army has made the international and Chinese counter-revolution hate the heroic workers and peasants' Chinese Red Army and its leader, the Chinese Communist Party, even more than before. Simultaneously with the second military expedition against the Soviet districts, for which the imperialists and the Kuomintang have equipped an army of over 100,000 men, they mobilised all the forces of the counter-revolution, from the Kuomintang re-organisationists down to the vacillating elements in the Communist Party of China itself for the struggle against the Communist Party of China and the revolutionary workers and peasants who have risen under its leadership against the present regime.

The reactionaries endeavour to drown the Chinese Soviet revolution in the blood of millions of Chinese workers, peasants, soldiers and poorest elements of the population. In the struggle against the Soviet districts, they make use of aeroplanes, poison gases and big long-range guns, sweeping clean off the face of the earth, whole towns and villages. The imperialists and the Kuomintang do not spare the revolutionary population, using rifles, machine guns and cannon against all — old men and children, men and women, all of whom are classed as "bandits". In non-Soviet districts, for the struggle with the revolution, the imperialists and the Kuomintang mobilise not only all their own forces, the gendarmerie and the secret police, they even bribe the bandits and the lumpenproletariat, and carry on through them "diversionists" work inside and outside the Communist Party.

As a result of this, in the last few months members of the local organisations of the Communist Party and revolutionary elements from workers' and peasants' ranks, as well as many elements of the poorest population have been secretly or openly executed by the Kuomintang and the imperialists. You probably know about this from the press, but the newspapers write, in fact, only about one hundredth or one thousandth of the brutalities to which your brothers in China are subjected. The Communist Party of China which heads the heroic struggle of the workers' and peasants' Red Army against the repeated "campaign against the Communists", at the same time rouses the broad workers' and peasants' masses in answer to the White terror.

The Communist Party of China asks you to organise immediately a revolutionary mass movement for the Chinese Soviets and against White terror. By means of strikes, demonstrations and other revolutionary methods, protest against the dispatch of imperialist troops and the transport of arms and ammunition for the Kuomintang and the militarists, intended to be used against the revolutionary Chinese masses. Protest against the inhuman terror of the imperialists, Kuomintang and militarists with regard to the Communist Party, the revolutionary workers and peasants, the soldiers and the poorest population.

The Communist Party of China with its 190,000 members, and the millions of workers, peasants and poorest elements of the population, who carry on a life or death struggle with the enemy, are waiting for your support.

With fraternal greetings,

**The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.**

May 1st, 1931.

## **Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union**

# **The New Situation and the New Tasks of the Socialist Constructive Work.**

By J. Stalin.

(Conclusion.)

We now come to the fourth new condition of our industrial development.

#### **4. The Problem of a Working Class Technical Intelligentsia.**

The situation in the Soviet Union has also changed with regard to the general staff of our industry, and in particular with regard to the engineering and technical personnel.

Formerly the situation was that the Ukrainian metallurgical and coalmining industries were sufficient to supply the needs of our whole economic system. The Ukrainian metallurgical industry supplied all other industrial areas, including the South, Moscow and Leningrad, with metals. The Ukraina also supplied the most important works in the Soviet Union with coal. I make no mention of the Urals here because compared with the Don Basin their supplies were very small. There were thus three main centres for the training and development of an industrial general staff: the South, Moscow and Leningrad. In this situation, of course, we were able to get along with that minimum of engineering and technical forces which were at our disposal.

This was the situation in the very recent past.

To-day, however, the situation is quite different. To-day it must be quite clear that if we wish to maintain the present rate of development and the present gigantic volume of production, we can no longer rely exclusively on the Ukrainian metallurgical and coalmining industries. You are aware that despite the increase of production the metallurgical and coalmining industries of Ukraina are no longer sufficient to supply our needs. You also are aware that in view of this situation we are engaged in founding a new metallurgical and coalmining basis in the East, the Ural-Kusnetz Combine. This work is meeting with success, but it is not enough. We must establish a foundry industry in Siberia itself in order to supply the growing needs of this district. We are already engaged in establishing this industry. We must also establish lighter foundry industries in Kasakstan and Turkestan. We must also develop our railway system on a large scale. This is demanded by the interests of the whole Union, both by the centre and by the frontier districts.

The result of all this, however, is that we can no longer make progress with the engineering and technical forces at our disposal as we could formerly. The old sources for the training and supply of engineers and technicians are no longer sufficient. We must open up new sources in the Urals, in Siberia and in Central Asia. We must have twice as many, five times as many engineering and technical forces as we have at the moment if we are to carry out our programme of the socialist industrialisation of the Soviet Union.

However, we need not only engineers and technicians and other leaders of industry, we need such engineers, technicians, etc., as understand the policy of the working class of our country, as are prepared to make this policy their own and to carry it out conscientiously. What does this mean? It means that our country has entered the stage where the working class must establish its own technical intelligentsia, an intelligentsia which is able to look after the interests of the working class in production as the interests of the ruling class.

No ruling class has ever been able to get along without its own intelligentsia, and there is no reason to believe that the working class as the ruling class in the Soviet Union can prove any exception to this rule.

The Soviet government has taken this necessity into consideration and has opened the doors of the technical high schools in all branches of production for the working class. You know that tens of thousands of young workers and peasants are at present studying in these institutions. Formerly under capitalism the bourgeois had a monopoly of these institutions, to-day however, the working class and peasant youth has the upper hand in them. There is no doubt that we shall soon receive thousands of new technicians and engineers from these schools to direct our industry.

However, that is only one side of the matter. The other side of the matter is that this technical intelligentsia will be composed not only of such elements as have gone through these technical high schools, but also of suitable workers from our factories, qualified workers, trained elements from the working class in the factories, pits and other shops. The pioneers of the socialist competition, the leaders of the shock groups, those who have keyed up the labour enthusiasm of the working class, the organisers of the work on this and that sector of our constructive activities, these will be the elements who will combine with the new technicians, etc., coming from the high schools to form the new technical intelligentsia of the working class, the nucleus of the general staff of our industries. Our task is to encourage those workers who show initiative, to appoint them to responsible positions, to give them the possibility of developing their organising capacities, to give them the possibility of extending their knowledge, to give them the most favourable conditions of work without hesitating to spend money in order to do this.

There are many non-Party workers amongst these elements. This fact, however, must represent no hindrance to placing them in responsible positions. On the contrary, such workers must receive special attention, they must be placed in leading positions and be convinced that our Party is well able to appreciate talented workers. Some comrades think that one should appoint only Party members to responsible positions in the factories etc. As a result of this belief they place hindrances in the way of talented and capable non-Party workers and very often appoint Party members to leading positions who are less capable and have less initiative. There is no doubt that such a policy, if it may be termed a policy at all is stupid and reactionary. It is hardly necessary to point that with such a policy the Party is discredited in the eyes of the non-Party workers who are repelled. Our policy must consist of creating an atmosphere of "mutual confidence and mutual control" (Lenin) between the non-Party workers and the party. Our Party has such great influence on the working class because it follows this policy.

To sum up, our task is to secure the formation of a working class technical intelligentsia in the Soviet Union.

That is the situation with regard to the fourth new condition of our industrial development.

We now come to the fifth new condition of our industrial development.

#### **5. The Signs of a Change in the Ranks of the Old, Bourgeois Technical Intelligentsia.**

The question of our attitude towards the old bourgeois technical intelligentsia has also changed.

Two years ago the situation in the Soviet Union was such that the most highly trained section of the old bourgeois technical intelligentsia was infected with the sabotage malady. Sabotage was the fashion. Some of the intelligentsia actually carried out the sabotage, others did their best to cover up the traces, whilst the rest closed their eyes and knew nothing about it all. The loyalty of the fourth section vacillated between the saboteurs and the Soviet power. The majority of the old bourgeois technical intelligentsia continued to work loyally, but here it was no question of the majority of the old technical intelligentsia, but of its most highly qualified section.

What caused the sabotage movement and what furthered it? This movement was caused and cultivated by the intensification of the class struggle in the Soviet Union, by the offensive of the Soviet power against the capitalist elements in town and country, by the resistance which these elements put up against the offensive of the Soviet power, by the complications which arose in the international situation, and by the difficulties in the collective agricultural movement and in the socialist constructive work in general.



The activity of the fighting sections of the saboteurs was supported and encouraged by the interventionist plans of the imperialists in the capitalist countries and by our grain difficulties. The vacillation of the other section of the technical intelligentsia towards the side of the saboteurs was increased by the Trotskyist-Menshevik prophecies that "nothing would come out of the collective agricultural undertakings or out of the Soviet farms", that "the Soviet power is degenerating and must collapse anyhow before long", that "the policy of the bolsheviks encourages the interventionists", etc. And then when even a number of old bolsheviks of the right-wing failed to keep their feet against this flood and stood on one side away from the Party, there is little reason to wonder that a certain section of the old technical intelligentsia, which had never even smelt bolshevism from afar, began to wobble.

Naturally, under the circumstances the Soviet power could only apply policy towards the old technical intelligentsia, the policy of smashing the saboteurs, stirring up the "neutral" elements, and attracting the loyal elements.

That was the situation two years ago.

Can we say that the same situation exists to-day? No, we cannot say this. On the contrary, to-day the situation is quite different. First of all, we have defeated the capitalist elements in town and country. Of course, this does not please the members of the old technical intelligentsia. It is very probable that they still retain sympathy with their old friends, but the sympathising ones, and still less the "neutral" and vacillating elements, show no sign of wishing to share voluntarily the fate of their friends now that these latter have suffered a smashing and irreparable defeat. Secondly, we have overcome our grain difficulties, and not only that, but we have such a surplus that we are able to export larger quantities than have ever before been exported under the Soviet regime. In consequence, the arguments of the vacillators in connection with the grain difficulties have lost their basis. Even the blind can now see that we have won a decisive victory and achieved enormous success both with regard to the agricultural collective movement and the socialist constructive work. In other words, the most important arguments of the old technical intelligentsia against us have been defeated.

With regard to the hopes of the old technical intelligentsia for a successful imperialist intervention, it must be admitted that for the moment at least, they have proved to be baseless. For six years the intervention was promised, but no single attempt was made to put it into practice. Our bourgeois technical intelligentsia was led by the nose, that is a fact. It is hardly necessary to point out that the attitude of the active saboteurs at their trial recently necessarily discredited the idea of sabotage altogether.

It is clear that all these circumstances could not be without their effect on our old technical intelligentsia. The changed situation necessarily produced new feelings amongst this technical intelligentsia. This explains why there are clear signs of a changed attitude towards the Soviet power amongst certain sections of this old technical intelligentsia which formerly sympathised with the saboteurs. The fact that not only these sections, but even many of those who actually conducted sabotage work formerly are now beginning to co-operate willingly in the factories with the workers is a sign that a change has begun in the ranks of the old technical intelligentsia. Of course, this does not mean that there are no longer any saboteurs in the Soviet Union. This is by no means the case. There are still saboteurs at work, and there will be saboteurs so long as the classes continue to exist, so long as we are compelled to exist in a capitalist environment. However, it does mean that an important section of the old technical intelligentsia which formerly sympathised with the saboteurs no longer does so, but is making a wheel towards the Soviet power. To-day there are only a few active saboteurs and these are quite isolated. Sooner or later they will be driven into the deepest illegality.

The result of all this is that our policy towards the old bourgeois technical intelligentsia must change. In the sabotage period our attitude towards the technical intelligentsia was expressed chiefly in our determination to smash the saboteurs, but to-day in view of the fact that this intelligentsia is making an approach to the Soviet power, our policy towards it must be expressed chiefly in a desire to co-operate with it and in a desire to improve its situation. It would be wrong and undialectic to continue the old policy under changed circumstances. It would be foolish and unreasonable to regard every member

of the old bourgeois technical intelligentsia as an unconvicted criminal and saboteur. The tendency to attack the specialists under all and any circumstances was always wrong and is still more so to-day.

To sum up: It is our task to change our attitude towards the old technical intelligentsia, to pay great attention to its members, to draw them into the work of co-operation and to improve their material situation.

This is the situation with regard to the fifth new condition of our industrial development.

We now come to the sixth new condition of our industrial development:

#### 6. Concerning the Principle of Business Accountancy.

The picture would be incomplete if I failed to mention a further new condition. I refer to the question of the sources of accumulation for industry and for the economic system in general, and to the necessity for increasing the rate of accumulation.

What is new in the conditions of our industrial development from the point of view of accumulation? The new factor is that the old sources of accumulation are no longer sufficient for the further development of our industries. The new factor is the necessity of opening up new sources of accumulation and strengthening the old sources if we are to maintain and develop the bolshevik system of industrialisation.

The history of the development of capitalist countries shows that no single young State desirous of raising its industries to a high level was ever able to do so without outside assistance in the form of loans and long-term credits. On the basis of this lesson the capitalists of the western countries have refused us credits and loans on the assumption that the lack of such credits and loans would inevitably prevent the industrialisation of our country. But the capitalists made a mistake. They did not take into consideration the fact that our proletarian country has special sources of accumulation as distinct from capitalist countries and that these sources are sufficient to guarantee the development of our industries without outside assistance. And in fact, we have not only succeeded in reconstructing our industries, but we have opened up a tremendous period of construction in heavy industry, agriculture and transport. Of course, the matter has cost us scores of milliards of roubles. Where did we obtain these sums? We obtained them from our light industries, from agriculture and from budgetary accumulation. This was the situation in the Soviet Union until recently.

To-day however, the situation is quite different. Formerly these sources of accumulation proved sufficient for the reconstruction of industry and transport, but to-day they are beginning to prove insufficient. It is no longer a question of reconstructing an old industry, but a question of creating a new and technically highly equipped industry in the Urals; in Siberia and in Kasakstan. It is a question of creating a new giant agricultural production in the grain, cattle-breeding and raw material areas of the Soviet Union. It is a question of creating a new network of railways between the east and the west of the Soviet Union. Naturally, the old sources of accumulation are no longer sufficient for these gigantic tasks.

However, that is not all. The circumstance must be added that in a great number of our factories and economic organisations the principle of running at a profit, the principle of business accountancy has been completely abandoned.

It is a fact that in many factories and economic organisations the leaders have long ago ceased to reckon, to calculate, and to draw up balances concerning income and expenditure. It is a fact that in many factories and economic organisations the ideas of "economy", "limitation of unproductive expenditure", "rationalisation of production" have gone quite out of fashion. It is clear that these institutions carry on on the principle that "the State Bank will send us the necessary cash anyhow". It is a fact that in many factories the costs of production have increased of late. They were given the task of lowering the costs of production by ten and more per cent, instead of that they permitted the costs of production to increase. What does the lowering of the costs of production involve? You are aware that every per cent the cost of production in industry is lowered represents an accumulation of from 150 to 200 million roubles. It is clear that under such circumstances any increase of the costs of production in industry represents the loss of hundreds

of millions of roubles for industry and the economic system as a whole.

The conclusion to be drawn from this fact is that it is no longer sufficient to rely on the light industry, the income from agriculture and the budgetary accumulation. Light industry represents a valuable source of accumulation and it has every possibility of further development, but this source of accumulation is not unlimited. Agriculture is also a valuable source of accumulation, but in the present period of its reconstruction it needs State support itself. As far as the budgetary accumulation is concerned, you know that this is not and cannot be unlimited. What remains for us? The heavy industries remain. In other words, we must do our best to turn the heavy industries, and above all the engineering industry, into a source of accumulation. Whilst working to extend and develop the old sources of accumulation we must do our best to secure sources of accumulation from the heavy industries and above all from the engineering industry.

This is the solution of the problem.

And what is necessary in order to apply this solution? The wastage in industry must be abolished. The internal resources of industry must be abolished. The principle of business accountancy must be introduced into industry and strictly maintained in all undertakings. The costs of production must be lowered systematically. Inner-industrial accumulation must be consolidated in all branches of industry without exception.

This is the solution of the problem.

To sum up: Our task is to introduce the principle of business accountancy and to increase the sources of internal industrial accumulation.

### 7. New Ways of Working, New Ways of Leading.

These, Comrades, are the new conditions of industrial development in the Soviet Union.

The significance of these new conditions consists in the fact that they create a new situation for our industry, a situation which demands new methods of work and new methods of leadership.

To sum up:

(a) We can no longer rely on an automatic supply of labour power for our industries. In order to guarantee the necessary supply of labour power for our industries we must organise this supply and make the most of the supply to hand by mechanising as far as possible the labour process. It is impossible for us to make progress with our present volume of production and rate of development without mechanisation. One might as well try to empty the sea with a spoon.

(b) The fluctuation of labour power in industry can no longer be tolerated. In order to abolish this evil wages must be organised in such a fashion that a permanent nucleus of trained workers is deeply rooted in the various factories.

(c) The lack of personal responsibility in the factories can no longer be tolerated. In order to dispose of this evil work must be organised in a new fashion: labour power must be so distributed that each group of workers is responsible for the concrete work it is called upon to perform, for the mechanical equipment, for the lathes, for the quality of the work turned out, etc.

(d) We can no longer make progress with the insufficient engineering and technical forces at our disposal, forces which we have inherited from bourgeois Russia. In order to maintain the present rate of development and the present volume of production we must work to provide the working class with its own technical intelligentsia.

(e) We can no longer throw all specialists and all technicians into the same sack. Our policy towards the old technical intelligentsia must be changed in accordance with the changed situation. We must show as much consideration as possible to those specialists, engineers and technicians who have proved that they are willing to co-operate loyally with the working class.

(f) We can no longer be content with the old sources of accumulation. In order to guarantee the further development of industry and agriculture we must open up new sources of accumulation, abolish wastage in all forms, introduce the principle of business accountancy, lower systematically the costs of production and increase the inner-industrial accumulation.

These are the new conditions of the development of our industry, the new methods of work and the new methods of leadership which our economic constructive work demands.

What is necessary in order to introduce a new form of leadership?

Above all it is necessary that our economists and industrial leaders should recognise the new situation and study the new conditions of development and organise their work in accordance with the new situation.

It is further necessary that these leaders should learn to know their undertakings not "generally", but concretely, that they should be able to approach all questions which arise not vaguely, but with concrete knowledge, that they should not content themselves with written reports, with general phrases and slogans, but that they should get down to the practical technique, that they should master the work in all its details, that they should occupy themselves with "small things", for big things are based on a variety of such "small things".

It is further necessary that our present all-embracing productive associations which sometimes consist of several hundred undertakings should be divided up into several such associations. It is clear that the chairman of an association which embraces a hundred or more factories cannot know the possibilities of work in all these factories. It is just as clear that if he does not know these factories thoroughly he cannot direct their work properly. In other words, in order to give the chairman of such an association the possibility of really getting to know his factories, the association must be made smaller, must be relieved of the excessive number of factories, must be divided up into smaller associations whereby these smaller associations must maintain closer connections with the factories under their control.

It is further necessary that our productive associations should develop from the collegium system to an individual leadership. The situation to-day is that ten or fifteen people belong to the administrative collegium of such an association. They talk a lot and fill up many sheets of paper. But industry cannot be administered like this any longer. Comrades, the "paper leadership" must go, and a real concrete, bolshevik leadership must be created in its stead. A productive association should be headed by one chairman and a number of assistants. That must be sufficient to administer the work of the association. The other members of the collegium must be sent down into the factories and works. That would be much better for them and for our cause.

It is further necessary that the chairman and his assistants should visit the factories as often as possible, should study the work there as long as possible, should learn to know as well as possible the people at work in the factories, and should strive not only to instruct them, but to learn from them. It is wrong to think that our industry can be controlled and led from offices far away from the factories. An effective leadership must come as close to the workers in the factories as possible, must maintain a real living connection with them.

And now in conclusion a few words concerning our production program for 1931. There are a number of people who stand very close to the Party, who declare that our production program is fantastic and cannot be carried out. These are the sort of people who always know better in advance, who always try to create an atmosphere of mystery about themselves.

Is our productive program concrete? Undoubtedly! It is a practical proposal because all the necessary conditions for its carrying out are given. It is a practical proposal because its carrying out depends exclusively on us, and on our determination to utilise the tremendous possibilities at our disposal. How otherwise could it be explained that many factories and even whole branches of industry have already carried out the plan and even exceeded it? It would be foolish to believe that our production plan is merely a collection of figures and tasks. In reality our production program represents the living and practical activities of millions of people. The practical side of our production program, that is the millions of toilers who are hard at work building up a new life. Our program is practical because it depends on us, on our will to work, our readiness to use new methods, our determination to succeed. Have we the will to win? Yes, We have! This means that our production program can and must be carried out! (Prolonged applause.)

## FIRST OF AUGUST: INTERNATIONAL FIGHTING DAY AGAINST WAR.

### The August 1st Campaign in England.

By R. Bishop.

London, July 14. 1931.

"War means less food, clothing, and shelter for the workers during peace-time. The struggle for bread is a fight against the octopus of militarism, whose tentacles stretch out into the kitchen of every worker. For this reason the struggle against war was included in the demands of the Workers Charter and for this reason August 1, organised as a day of international struggle against war, becomes a united front action of the masses against wage cuts as well as imperialist wars."

Thus said the "Daily Worker" on July 1 this year, and it is from this viewpoint that the arrangements for August 1 are being proceeded with.

In every district of Great Britain preparations are going ahead. In Lancashire, there will be four mass demonstrations, preceded by processions, on August 1 in Manchester, Bolton, Nelson and St. Helens. Mass meetings are also being held on the Sunday (August 2) at Wigan, Rochdale, Todmorden, Manchester (four places), Burnley, Blackburn, Bolton, Oldham, Haslingden, Preston, Nelson and St. Helens.

In all these places the C.P. Local and the Y.C.L. branch are convening a conference of all working class organisations. At these conferences committees are being appointed to make the necessary arrangements for the widest possible mass participation in the demonstrations. Representatives from pits, factories etc. will be included on all the committees. Every day for the fortnight preceding, factory gates and Labour Exchanges will be concentrated on with leaflets, meetings etc. pointing out the true nature of the campaign and demonstrating the connection between the war danger and the present capitalist offensive against wages, labour conditions and unemployment benefit.

The arrangements for Lancashire are similar to those that are being undertaken in other Districts also.

Many Trade Union branches have been drawn into the campaign. For instance one of the largest branches in London of the National Furnishing Trades Association is calling a conference of working class organisations in its area to discuss the fight against the war danger and the preparations for August 1.

At the present moment the Imperialist politicians of Britain are trying to disguise their war preparations under a spate of so-called "disarmament" propaganda. Last Saturday a demonstration was held at the Albert Hall, London, at which Ramsay MacDonald, Stanley Baldwin, and Lloyd George spoke. The meeting was presided over by Field-Marshal Sir Wm. Robertson, chief of the British General Staff during the war.

The keynote of the meeting was struck by MacDonald in his speech when he said: "On this platform to-night there is none who is for his Party but each is for the State". Naturally this pronouncement of the united front of the British bourgeois politicians was received with rapturous applause by the audience, nine-tenths of whom were themselves exploiters. The character of the audience may be gauged from the fact that the price of seats went as high as a guinea and that nine-tenths cost over half-a-crown.

What was this "disarmament" they propagated? The main thesis of all the speakers was that Britain had already practically disarmed and that all that remained was for other countries to follow suit. The sheer hypocrisy of this contention is shown by the fact that Britain to-day spends £ 110,000,000 per year on armaments, as distinct from another £ 1,000,000 per day in War Dept interest payments.

With a huge armament industry and a peace industry that can be easily transformed on to a war basis, Britain is to-day as formidable an armed power as any that exists in the world.

Under the cloak of "disarmament", the Albert Hall speakers indulged in the most subtle of war propaganda. The key of every speech was anti-American propaganda. The British Government which talks of "peace" is to-day working in harmony with the French Imperialist Government, whose demands for political conditions from Germany they are backing.

Whilst all the Imperialist powers are all themselves united

on the question of preparing war against the Soviet Union and are organising to that end, the contradictions of capitalist rivalry are showing themselves more and more clearly.

America, France and Britain are struggling for markets, for domination in Europe and the extraction of tribute from Germany.

Following this humbugging Albert Hall meeting the British capitalist press is waging a terrific campaign to assure its readers that the intentions of the Government are peaceable, that Britain is unarmed and that foreign nations must be brought into line.

The August 1 campaign will demonstrate to the workers what a false picture this is; how every day British scientists and research workers are busily engaged in devising more perfected and deadly armaments and methods of chemical warfare. The campaign will show how these armaments are being piled up at the cost of economies in social services, in unemployment pay, in wages and by worsened working conditions.

The development of the capitalist antagonisms will be demonstrated, and the steady, relentless war preparations, material and ideological, directed against the Soviet Union will be exposed in their true light.

In the columns of the workers' press, at factory gate, street corner and pit head, in the workshop and at the Labour Exchange, by means of the printed word and spoken propaganda, this work will be carried on in an attempt to embrace every worker who displays the least inclination to offer resistance to war preparations and to the capitalist offensive on the workers standards. Everywhere the snare of "pacifism" will be exposed and the workers shown that the fight against capitalist war is the fight against capitalism itself, which can be ended only by the transforming of the Imperialist war into civil war leading to the conquest of power by the workers and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

### Preparations for August 1st in France.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The Communist Party of France has published an appeal addressed to all workers of France calling upon them to take part in a powerful anti-war demonstration on 1st August and also to fight for their demands. The appeal reads: "The Communist Party of France calls upon the workers to demonstrate and to fight against French imperialism, the gendarme of Europe, against its criminal exploitation of the colonial peoples, against its oppression of the peoples of Alsace-Lorraine, against its robber policy towards the German-speaking peoples, against its role of outpost in the anti-Soviet war."

The events which have rapidly followed each other since the announcement of the Hoover-Plan have further confirmed this estimate. The aggravation of the economic crisis in Central Europe exposes the antagonisms of the Versailles system and threatens the hegemony of France, which is based on the enslavement of the German people and the vassalage of the States bordering the Soviet Union. The French bourgeoisie, strong by reason of its financial power, wishes to make a profit out of its participation in the attempt to rescue German capitalism, which is threatened with revolution, by endeavouring to impose political conditions upon the German Reich, in the first place an accentuation of its anti-Soviet orientation.

The economic negotiations recently commenced between Paris and Moscow do not in any way mean a change in this tendency. In view of the successes of the Five-Year Plan and the prospects of a rapid increase in the economic crisis in France, the French bourgeoisie is compelled to attempt to "do business" with the Soviet Union. In addition, French imperialism is at present playing the leading part in organising the slaughter of the masses in the colonies, especially in Indo-China, and is conducting a large-scale offensive in order to consolidate its hinterland, both materially and morally, with an eye to war.

Our Party must therefore make use of the preparations for the first of August in order to strengthen its fight against social imperialism and its social assistants. This is all the more necessary as the last meeting of the Central Committee was obliged to record that there exists in our ranks "the great danger of underestimating the threatening anti-Soviet war" and a weakening of our mass work against imperialist war, in support of the oppressed peoples, as well as of anti-militarist work.

The plan for the first of August campaign sent out to the

districts enumerates a number of tasks including fight against opportunism in the activity of the Party against war, increased fight to expose bourgeois and social fascist pacifism, to make plain to the workers the necessity for close solidarity with the German proletariat in its fight against the Versailles Treaty, and also the urgent need for the defence of the Soviet Union.

Our campaign must be closely connected with the actions of the working masses who are fighting for their economic demands, and with the preparation of the fights of those sections of the workers who are immediately threatened. The resistance to the economic offensive of capital, the preparation of the counter-offensive of the workers for higher wages, against increases in railway fares, rent etc. are the most important links in the chain which now must be seized in order to draw the masses of the workers into the fight against imperialism.

The whole preparatory campaign must be based on the factories. Carefully prepared factory meetings will be held at which First of August Committees or Fighting Committees must be elected as a practical realisation of the united front. The Political Bureau has set the whole party the task of organising or reorganising 50 real factory nuclei for the 1st of August. This will afford an opportunity to overcome the passivity which prevents the recruiting of new members.

The proposed chief slogans are: Against any wage reductions and for higher wages; for the seven-hour day and defence of the unemployed; for the release of the imprisoned workers; for the defence of the Soviet Union; for the release of the German proletariat from its fetters; abolition of all imperialist treaties and cancellation of all war debts; support of the Spanish revolution and for the independence of Indo-China; for the defence of the political demands and rights of the soldiers and sailors.

The forms of actions contemplated vary greatly according to circumstances. They include the following: indoor and open air meetings, the voicing of workers' demands by delegations, the sending of which is to be accompanied by a strike or demonstration, resumption of work after or cessation of work before the fixed time, stay in strikes or regular strikes.

Since the 1st of August 1930 the economic crisis has developed; the illusions regarding France's "exceptional position" in the world have been dispelled and there is every indication that the crisis will be greatly increased in severity in the Autumn. In addition there is the fact that in the last few months the working masses (miners, textile workers etc.) have shown increasing resistance to the starvation plan of the bourgeoisie, and that in Roubaix the strikers have fought on the barricades against the police. If we succeed in seizing the link in the chain of economic struggles we shall succeed on the 1st of August in carrying out a huge rally of the working class for the fight for bread, workers liberty and peace.

## The Colonial Army of French Imperialism.

By Karin.

As distinct from the pre-war period, the possession of colonial territory is advantageous to the imperialist powers not only as a source of raw materials and as a market for industrial products, but also as a rich source of cannon-fodder for the imperialist armies. This cannon-fodder from the colonial countries can be used excellently to crush the colonial national revolution, to suppress revolutionary uprisings of the proletariat at home, and against the imperialist enemies. Imperialist France is the first military power in the world and the second largest colonial power. More than any other imperialist bourgeoisie the French bourgeoisie has exploited the unlimited human reservoir of its colonial possessions in the preparation for imperialist war. Before the war the colonial forces of imperialist France amounted to 110,000 men. To-day this army totals 200,000 on a peacetime basis. Four divisions of these troops are held permanently in France and a further 8 divisions near at hand in North Africa.

The French colonial forces are divided into six big groups each with its own staff. These groups are: Indochina, East Africa, West Africa, the Antilles, the Pacific and French Equatorial Africa.

During the world war imperialist France used about 600,000 colonial troops plus a further 300,000 as labour battalions. In the next war, however, this number will be tremendously exceeded. Even to-day the grand total of the French colonial army is estimated at 1.5 million men on a war footing, of which about fifty per cent have already been trained. Apart from its

regular army therefore, French imperialism has succeeded in creating a modern, strictly disciplined, mobile and effective fighting force from amongst the ranks of its colonial slaves, and all this in the period of "disarmament" and the League of Nations.

With regard to its military training and its tasks, the French colonial army occupies the same position as the regular army and represents an equally effective military weapon of the French bourgeoisie. The regulations for the conscription of the colonial contingents have been so extended that in actual fact one can speak of **general conscription existing in the French colonies**. Apart from the recruitment of volunteers, there exists a regular conscription of so many recruits per year.

An active service period of 3 years and afterwards from 8 to 10 years in the reserve secures a thorough military training for the coloured troops which are strengthened and made more reliable by strong white cadres. The fear that this powerful colonial army might turn into a Frankenstein monster has led to a proportion of five coloured to one white in the colonial units. It is very interesting to note that the equipment of the colonial forces with artillery and technical units is even greater than is the case with the regular army.

Although the French military forces consist to-day of one-third coloured troops, the colonies have contributed no more than about 25 per cent of their potential military capacity. There can be no doubt that in case of war French imperialism will squeeze out the remaining seventy-five per cent, for its military forces. One section of the French colonial army is destined for the "maintenance of law and order" in the colonies and is subordinate to the French Colonial Ministry, whilst the remaining section is subordinate to the French Ministry of War both in peacetime and in war.

The French General Staff reckons that immediately after the outbreak of war it will be able to mobilise 700,000 men in North Africa alone. In order to make this force mobile and to be able to transport it as quickly as possible French imperialism has hurried up the building of a strategic network of railways in Africa. It has also begun to build a direct connecting line between North Africa and the Senegal with the assistance of the important Trans-Sahara railway.

In order to protect communications for troop and raw materials transport from the colonies to the homeland, and also to be able to fight the feared colonial revolution as effectively as possible, French imperialism has begun to form strong independent colonial fleets. French imperialism also hopes that in case of naval disarmament and a reduction of naval forces, its colonial fleet would not be taken into consideration when fixing the ratio of strength. It was no accident that immediately prior to the London Naval Conference the French Admiralty decided to reform the overseas fleet which was dissolved during the world war, and despatched it to the colonies immediately. In this way six new squadrons were formed consisting of from two to three powerful cruisers with the necessary complement ships, and were allotted to the colonies permanently.

The anti-war day on the 1st August also serves the economic and political interests of the millions of colonial soldiers who are to be wasted as cannonfodder on the battlefields of imperialism and who are destined to perpetuate the enslavement of their relatives and fellow-countrymen in the colonies indefinitely. One of the most important tasks of the anti-war campaign which culminates on the 1st August must be the winning of the colonial troops for the national-revolutionary struggle, for the struggle against imperialist war, and for the united revolutionary front of the world proletariat and the colonial slaves of imperialism.

## Socialist Party of America Helps Prepare War Against the Soviet Union.

By Earl Browder (New York).

The chief delegate from America to the Vienna Congress of the Second International is Mr. Morris Hillquit. This gentleman is the outstanding leader of the Socialist Party of America, and occupies the post of "international secretary". He has attended all Congresses of the Second International for many years. In his own person he symbolises the whole counter-revolutionary role of the Second International.

Mr. Hillquit is a practising attorney-at-law, and a wealthy capitalist, his chief investments being in the coal industry.

On the eve of his departure for Vienna, Mr. Hillquit appeared in the United States Courts to file a law-suit. On behalf of a number of Russian monarchist emigres, former owners of Baku oilfields, Hillquit demanded that the courts should order Standard Oil Co. and Vacuum Oil Co. to pay thirty million dollars to his clients on account of oil purchased from the Soviet oil trust, which Hillquit claims was "stolen" from the Russian capitalists.

This court action was exposed by the Communist paper, "Daily Worker" of New York. Thereupon Hillquit was asked by the socialist paper, "New Leader", to issue a statement against the "Bolshevik perversion" of his position. Mr. Hillquit's own words in reply are more revealing and damning than any comment we can make. He said:

"The actions do not involve any question of socialist principle. A number of Russian corporations who owned oil lands in the Baku region are suing the Standard Oil Company and the Vacuum Oil Company for an accounting. The actions arise from purchases of oil by the American companies from the Soviet oil trust. Similar purchases were made by the Dutch Shell Company, which set aside a certain percentage of the purchase price to pay the original owners of the oil wells. The Standard and Vacuum were invited to join in the arrangement but refused, and these actions are brought with the view of forcing them to make similar provisions...

"The present cases rest on the technical ground that Russia is not recognized by the government of the United States and that our courts give no effect to its decrees...

"If and when our government will recognize Soviet Russia there will no longer be any basis for these actions.

"It might be argued that the present actions will serve as a stimulus to the powerful oil interests of America to urge early Soviet recognition, but that would smack of hypocrisy and I prefer to rest on the simple ground that the actions are of no political significance; that they are ordinary cases involving disputes over property rights, such as constitute ninety percent of the regular work of the general practitioner in the legal profession."

Mr. Hillquit claims it is of "no political significance" when American courts are petitioned by him to restore the socialised property of the Russian workingclass to its former capitalist owners. He also thinks the same about the solidarity of himself and the Socialist Party with the wreckers of the "Industrial Party" and the Mensheviks who were exposed before the whole world in the famous Moscow trials last year.

When the Soviet Union smashed the wreckers' plots last year, the Socialist Party and Hillquit were deeply disturbed. During the "Industrial Party" trial in Moscow, the socialists organized a protest meeting in New York City. This was held in the palatial Hotel Pennsylvania, resort of the upper circles of the bourgeoisie. The speakers were such leaders as Oneal, Lee and Hillquit of the S.P. of A., and Ingerman of the Russian Menshevik emigres. The Reverend Norman Thomas sent a letter expressing his solidarity. Mr. Hillquit made the main speech. Defending the wreckers and attacking the Soviet Union, he declared that war would not be worse than the toleration of Bolshevism. He said:

"Soviet Russia is today guilty of acts of despotism as terrible as those in the days of Czarism... Russia today is a government of a small minority which has taken advantage of special conditions to gain and hold power. It enjoys power through force and terrorism. Its reign of blood is almost as abhorrent as war among nations."

For the socialist party of American, the confessions of the wreckers "were arranged by the O.G.P.U. as a farce to strengthen the Stalin dictatorship." ("New Leader" Dec. 13.)

The infamous Fish Committee, the purpose of which was to prepare war against the Soviet Union, praised highly the aid given to capitalism by the Socialist Party and the American Federation of Labor.

The Socialist Party openly helped to finance the wrecking operations of the Mensheviks in Russia, which was carried out under the directions of the French General Staff. The "Socialists" knew exactly what they were doing in this Campaign. They held consultations with Abramovich in 1925, 1928 and 1930, and collected funds for his Party. In January 1930, Abramovich spoke to a socialist party meeting, saying:

"The next year or so will bring great surprises to those people who have become persuaded that the Bolsheviks will remain in power forever."

Abramovich was referring to the French General Staff plan for intervention in 1930 or 1931. He was part of this conspiracy as was fully proved in the Moscow trials. And the Socialist Party of America, especially its chief leader, Mr. Hillquit was hand in glove with the whole international gang of wreckers and warmongers.

Today the Socialist leaders are fulsomely praising the latest war moves of Hoover and Mellon, and pledging their complete support. No doubt in Vienna, Mr. Hillquit will make many moving speeches for "peace" and for "support of that great lover of peace, President Hoover". For that also is a part of the regular duties of a "socialist" lawyer, "international secretary" of his party, and representative of the former capitalists of Baku who were driven out by the victorious Russian workingclass.

The workers of the U.S. are rapidly awakening to the treachery of their misleaders of the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party. They are rallying in hundreds of thousands to the Communist Party, and to the International Day of Struggle Against War and for Defence of the Soviet Union on August First.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### Strike of 40,000 American Miners.

By Harry Gannes (Pittsburgh).

Over 40,000 miners, on the verge of starvation, are striking in Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia. Though many have been on strike six weeks, the strike is still spreading. Under the leadership of the National Miners Union, affiliated to the Trade Union Unity League, the miners are carrying on a militant battle on a "70-mile strike front", as the capitalist newspapers term it.

At this writing two men have been killed for partaking in the strike; 19 have been shot, several are at the point of death, and over 50 have been severely gassed, clubbed or otherwise wounded.

The miners have developed the slogan: "Better starve fighting than working!" The strike started spontaneously. The National Miners Union members who were at the scene rapidly took over the situation, sending out organisers to spread the strike spread rapidly. Mine after mine coming out. As mass picketing developed. Lack of organisers was greatly felt. The miners themselves quickly developed organisers, but still not enough to handle the rapidly growing strike.

A Rank and File Strike Committee of 300, meeting in Pittsburgh, the heart of the strike centre, is in active leadership. The Rank and File Strike Committee has representatives of the most important strike centres. At the mines, where the worst terror ever known in this region reigns, huge mass picket lines daily form at the mine pits — women and children take part. In some instances, thousands have picketed. The lines form early in the morning, usually at 4 a.m.

At every mine the coal companies maintain several armies of private gunmen. To augment these Governor Pinchot, who parades as a liberal, has thrown in the state troopers. In Pennsylvania a special type of police has been inaugurated, the coal and iron police, specially provided to break strikes. Pinchot, as a liberal gesture, has ordered their disbandment on July 1st. But they still remain — under another guise. They are now deputy sheriffs, duly authorised to kill strikers. They still wear same uniforms, still remain at the pits terrorizing and shooting strikers, though Pinchot suavely tries to make the workers in other parts of the state think they have vanished.

Not content with shipping in the state troopers to help break the strike, and fearing the advance of the National Miners Union, a triple-headed united front has been hammered out in an effort to smash the strike. The United Mine Workers of America, headed by John L. Lewis, and Frank Fagen in the Pennsylvania district, which has been totally discredited as a betraying outfit, is being revived by the bosses. Fake agreements are made with the non-existent United Mine Workers, and an effort made to drag the men back to work, in

order to defeat the leadership of the National Miners Union and break the strike. To date this move has failed. The officials of the United Mine Workers are unable to hold a single meeting in the strike territory without the aid of the state troopers or other paid gunmen. Fagen has been repeatedly driven out of mining towns by the enraged strikers. The policy of attempting to resuscitate the United Mine Workers to break the strike was drawn up at a secret meeting called by Governor Pinchot, the coal operators, and the United Mine Workers officials. Frank Borich and Vincent Kamenovich, officials of the National Miners Union, in an interview with Governor Pinchot demanded open conferences with the real representatives of the strikers present. They branded the Pinchot secret conferences as deliberate strike-breaking attempts and called on the miners to repudiate the "scab agreement".

The miners demand 55 cents a ton for machine coal, as against 30 cents to 40 cents heretofore paid; they demand a union checkweighman, as they have been deliberately cheated. A minimum day wage of Dollar 5.35 is demanded, as well as payment for "dead" work. Enforcement of the eight-hour day and recognition of the National Miners Union is demanded.

Despite the fact that they have been on the verge of starvation for many months, the miners are carrying on a militant battle. Relief work is being pressed in order to bolster up the spirit of the strikers.

The mining towns present a gloomy picture of misery and want. The miners barely get enough to eat while working. The children are pinched-looking and undernourished. Most of the mines are owned by Andrew Mellon, secretary of the treasury of the United States, now in Europe attempting to crush the German masses, and to forge the anti-Soviet war front. Another large proportion are owned by the United States Steel Corporation a Morgan & Co. firm. Other steel companies own mines. Very few are run by independent operators. Hence, the struggle against the mine owners is a struggle against the most powerful imperialist forces in the country — in full control of the federal and state governments, using them at will to crush the strike.

The result of this is immediately shown on the picket lines. At Wildwood, the mine gunmen fired at the mass picket lines killing the miner Zigarcic and wounding many others. Tear gas bombs are repeatedly thrown at picket lines. In Arnold City, a group of company gunmen fired point blank at a number of miners sitting on a porch. Philipovich, a small store-keeper who was helping in relief work, was killed, fourteen bullets being fired at him. The order of the chief of the company deputies was: "Shoot to kill!" This is the order the coal companies are spreading to their gunmen: "Shoot to kill!" Special efforts are made to kill the strike leaders and officials of the National Miners Union. Tom Myerscough, one of the officials, was told he would be killed at the first opportunity.

Over 550 miners have been arrested. Total bail has been set at over \$ 1,000,000.

Yet the fight goes on, with the miners battling against the United Mine Workers and their united front with the state and the coal bosses. Hunger is spreading faster, and the workers throughout the country are being rallied to rush in relief to bolster up the strike. The slogan now is: "Relief is the backbone of the strike!"

The territory where the mine strike is going on — the American Ruhr — has vast steel mills. Tens of thousands of steel workers have had their wages cut. They are watching the struggle of the miners with enthusiasm and deep interest and support. Dozens of meetings are being called in an effort to involve steel workers in the strike against wage cuts and to bring out tens of thousands to fight the Mellon and U. S. Steel trusts. **William Z. Foster**, general secretary of the Trade Union Unity League who has been speaking at dozens of coal strike meetings is now reaching thousands of steel workers. At every meeting, the companies send their spies and police in an effort to terrorise the miners.

On June 30th a mass hunger march has been arranged in Pittsburgh at which tens of thousands of miners and steel workers are expected to demonstrate for unemployment relief from the state. A previous march at Washington County was participated in by over 15,000 miners and their families. Many walked over 18 miles in the blistering heat in the mightiest workingclass demonstration ever seen in this section of the country.

## The Meaning of the Girardot Strike in Colombia.

By Albert Moreaux.

More than half a year has passed since **Olaya Herrera**, the "adopted child" of Yankee imperialism assumed the presidency of the Colombian Republic. The promises made by him to the people of Colombia and the workers in particular are still fresh in our mind. Olaya Herrera, candidate of the **Liberal Party**, had returned from the United States to occupy the presidential chair of Colombia on a promised plan for the reorganisation of the country, carrying with him the experiences of "Yankee capitalist prosperity".

To what extent this Wall Street President fulfilled his promises can be seen by the unprecedented strike wave now taking place throughout the country. The economic crisis, which was already acute previous to Herrera ascendancy to power, has deepened further. Moreover, the attempt of the government to put into execution Mr. Kemmerer's financial recommendations made in the early part of this year and accepted by the Colombian Congress is finding a strong opponent: the working class and the poor peasantry.

The strikes of the suburban bus (autobus) workers in **Bogota**, the miners of **San Vicente** and the sugar workers of the **Mannelita in Valle del Cauca**, which occurred in March of this year, were merely the prelude for bigger struggles in May affecting the sore spot of the lackey government. These are the strikes of the railroad workers of **Girardot y Tolima** and the coffee plantation workers in **Viota**.

In order to understand the importance of these strikes, we must closely follow the events leading to them and derive the lessons which we know our comrades will use in future strike actions. We must first remember that one of the important recommendations made by Mr. Kemmerer and finally endorsed by Herrera's Congress was the proper "control and autonomous handling of the national railroads". This provision of the plan opens the way for U.S.A. investments in the railroads of the country. It is based upon the provision that the government must cut the wages of the workers, increase their working hours and in general adopt the rationalisation system of speed-up and lay offs.

The railroad workers have already suffered a wage-cut from \$ 1.20 to \$ 0.70 per day. They work ten and more hours a day. There have been constant lay-offs, particularly of those workers who protested against the further wage reduction. Early in May, the Central Offices announced a further wage cut of 12 per cent. to 20 per cent. The "re-organisation" of the national railways meant to the workers the nullification of the free commutation to which they are entitled, the denial of medical assistance in case of accidents, etc. A serious grievance of the workers has always been the inadequate medicinal supply against the tropical fevers.

Before this situation, the Girardot railroad workers, of whom a small number are organised and are affiliated to the National Trade Union Committee (Committee for the Organisation of a National Revolutionary Trade Union Centre in Colombia), went on strike. It was a spontaneous strike. The workers unanimously requested that the National Trade Union Committee take the leadership.

In the morning of May 9th, armed forces of the government occupied the railroad stations in an attempt to demoralize the strikers and protect the strike-breakers. Thus the strike-breaking forces of the government quelled the strike, arrested the leaders, **Sabogal and Bernal**.

What were the positive and negative sides of this strike, without understanding which we cannot prevent failures and shortcomings in the future struggles? The combativeness of the workers was tremendous. At the outset of the strike, they demanded the leadership of the National Trade Union Committee, being thus sure that they would not be betrayed. The Trade Union of Girardot, which immediately stepped into the situation, had a membership of 200, and within a few days this increased to 1,200. The influence of the comparatively high-salaried railway shop workers who announced (140 of them) their opposition to the strike, did not succeed in stifling the fighting mood of the workers. The sympathetic atmosphere in which the strike took place extended throughout the country. The workers of the other national railway lines began to prepare for a general strike.

From the revolutionary working class press of Colombia, we gather that our comrades made a serious analysis of their

shortcomings. Let us enumerate the important ones. The lack of preparation of the strike by the union itself. The popularisation of the demands put up by the workers, a fundamental prerequisite for the success of the strike, was lacking. The demands should have been made on the basis of a series of meetings with the workers, to hear their grievances before these were finally formulated. Before their formulation the broadest masses of workers, in the union and outside of it, should have been approached and consulted.

The comrades are absolutely correct to specially emphasise the fact that the strike Committee did not function. We gather from the reports that only one strike Committee was organised. This, of course, was a serious mistake. The Strike Committees elected by the workers themselves should have included the greatest number of workers possible, among the organised and unorganised in every locality and railway station.

On the eve of the strike, the leading committee made no effort to counteract the influence of the Liberal Party politicians who sent their agents to speak to the workers in groups. Our comrades estimate that if a general meeting were held on the eve of the strike, the workers would have felt confident of a strong and capable leadership being side by side with them. This is correct.

On the day of the strike, Comrade Sabogal was arrested. The Secretary of the Union, Comrade Bernal, went to protest at the police station for the detention of Sabogal. Both were sent to Bogota and released after the strike was over. What was the error committed? It appears that these two comrades were the outstanding leaders of the strike and, naturally, they were invested with great responsibilities. A leaderless strike is doomed. The correct thing for Bernal to do was to remain at his post, with the workers, mobilise them to demonstrate and demand the release of Sabogal. We cannot emphasise enough the seriousness of such "heroic" acts so common in Latin America. They indicate the "putchist" methods, petty-bourgeois methods of struggle so harmful to the working class. In fact, all the shortcomings above mentioned are the outcome of the still prevalent ideology of "revolutionary socialism" so typical of Latin America, and particularly of Colombia.

The spontaneity of the strike took the comrades, especially the leadership, by surprise. Yet the very existence of the Girardot Railroad Workers Union was the basis for the organisation of the strike. Had the everyday activities of the revolutionary workers within the Union been consistent and systematic, they would have awakened to the growing mood of the workers to strike, in the face of the unbearable conditions in which they live.

We are of the opinion that the present is a very favourable situation in Colombia for the further development of the independent strike actions of the working class. Before the rapid crystallisation of the independent revolutionary unions such as the Bavaria Brewery Workers Union and the Germania Brewery Workers Union, the Banana Plantation Workers Union in the Magdalena region, etc., the National Trade Union Committee finds itself in the midst of favourable conditions for the organisation of mass trade unions in Colombia.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The 11th Party Congress of the C.P. of Austria.

By Oskar Grossmann (Vienna).

The representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany at the Party Congress of the C.P. of Austria described the Congress as marking a definite turn to mass work. Practically the whole time of the Congress was devoted to the discussion of the question: "How shall we organise the working masses?"

Precisely in the few weeks preceding the Party Congress serious political events had taken place which greatly worsen the conditions of living of the working class, intensify the class antagonisms and push the question of the revolutionary way out into the forefront. In this connection the Congress recorded the particularly sharp forms which the Austrian economic crisis has assumed and in face of which all attempts of the bourgeoisie to

overcome it have proved in vain. The plan for the Customs Union shows the urgent desire of the Austrian bourgeoisie, driven by the economic crisis, to ally itself with a stronger imperialism. The collapse of the Creditanstalt has for the time being prevented the realisation of the Customs Union, intensified the struggle between France and England in Austria and led to a temporary increase of English influence. The result is that the Austrian proletariat is completely handed over to foreign capital.

For a long time the Party was engaged in seeking to ascertain whether or not a dictatorship exists in Austria, but at the same time forgot to analyse the situation concretely and above all overlooked a circumstance to which the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. had particularly called attention, namely, that a veiled dictatorship also constitutes a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The Party Congress has succeeded in establishing clarity regarding this question. It recorded that already in the second half of 1929 tendencies of a revolutionary crisis were to be seen in Austria; that at that time the bourgeoisie, supported by the social democracy, was making an increasing employment of fascist methods in order to suppress the working class, that it was heading for an open dictatorship, but that owing to the weakness of the C.P. of Austria it succeeded in inflicting a temporary defeat on the proletariat and finally, out of fear of a revolutionary upsurge, it preferred, whilst strengthening its offensive against the proletariat, to conceal the intensification of the bourgeois dictatorship behind democratic forms.

The Party Congress emphasised that what is most essential from the standpoint of the tactical position of the Party is that the bourgeoisie, no matter what form is dictatorship may assume, is steadily increasing its starvation offensive against the toiling masses.

Even if certain fissures are to be seen in the structure of the Austrian social democracy, the socialist party of Austria is nevertheless the party which has behind it the great masses of the proletariat. Proceeding from this standpoint the Party Congress expressly stated that the turn to mass work means before all conducting an energetic fight against the social democracy, and increased work in order to win the social democratic workers. For the Austrian social democracy in spite of its Left phraseology is the most important buttress of the bourgeoisie, and just like its German brother party seeks to persuade the workers that the concealed form of the bourgeois dictatorship is a "lesser evil" than fascism, and in this way supports and renders possible all the anti-working class measures of the bourgeoisie. A formal civil peace has been concluded between the social democratic party and the open parties of the bourgeoisie in order to save the bankrupt capitalist economy.

The C. P. of Austria, declared the Party Congress, must however expose the bourgeois class policy of social democracy by means of broad mass work among the working class. This applies especially to exposing the complete collaboration of social democracy in the starvation offensive.

The Austrian Party, following the decision of the Party Congress, will take up the fight for the daily interests of the working class under the slogan of "mobilisation of the people against the hunger offensive".

While conducting these daily fights the Party must repeatedly point out to the workers the revolutionary way out. The Party Congress therefore decided to issue a programme of national and social emancipation of the Austrian people. In this manifesto it is pointed out that the only way of escape for the proletariat from its present terrible situation is the proletarian revolution, the shaking off of the yoke of native and foreign capital.

The Austrian Party is faced with very great tasks. The danger of lagging behind the general revolutionisation of the masses is very great for the C.P. of Austria. The Party Congress, after a thorough discussion in which it exercised rigorous self-criticism, decided on measures for overcoming this lagging behind. The most important of these measures is the adoption of a definite course in the direction of extending the cadres of the Party and proletarianising the leading cadres.

If the decisions of the Party Congress of the C.P. of Austria are actually carried out, then the Congress will acquire historical importance. For there is no doubt that the Labour movement in Austria is at a turning point.

## IN THE CAMP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

### The Vienna Congress of the Social Fascists.

By V. Knorin.  
(Conclusion.)

After discussion of the question of the struggle for disarmament, the Vienna Congress will pass on to the discussion of the situation of the international labour movement. But in what will the chief estimate of the present labour movement consist at the Vienna Congress? There is no doubt whatever that the main thesis will be that the working class is obviously weakened by the crisis and is forced to retreat and avoid the struggle with counter-revolution which is attacking along the whole front. Naturally, not a word will be said either about the revolutionary upsurge of the masses or the increasing revolutionary crisis.

Such an evaluation of the labour movement is necessary for socialdemocracy in order to disarm the workers politically and to "explain" their tactic of constant and incessant retreat and the betrayal of the interests of the working class, in order to "explain" why the socialdemocracy itself brings about the worsening of the conditions of the working class. The II. International is in need of such an evaluation in order to fight against the revolutionary upsurge of the working class and to designate the revolutionary actions of these masses as the support of fascism, and, further, so as to prepare a way for fascism, with the justification that through their participation in the affairs of state under each and any government, also including the anti-parliamentary regime, they allegedly prevent the ship of state from taking a fascist course (tactic of the lesser evil).

But, at the same time, the Vienna Congress will not be able to pass over in silence the ferment which is beginning in a number of parties of the II. International, despite the deceptive theories, the ferment which threatens the mass influence of social democracy with a crisis. This crisis will be brought about because the social fascist leaders want to hold fast to the capitalist system under all circumstances while the mass of the workers understand Socialism to mean the annihilation of exploitation and not merely simple participation of social democratic ministers in bourgeois governments.

But the fact that the influence of social democracy is decreasing in all countries where the crisis has become particularly acute cannot be eliminated by phrases about the necessity of "offensive tactics", about the necessity of "fighting to win the Communist workers", "for the winning of public opinion". The Menshevik Shifrin said quite correctly, in the German periodical "Gesellschaft", that now even insignificant losses of social democracy will become a menace for the existing order, will place it in the position of a minority of the working class and will take away the possibility of its penetrating into the impoverished middle strata. The crisis of social democracy will mean the entrance into the revolutionary crisis which is approaching with irresistible force. The bankrupts of the II. International will not be able to persuade the proletariat to be satisfied with their "Socialism" which upholds class exploitation: to keep away from struggle, as the proletariat is already beginning to feel its growing strength.

After it has disarmed the proletariat in the struggle against war (fortunately, only in their resolutions), after it has "proven" that it is incapable of fighting either for Socialism or for the retention of its earlier achievements, the Vienna Congress will be able to pass over to the third point of its agenda, to the Question of struggle against fascism and for democracy.

What will the essence of this question be? It will consist in the protection of the capitalist system of exploitation, designated as the defence of democracy; those who love this system will be called "democrats" and those who represent the interests of the toiling masses and really fight against fascism will be defined as enemies of democracy. It will consist in that the entire fight will be concentrated against Communism and not against fascism. The slogan "Struggle for Democracy" will have to justify the tactic of the lesser evil of social democracy, its capitulation before all the whims of the bourgeoisie, its continual

strikebreaking, its development towards fascism. The slogan "Struggle for Democracy" is intended to distract the attention of the workers from the struggle for a revolutionary way out of the crisis — from the struggle for power and is to persuade the workers to wait until the next elections in which perhaps, as the social fascists think, social democracy will again advance.

What will the last point on the agenda — the economic crisis and the struggle against unemployment mean after all this? The main thesis of the answer was already given in Leipzig by Mr. Tarnow. It reads: The crisis is deep, there is no end in sight, the crisis is a misfortune, but the working class must cure capitalism of the crisis, since Socialism can only be built up on the basis of sound capitalism. Therefore, we must help capitalism to restore itself, to find a capitalist way out of the crisis.

The Vienna Congress will furiously fight against all attempts to shatter the capitalist system through class struggle since the "class struggle is harmful to the employers" (K. Renner). The Vienna Congress will be a congress of the further fascistisation of socialdemocracy under the banner of the struggle for constructive Socialism. The Vienna Congress will be the organiser of the capitalist way out of the crisis through the suppression of the resistance of the toiling masses and the enslavement of whole nations to the richest capitalism for many generations to come. For the impoverished countries of Central and East Europe nationalisation of the debts of Rotschild and Co. while leaving the undertakings in the hands of the capitalists, will be proclaimed as the greatest wisdom. It would really become a sight for the gods if, after the example of Otto Bauer, the entire socialdemocracy will explain the enslavement of the Masses by Imperialism as a part of Socialism.

But the masses of the workers do not want to cure capitalism; they want to overthrow it; they are beginning to understand that the slogan of "constructive Socialism" is a fake. Therefore, in order to secure the capitalist way out of the crisis, new phrases will have to be coined in the form of "left slogans". Opposition will also be necessary. It is already at hand in the form of the Austrians, the British Independents and some "individualists" from other sections. But this "opposition" which fears the masses and all revolutionary consequences will only serve as a proof of the sterility of the "left" phrases and it will capitulate before Messrs. Wels, Vandervelde, Henderson and Blum who themselves "become lefts" just as far as the interests of capital. There will not be a real opposition at the Congress. But real workers' opposition, which already exists in the parties, will develop towards Communism at a still more rapid rate after the congress.

The task of the Communists is to expose this coming Congress as a congress of treachery to and deception of the toiling masses, of struggle against Socialism, of finding a capitalist way out of the crisis. We must explain very clearly the deception of the workers through the slogan of democracy, peace and the struggle against fascism in order to mobilise the workers for the real fight against fascism, for peace, for Soviet democracy.

The palaver about the struggle against war in order to organise war, the babble about the labour movement in order to smash it up, the prattle about the fight against fascism in order to make fascism more secure, placing the question of the crisis and the struggle against unemployment in order to hinder the turning of this crisis into a revolutionary crisis and to create the possibility of a capitalist way out of the crisis and save the capitalist system, — that is the meaning and the content of the coming Vienna Congress. Against this mass deception of the Vienna Congress we place our Communist tactics: Against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie — the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the tactic of the "lesser evil" — the tactic of the decisive fight against the offensive of fascism; against the transformation of the working class of the advanced countries into colonial coolies — the common struggle for the liberation of all the toilers of the imperialist and colonial countries.

The Communist must now more than ever concentrate their attention on the withdrawal of the working masses from the influence of socialdemocracy.

The Hamburg Congress in 1923 created the present II. International as an organisation for the support of the prevailing system out of the wreckage of the pre-war international. The Vienna Congress will mark the commencement of its decay. The growing revolutionary crisis robs socialdemocracy of its basis.