

XIth Plenum Series

# WAR

## Preparations

against

the

# SOVIET

# UNION



by **MARCEL CACHIN**

Communist Member of the French Chamber of Deputies,  
at the XIth Plenum of the E. C. C. I., April, 1931

And Speeches by—  
BRATKOVSKY  
RUST  
MANNER  
SCHWARTZ

BROWDER  
THÄLMANN  
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## PREPARATION FOR WAR AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION

*Speech of MARCEL CACHIN delivered at the Nineteenth Session of the XIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on April 8th, 1931.*

COMRADES,

The crisis which is engulfing the world in its depths accentuates the contradictions between the various imperialisms. Vital antagonisms of interest bring them into violent opposition. The profound antagonism between the United States and Great Britain is the most outstanding example. Besides this, the effects of the Versailles and subsequent peace treaties render more acute each day the latent conflicts between Germany and Poland, between the Balkan nations, between Yugoslavia and Italy—to cite only these. Never has peace been so gravely threatened.

Nevertheless all imperialist contradictions, deep and serious as they are, give way before another antagonism which is sharper and more fundamental—that which now exists between the capitalist system, undermined by crisis, and the land where Socialism is growing.

This is the great fact of contemporary history.

The minds of the bourgeois diplomats and statesmen are overpowered by the consciousness of this mortal peril. They admit their hopeless divergences of interest; the most clear-sighted of them endeavour to overcome it in order to establish a united front of all the capitalist States terrified by the great leap forward of the Soviet Union.

Do we need tangible proof of this?

Proof is furnished by the conclusion of the Franco-Italian agreement during these last weeks. Only yesterday the leaders of Fascist Italy were calling for what one might call a holy war against France. To-day they are speaking almost pathetically of the need for friendship with their transalpine neighbour. Yesterday Mussolini was fingering the post-war treaties and saying he was in favour of their revision; now Grandi is admiring Briand's Pan-Europe plan. He says with emphasis "that it is the expression of the principle of equality, of justice, and of the solidarity of the European peoples."

And here is the *Temps* of Paris, which voices day by day the views of the Quai d'Orsay, saying on March 16th that "Grandi is developing at Rome the same ideas as Briand at Paris."

The great French bourgeois newspaper concludes that "the antagonism of interest and the difference in the points of view of France and Italy are less serious than might be believed from certain press campaigns."

It can be seen that there has been a complete volte-face. This sudden flirtation of French capitalism with Italy, the rapprochement

between France and Great Britain, the many meetings and communications passing between Henderson and Briand during the last few weeks, the new attempts to agree upon naval armaments—what is the reason for all this?

One of the reasons is the wish momentarily to lessen the causes of friction. It is necessary for imperialist France to neutralize her neighbours at the very moment when she is pressing her vassal States bordering on the U.S.S.R. hard along the path towards armed intervention.

This design was clearly pointed out the day after the Franco-Italian agreement by an East Prussian newspaper, the *Koenigsberger Allgemeine Zeitung*, which wrote as follows:

“Mussolini had begun to seek for closer and closer connection with the Soviet Union. This rapprochement had an economic basis, for Italy hoped to obtain cheap grain from the Soviet Union and a market for her industrial products. But, after the agreement reached between Italy and France, there is a danger that Italy may be obliged to show more circumspection with regard to Poland, and that through this the idea of revision may be weakened once more. . . . One can say that France will do her utmost to incorporate Italy in the anti-Soviet front, and will thus exercise pressure on Eastern Europe.”

There are other newspapers which are as perspicacious. Obviously French imperialism is making great efforts to group the different States in an economic blockade of the U.S.S.R., which would be only the prelude to military intervention.

#### *The Fundamental Reasons for the Struggle against the U.S.S.R.*

The relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist States differ from those which until now have governed the relations between Governments; in fact, they involved one of the greatest innovations in the world.

Here it is no longer a question of exchanging goods, of receiving or of exporting capital, of furnishing or of receiving raw materials, of expanding markets. No!

Since the October Revolution—and more especially since the progress of the Five Year Plan—since the prodigious development of Socialist production, one can say that a foreign element has been introduced into the system of world economy.

A social organism is rising up and growing in strength whose laws of existence contradict all current standards. The bourgeois leaders quite correctly perceive the danger which this new state of affairs presents to what they term their “civilization.”

They know that the danger waxes greater the stronger our proletarian civilization, the true civilization, grows; and the more proofs it gives of its unlimited capacity and of its power. Each day the old bourgeois world finds it harder and harder to exist. It is being strangled by its contradictions, multiplied by the fatal law of uneven development, which has already made possible the victory of the proletarian

revolution over a sixth part of the globe. It can no longer solve the essential problems of its existence. Its prophets speak a language of despair: “We are sunk,” says Keynes, “in a miserable chaos. We have been terribly mistaken in the way we have manipulated the delicate economic machine whose laws we do not understand.” A certain William Martin declares in the *Journal de Genève*, after the resounding failure of the last Economic Conference: “The capitalist system cannot in the long run survive if it is unable to solve the fundamental problems which confront it, as, for instance, that of unemployment.”

Thus this world which must pass away, and which refuses to die, is entering into a decisive struggle with the world which is being born.

It begins by causing trouble and vexation; it endeavours to hold back the movement by the physical suppression of those who are for the new world; it encircles the country of the Revolution; it organizes sabotage in its internal organization. But this is only the first phase in a struggle which will not end until the disappearance of capitalism. It is true that the war between the two worlds seems at times to be slackening. It happens that certain States conclude economic or commercial treaties with the U.S.S.R. But behind the thin veil of provisional pacification is hidden the desperate fight of a reactionary system which will stop at nothing in order to prolong its existence.

We must understand that the development of Socialist economy in the U.S.S.R., the development of its planned production and of its monopoly of foreign trade, is accompanied in the opposing camp by a process of decomposition and degeneration. It may happen that the U.S.S.R., by its orders, ameliorates for a time the effects of anarchic over-production in one or another capitalist country. But this is merely a passing and transitory effect. In actual fact the economic structure of the U.S.S.R. postulates and carries with it the destruction of the world capitalist system. We are living in the period of unified economy. That is why a radical transformation such as is taking place in the Soviet Union cannot but have repercussions on the rest of the world. This means that there is no possibility of peaceful co-existence for two heterogeneous systems.

One can quote here a passage from Lenin's writings taken from an article on “The War Programme of the Proletarian Revolution”:

“The victory of Socialism in one country does not by any means at one stroke eliminate all wars in general. On the contrary, it presupposes such wars. The development of capitalism proceeds very unevenly in the various countries. This cannot be otherwise under the system of commodity production. It inevitably follows from this that Socialism cannot be victorious simultaneously in ALL countries. It will be victorious first in one or several countries, while the others will for some time remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois. This must not only create friction, but a striving on the part of the bourgeoisie of other countries to crush the victorious proletariat in the Socialist State. Under such conditions a war on our part would be a legitimate and just war. It would be a war

for Socialism, for the liberation of other peoples from the bourgeoisie. Engels was perfectly right when, in his letter to Kautsky dated September 12th, 1882 (171), he openly admitted the possibility of 'wars of defence' on the part of ALREADY VICTORIOUS Socialism. What he had in mind was the defence of the victorious proletariat against the bourgeoisie of other countries.

"Only after we have overthrown, finally vanquished and expropriated the bourgeoisie of all the world, and not only of one country, will wars become impossible. And from a scientific point of view it would be entirely incorrect and entirely unrevolutionary for us to evade or gloss over the most important thing, namely, the most difficult task, demanding the greatest amount of fighting on the road to Socialism, is to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie. 'Socialist' priests and opportunists always dream about the future peaceful Socialism, but the very thing that distinguishes them from revolutionary Social-Democrats is just that they refuse to think over and reflect on stubborn class struggle and class wars that are necessary in order that this beautiful future may be achieved."\*

It is a vital necessity for capitalist economy, as much as it is for Socialism, to develop and expand on a continually widening basis. But the capitalist system is reaching the limit of its possibilities of expansion. Its productive forces are enormous and continually growing; it needs outlets which it can no longer find.

And that which now aggravates its position is that it is hurling itself against an unsurmountable obstacle in the shape of the U.S.S.R. and its Five Year Plan. Not only has capitalism need of the raw materials of the Soviet Union, which the latter will herself work up to a larger and larger extent, but the Soviet market also is being closed to capitalist production. Finally, the progress of Socialist economy is much more rapid than that of bourgeois economy. And this essential fact hastens the decomposition of the old regime and acts upon it as a ferment.

Many bourgeois economists are already well aware of the danger. The popular capitalist press and the Social-Democratic press still speak of "Bolshevik barbarism, of the retrogression of civilization, of the horrors of the Stalinist hell, of the fiasco and the follies of the men of the Kremlin." But, especially during the last two months, the tone has changed in the circles of the leaders and the savants who are trying to learn the real state of affairs. Their eyes are opened and they see quite clearly the significance of planned production. They see clearly what can be done by a national economy once it is freed from the burdens of parasitism and of the receivers of surplus value. The Five Year Plan appears to them like a danger signal. They know that the rate of the development of productive forces in the Socialist sector now greatly exceeds that of the capitalist sector. They understand what is meant by the slogans of "Revolutionary Competition" and "Shock Brigades." They no longer sneer at these expressions, the reality and the significance of which is more and more appreciated. It is known that in spite of its very late start and the low cultural

\* "Collected Works," Vol. XIX, pp. 324-5 (Russian Edition).

level, the heritage of the old regime, Soviet economy conducted according to plan is already registering striking successes.

On returning from one of his visits to Soviet Russia in February, 1931, an important Parisian banker, M. Parmentier, interviewed by the *Matin*, spoke of the Soviet Union in terms which created a sensation in France. This well-informed financier was forced to render indirect homage to the U.S.S.R. He has grasped the meaning of the dramatic struggle which brings the two worlds face to face.

Such authoritative testimony, even though veiled in a certain reserve of style, corroborates Stalin's formula at the first conference in the U.S.S.R. of the officials of Socialist industry:

"We are accomplishing something which, if successful, will change the face of the world and liberate the whole working class."

Such are from now onward the repercussions of the Five Year Plan.

To the *Deutsche Bergwerks Zeitung* the Five Year Plan is not a Soviet, but a European problem. It is a world problem. In the eyes of the correspondent of this newspaper the Five Year Plan is not a purely economic phenomenon: "Its economic reinforcement will furnish Bolshevism with a basis from which to develop certain political, social and cultural aims."

That is well said. Let us stress the correct perspective of this journalist. Socialist leaders like Blum are still at the stage of rehashing the senile words of Poincaré concerning the fatal collapse of the Five Year Plan.

In the House of Lords on February 5th, 1931, Lord Newton declared, in the midst of his slanderous statements concerning forced labour in the U.S.S.R.:

"The Five Year Plan has for its aim the transformation of the agricultural countries of the U.S.S.R. into industrial countries. It is not so much a question of internal policy as a careful studied undertaking for the purpose of imposing Communism on the rest of Europe."

These statements, which breathe fear, sound like an echo of the words spoken at Geneva by Briand on January 24th, 1931:

"Think of the troubles which the Soviet Five Year Plan may bring upon such countries as Poland and Roumania, which have stocks of unsold corn and whose peasants are eaten up by usury."

And Briand added:

"Bolshevism may quickly win over whole countries. It only needs a social disturbance for Bolshevism, whose home is near by, to invade these Polish and Roumanian territories. That is why help must be given to the small agricultural nations of the East to enable them to resist Bolshevism."

Thus spoke the Minister of Foreign Affairs of French imperialism; and he voiced his horror at the thought of such a future.

Listen to *The Times*; it speaks of "the people who have taken into their absolute control the whole foreign trade of Russia, and also the whole economic life of the country, in pursuit of more important aims of which they make no secret."

By those "important aims," which create such alarm in the mind of the City journalist, we must understand the emancipation of the proletariat by the defeat of the bourgeoisie. A great calamity of course for *The Times*, for the London Stock Exchange, for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and for the Socialist Ministers of his gracious Britannic Majesty.

The international bourgeoisie thus perceives more and more clearly the real significance of Socialist construction, and the success of the Five Year Plan spreads horror through its ranks. It sees the need to marshal all its forces against the Soviet Union, and this is the origin of the dumping and forced labour campaigns. By filling all its servile press with this crude propaganda it tries to frighten and to rouse against the U.S.S.R. the masses of the petty-bourgeoisie, workers and peasants who are suffering cruelly from the crisis.

We no longer hear the stories of the collapse of Soviet agriculture; to-day it is stated that there is fear of the competition of industrialized Socialist agriculture in the European grain produce market. The Fascist press of the Balkan countries invites Europe to take concerted action against the export of agricultural produce from the Soviet Union. The whole world Press acts as a chorus and, under the ægis of France, agrarian conference succeeds agrarian conference at Bucharest, at Sinaia, at Warsaw, at Paris, at Vienna. One single resolution comes out of it all: "We must unite against the most dangerous and the worst enemy." With this end in view the French Minister Flandin spent last summer touring the east of Europe in order to group, federate, rouse and finance the Governments of the peasant countries.

A Roumanian newspaper, *Omul Liber* (the *Freeman*, a paper of the Left), gave the tone to the campaign thus launched when, on the very day of the inauguration of the Bucharest Agrarian Conference, it wrote:

"The Conference which opens to-day, with delegates from Roumania, Yugoslavia and Hungary, is of tremendous importance. It should show the world the cause of all the troubles which have overwhelmed it since the war. Moscow must be unmasked, Moscow the guilty must be paralysed by all possible means. The Bolsheviks have destroyed our grain trade, our meat trade, our petrol industry. The catastrophic fall of prices here and all over the world is their doing.

"Our impoverishment has always been their principal aim, and this aim has been realized. They have at their service a magnificent army composed of the millions of unemployed in England, in Germany, in America, in Italy. They no longer need to send their soldiers into Europe, nor their machine guns and cannons. If Europe is to revive, Soviet exports must be boycotted."

Thus do the national Tsaranists of Roumania, like the adherents of Pilsudski in Poland and the Fascists of Yugoslavia and Hungary, seek to convince their peasants that the alleviation of their miseries can be achieved by war against Soviet exports, by a blockade of the Soviet Union. The same language is used to the French lumber merchants concerning Soviet lumber; to the Belgian and French flax growers concerning Soviet flax. As if the exports of the Soviet

Union had reached a sufficient volume to cause a heavy fall in prices! As if an increase in exports by the peasants of the Danube districts could put an end to the terrible crisis from which they are suffering! As if the unheard-of over-production of wheat in Canada, in the United States, in the Argentine and in Australia were not the cause of the collapse of the market! As if all these little peasants of Central and Eastern Europe were not burdened with crushing charges which they have to bear in order to support the parasites and the usurers who devour them!

All the outcry about dumping and forced labour has only one aim: the preparation of the anti-Soviet bloc. Under the banner of struggle against the Five Year Plan the weapons for the new war against the Soviets are being forged. That is why French diplomacy redoubles its efforts to group the various nations in a united front against the U.S.S.R. It proposes radical measures against the Five Year Plan. This question was discussed at the time of the Anglo-French financial conversations in January, 1931. Deterding's recent journey to France had no other purpose. The French navy buys almost all its oil from the Soviets, but a strong campaign is being waged in Parliament to exclude them from the contracts for 1932; the rapporteur of the naval budget in the Chamber openly leads on this campaign.

The petrol convention, just ratified by the Chamber at the end of March, has in view the exclusion of Soviet oil from the French market.

The aim is to close the frontiers, to close all frontiers, to Soviet imports of any kind. It is blockade, the barbed wire entanglement, and efforts are being redoubled to arrive at a general *entente* between the Governments in order to isolate the Soviet Union. This would necessarily be followed by invasion and war.

It is true that there is some resistance and certain defections in this united front. The dominating capitalist groups in Britain are sceptical. For instance, they have no confidence in the United States, whose treachery they fear in the case of an international anti-Soviet blockade. Other Powers are seen to be hesitating for commercial reasons easy to understand. In face of the unemployment which undermines their strength they do not dare to aggravate the anger of the workers by refusing to sell their machines to the U.S.S.R. But nevertheless the dominating and permanent fact is that the struggle against the realization and the effects of the Five Year Plan must grow wider. It is the general line, the logical necessary line, for the defence of disintegrating capitalism. In order to prolong its existence it must try to smash the Socialist system in its impetuous advance.

#### *Direct Military Preparation—Armaments*

Aware of the menace which threatens it in the immediate future, the international bourgeoisie, and in particular the French bourgeoisie, prepares feverishly for war. Everywhere military apparatus of a strength and capacity for destruction unknown to history is being set up.

It may be said, indeed, that one of the characteristics of this period

—the period of imperialism, or the last stage of capitalism—is the unprecedented development of military force, the accelerated rate of increase in military expenditure in the budgets of all States. There are countries like France, 84 per cent. of whose Budget is for the liquidation of the expenses of past wars and for intensive preparation for the next war.

True, all this formidable apparatus is not erected solely against the U.S.S.R. ; it is also required by the general instability of peace, by the certainty of coming conflicts between the imperialist Powers, by the requirements of the class struggle, for internal repression and for repression in the colonies.

But to strike down the Soviet Union is, as we have just shown, a primary necessity for all the capitalist States, and the Powers have resolved to settle accounts first with the U.S.S.R.

Preparations for aggression are carried on in every part of the anti-Soviet front by the most varied methods, the military methods being obviously the most important.

It is enough to consider the growth of armaments in the imperialist countries as a whole, and in the States which are neighbours of the U.S.S.R. in particular, to be convinced of the frenzy with which war preparations are being made.

Let us take a few figures from the official budgets of the five biggest capitalist States : France, Great Britain, the United States, Italy and Japan. (Germany is excluded in view of its special position since the Versailles Treaty.)

If one adds up the expenditure on armies, aerial fleets and navies one finds that for these five great Powers it amounts to :

1182 million dollars in 1914	(= £256 millions)
1828 " " 1923	(= £305 " )
2167 " " 1928	(= £435 " )
2324 " " 1930	(= £405 " )

The increase continues in 1931.

Thus the expenditure on what is called "security" thirteen years after the end of the imperialist war is twice as large as in 1914.

The scientists in every country are mobilized in the service of war preparation. It is now impossible to distinguish a scientific study according to whether it has an industrial or a military objective. In actual fact, the work of engineers, chemists and electricians is used for the perfecting of engines of war. It is all a question of improving the power of motors, the range of guns, the means of transport, steel and explosives ; of making asphyxiating substances more deadly. Every university, every laboratory is transformed by imperialism into a laboratory for war preparations. This prospect of the future destruction of humanity is terrifying. The imperialists are preparing with their own hands the destruction of their civilization, which they accuse the Bolsheviks of wishing to attack.

In the same way as the scientists of the universities have been mobilized, so also has the whole of industry, together with its tech-

nicians and practitioners in every branch of production, been subordinated to war.

In the United States each of the twelve federations of engineers has its committee of national defence working according to the directions and orders of the Secretary of the War Department.

Every factory is an arsenal. The mobilization of factories for the production of military supplies will be accomplished in half the time that was required in 1914.

In this time of general crisis one single industry flourishes in every country—the armament industry.

The capacity of war industry in the principal States has increased by 60 to 80 per cent. In certain branches (tanks and poison gases) the increase is five to ten times above the figure for the period 1914-18.

Imperialist France manufactured 50,000 rifles a month before and during the war ; in 1930 she produced 220,000. She multiplies the number of machine guns. The manufacture of more and more powerful tanks and of long-range machine guns has increased in the proportion of 1 to 8 ; that of cannon from 3 to 19 ; that of cartridges and of shrapnel has been more than doubled. The same applies to England and the United States.

Every industrialist is in the direct service of the Minister of War. A department of the General Staff commands, the industrialist executes the orders. This is what was said by Harley, president of American naval construction during the war :

"Modern industry, the chemical, metallurgical and electrical undertakings, can at a moment's notice start to manufacture engines of terrible destructive power ; all they need is to be supplied with raw materials."

The mighty navies, the complete mechanization of the army, aviation, chemical equipment, transport—all these have been able to develop, thanks to the progress of large-scale industry. The technique of the armies is a function of industry. Only the economically developed capitalist countries can possess immense and efficient armaments.

Small States, such as the western neighbours of the U.S.S.R., have to import their armaments. They are supplied by their suzerains, and especially by France. They have received 40 million dollars worth of rifles, 50 million dollars worth of shrapnel, 13 million dollars worth of machine guns, 38 of cannon, 20 of technical and engineering material—a total of more than four milliard francs. Further, the Roumanian and Polish loans now being issued in France are intended chiefly for the manufacture of war materials for these countries. The banks which direct these financial operations are controlled by the metallurgists of Creusot.

All this does not prevent the French and British imperialists from constructing armament factories in Roumania and Poland, and from ensuring the material basis for their construction in Scandinavia and Czechoslovakia.

It is especially the new branches of armaments which progress with such feverish rapidity : aviation, artillery (especially heavy long-range

artillery), new mechanized units, enormous tanks, chemical armaments. Secretly the drive goes on to discover the most ghastly poisonous gases, whose very existence will not be known until war has begun.

Giant aeroplanes made of steel can now carry charges of asphyxiating gases weighing a ton or more for distances of more than 1000 kilometres; they will be able to destroy in a few hours the greatest of cities and whole industries.

Special chemical detachments are armed with cylinders of gas one-third as heavy as they used to be. The gas waves will be of an intensity hitherto unknown. The range of the chemical torpedoes has reached more than two kilometres. Tens of thousands of square yards can be transformed into poison cemeteries in a few minutes. They can be enclosed in strong walls of poisonous gas. Electrical energy can be transmitted from a distance, powerful war machines can be operated from a distance, invisible rays can be used.

This progress in military technique, developing with gigantic strides year by year, serves excellently the political interests of the international bourgeoisie. Now that the armies recruited from the peasants and workers by means of compulsory military service are becoming less and less reliable on account of Communist propaganda, the importance of selected and controlled professional armies is increasing.

Professional armies are required where the rôle of specialized technicians is the decisive factor. In this way the army of imperialism becomes more stable, more reliable both technically and politically. It has become urgent in this period of working-class revolts, military mutinies and colonial risings. This kind of professional army, once peculiar to England and America, extends everywhere, in Germany as in France, where imperialism has the two kinds of militarism side by side, where the conscript army exists side by side with an army of professional soldiers numerically as strong.

Imperialist France now possesses most formidable military resources, recruited in Europe, in Asia, in North Africa, in Black Africa. In order to maintain her political hegemony in Europe, to keep down her proletariat and her 50 million colonial slaves, she avails herself simultaneously of the advantages of a very expensive professional army and of a conscript army composed of soldiers paid five sous a day. In the successful pursuance of her twofold military policy she has had the invaluable assistance of the Social-Fascists of our country.\* It is Paul Boncour and Renaudel who, in the name of their party, have been most active in contributing to the organization of this military readiness which is the most powerful in the world.

In order to get the French proletariat to permit such a transaction it was essential to imbue the workers with certain illusions and to have recourse to clever expedients. The expedient used was the proposal to reduce military service from eighteen months to a year with periods in reserve. By thus throwing dust in the eyes of the workers the measures for the reorganization of the French imperialist army were

\* Marcel Cachin refers to France.

passed. And now that the preparations have been made by the General Staff, with the indispensable collaboration of the Socialist Party, the Minister of War announces officially that soon it will be absolutely necessary to prolong the term of compulsory service in France.

It is well known that it was under the pressure of Paul Boncour, member of the Socialist Party and Vice-President of the Supreme Council at the War Ministry, that the decree was passed providing that in case of war there shall be a general mobilization of the whole country without distinction of sex or age.

By the terms of this decree, French militarism has covered the country with a network of mobilization centres, which enrol the youth for military purposes, periodically train the reservists, and take a census of the whole population without exception, assigning to every-one his place and his function in case of mobilization.

Thus, under cover of one year's service, there was ensured the increased militarization of the whole nation, the intensification of war preparations, the transformation of the army into a reliable rampart for Fascist reaction in France.

Directed by the General Staff of imperialist France, the neighbours of the U.S.S.R. follow in her footsteps. The new plan for a territorial militia in Fascist Finland is a copy of Paul Boncour's law. From the first day of war the whole country will be divided up into districts, with centres for the mass mobilization of the population. The same is the case in Yugoslavia. And this brings us to the consideration of the actual military rôle of the States bordering on the Soviet Union. Imperialism has entrusted them with the task of setting up a ring of armies around the U.S.S.R.

What are the military forces of all these States on the borders of the U.S.S.R.? Those to the east reach a figure of 3,403,000 men, apportioned as follows:

Turkey . . . . .	238,000
Persia . . . . .	51,000
Afghanistan . . . . .	42,000
India . . . . .	263,000
China . . . . .	2,500,000
Japan . . . . .	309,000

The total of those on the west come to 572,000:

Poland . . . . .	303,300
Roumania . . . . .	207,800
Finland . . . . .	29,000
Esthonia . . . . .	14,000
Latvia . . . . .	18,000

Against these military forces—the Red Army! It numbers 562,000 men.

It can be seen that the vanguard of the forces of imperialism around the U.S.S.R. is numerically much the stronger.

But in order to appreciate the military strength of the great nations and of the States bordering on the U.S.S.R. it is not enough to consider merely these figures of the so-called peacetime armies.

The imperialist wars and the war against the U.S.S.R. will be wars of great magnitude and will need much cannon fodder. Furthermore, the real armies are doubled by very large auxiliary military formations grouped in various well-organized societies of a Fascist character, or so-called sport organizations, of which it is worth recalling the approximate numbers.

First for the big nations :

France	. . . . .	500,000
England	. . . . .	320,000
U.S.A.	. . . . .	1,500,000
Italy	. . . . .	1,100,000
Germany	. . . . .	800,000

The following are the figures for the Eastern countries directly bordering on the U.S.S.R. :

Poland	. . . . .	1,000,000
Roumania	. . . . .	165,000
Finland	. . . . .	95,000
Esthonia	. . . . .	32,000
Latvia	. . . . .	30,000

Say 1,322,000 men and youths, whereas in 1928 there were only 230,000.

These Fascist organizations are the real bodyguard, the real *gendarmérie* of the bourgeoisie in peacetime. These will be the shock troops of the imperialist armies in time of war. They are organically connected with the General Staff.

Side by side with the general war preparations the special preparations for attack on the U.S.S.R. occupy first place in the military preoccupations of the capitalist countries.

Great Britain under MacDonalld openly supports the anti-Soviet policy of imperialist France. In the Baltic the English carry on their activities for the creation of naval bases at Oesel, Reval, Helsingfors.

In the Black Sea, English specialists are constructing a naval base at Constanza. The agents of British imperialism display the most continuous activity against the U.S.S.R. in the Near East and in the Far East. In Iraq they secure their hinterland in case of attack against the Caucasian Soviet Republics, with the Baku oil-fields as their objective.

Great Britain uses its influence in Persia to construct aerial bases and landing places up to the shores of the Caspian. In Mesopotamia and in India, where they have hundreds of powerful aeroplanes, the Britons can undertake incursions far into Transcaucasia and Soviet Asia.

They have held special manœuvres, which in 1928 took the form of a sham attack upon the oil wells of Azerbaijan, and in 1930 of a sham attack from India upon the agrarian countries of Soviet Asia. India and Afghanistan are being transformed into military bases for the attack on the U.S.S.R.

The British bring coloured troops into action in the Indian moun-

tains neighbouring on the Soviet Union. Similarly the French use their Moroccan and their black troops in their manœuvres in France in order to accustom them to operations in Europe and to the European climate.

The Japanese prepare divisions in the cold islands of Honaga and Tokkaido, and in Manchuria and northern Korea, in the snow and the mountains; and in addition to this Russian is systematically taught in the Japanese armies.

It is amongst the Western neighbours of the U.S.S.R. that there is the greatest increase in war preparations. Every year there are military manœuvres in which the representatives of the French General Staff take part. French and English naval and aerial forces often visit the States bordering on the Soviet Union. Military and naval specialists reorganize their navy and air forces. The military schools of France and England are open to the officers of Poland, Roumania, Finland, Esthonia and Latvia.

The military and political preparation of these countries is not carried on solely in the name of Western culture, Christian religion and civilization against Bolshevik barbarism, but also under the banner of imperialist expansion, encouraged by the leaders of the Great Powers. In Finland they speak of Greater Finland, with the annexation of Soviet Karelia, Leningrad, Viatka and the Marunsk district. Esthonia dreams of Engermanland and Novgorod, "ancient Esthonian lands" as they say. At Warsaw, the Poland of Jagellow is reconstituted on paper, the Polish bourgeoisie is intoxicated with the idea of the annexation of Soviet Ukraine and with the traditions of 1772.

All the political anti-Soviet combinations are led by Poland, the chief vassal of French imperialism. Finland is under her orders, Roumania is allied to her by a military treaty. Poland has a war industry which works with feverish activity; but it is another of France's vassals, Czecho-Slovakia, which is specially entrusted with this production, with the carrying out of the large orders for war material for Poland and Roumania.

France is closely bound to Czecho-Slovakia by a double interest. Czecho-Slovakia defends the Versailles and the subsidiary treaties under which she is the beneficiary. Besides this, she furnishes arms and munitions to the States on the borders of the U.S.S.R. The close connection between the Czecho-Slovakian and the French war industry is well known. The Skoda Works are financially united with Schneider of Creusot and with the Banque de l'Union Parisienne, which actually controls them. Skoda has branch establishments in Poland, Roumania and Yugoslavia. Skoda produces from 500,000 to 600,000 artillery shells per month.

In the automobile industry it produces 10,000 cars a year, and 300 aeroplane motors. The Czech-Skoda factories have orders given by the neighbours of the U.S.S.R. for nearly a milliard francs up to 1932.

Finally it is to be noted that Poland repeatedly conducts military

manœuvres, naval and aerial manœuvres, in which an invasion of the Soviet Union is always practised.

Manœuvres with the same objective take place in Esthonia and Latvia, with mechanical and highly developed equipment : armoured trains, armoured cars, tanks, aeroplanes, furnished by Western imperialism, and in particular by France.

At Creusot Schneider is at present preparing for Roumania forty-five complete batteries of heavy guns of 105 mm. Many factories for manufacturing war materials have been sent up in Roumania with French capital. The reconstruction of the army, and especially of the air force, is being carried out with great energy under the direction of French generals.

The same Schneider has also established war factories in the strategic triangle Radom-Przemysl-Tarnopol, in Poland.

It is clear that these feverish military preparations, these repeated manœuvres, this increase in supplies and armaments, these millions spent without reckoning, have only one purpose. They are aimed exclusively at the Union of Socialist Republics. It has been decided that the Union must at any cost be wiped off the face of the earth.

#### *Diplomatic Action in the Preparation for War*

Side by side with this intensive military preparation for intervention in the Soviet Union equally vigorous diplomatic action is being taken. Military and political alliances and secret treaties are elaborated in the shadows of the foreign Ministries.

Here also it is imperialist France which is the heart and soul of all the intrigues. From the end of 1927, or, more exactly, from the beginning of 1923, the leadership of the anti-Soviet war began to pass little by little out of the hands of the British into those of the French. Why did this transition take place? During these last years the international rôle of France has grown considerably, thanks to her economic, financial and military power.

During the same period Great Britain has been experiencing growing difficulties in her internal economy and in the East, in particular in her colonies, and also even in her Dominions.

She has also, in spite of Snowden's little outbursts at The Hague, been forced to seek a rapprochement with France and obtain the latter's co-operation. This support was especially necessary for her on account of the extreme tension in her relations with the United States. Add to this the fact that both French and British imperialism are equally menaced by revolutions in their Asiatic and African possessions. And finally there is the fact that the hatred of both these capitalist Powers for the Soviet Union has become equally intense.

As to France, she is intimately bound up with Europe. Not only did the last world war afford her substantial material profit, but her hegemony over the old continent was, so to speak, inscribed in the stipulations of the Versailles Treaty.

She knows how to profit from this dominating position by grouping

under her ægis all the nations of Europe and rousing them against the Soviet Union. Of course matters do not develop of their own accord, and her capacity for manœuvring is limited. It is not easy to unite in the same Pan-Europe bloc both the nations which benefited and those which lost by the war. We have proof of this to-day in the proposed Austro-German Customs Union. But it remains true none the less that the efforts of France, assisted by Great Britain, tend to eliminate these antagonisms and to create conditions favourable for the organization of an anti-Soviet bloc.

Why is imperialist France now leading the aggression against the U.S.S.R.?

Obviously for the fundamental reason that she cannot tolerate the example of the Socialist Republics, the very existence and tremendous progress of which condemn the foundations of capitalism ; because she wants to extinguish the flames of colonial revolts, fanned, as she thinks, by Moscow ; because imperialist France has never lost the hope of recovering the capital she invested before the war in tsarist Russia ; because she now has very large gold reserves which she dreams of investing in a Russia once again made capitalist and, as they say, democratic ; and finally because she hopes that the destruction of Bolshevism would put her in direct possession of the Donetz Basin, of the oil of Caucasia, and of the unlimited riches of all the peoples of the Union. It is easy to understand that the prospect of such wealth arouses the covetousness of the Parisian bankers allied to bold captains of industry. Riabushinsky, of the Torgprom,\* quite cynically gives a résumé of their hopes and their criminal aims :

“ What would war against the Soviets cost ? Eleven or twelve milliard francs. What profit would result from it ? Five milliards a year at first, and later 500 per cent.”

There, is it not in truth an adventure worth risking ?

To ensure its success numerous conferences are held, diplomatic negotiations, backstairs intrigues. It is from this angle that we must judge the innumerable peace conferences which follow each other at intervals of three months at Geneva and elsewhere, and which have not ceased to multiply during the last two years.

Nearly 150 conferences, commissions, sub-commissions, ostensibly to prepare peace, a tariff truce, disarmament, limitation of armaments, the rights of minorities—all proved abortive after bitter and sordid disputes, after insipid and monotonous discussions. In reality the imperialist leaders who inspire them have only one objective : the grouping of all the anti-Soviet forces by spreading the most deceitful pacifist illusions in the minds of the peoples. Briand's famous Pan-Europe plan has no other explanation. It fits in, in actual fact, with that other plan of the industrialist Rechberg, who found sympathetic ears in France. It has the same inspiration as the repeated attempts

\* The Council of Trade and Industry, the association of ex-Russian capitalists at Paris.

made during last summer and this winter to create a union of the Balkan countries. It was not till the recent treaty made between France and Denmark and the constitution of a Scandinavian bloc that all the measures envisaged for the construction of an anti-Soviet bloc were completed.

The straits of the Baltic are opened to the imperialist fleets. A base for aggression is established in Sweden.

One of the most recent acts aimed against the Soviet Union was the renewal of the treaty between Poland and Roumania in January, 1931. This is essentially a definite military agreement binding these two vassals of France together for an aggressive aim which admits of no ambiguity. There are secret military treaties of the same kind made by imperialist France, under the auspices of peace-loving Briand, with Roumania, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia and the Baltic countries.

In all these countries the outward sign of these diplomatic and military alliances is the presence of permanent missions of officers of the French General Staff. Every year, and several times a year, French generals and admirals come in great state to Belgrade, to Warsaw, to Prague, to Bucharest—General Leroud, General Gouraud, Admiral Guepratte, Marshal Franchet d'Esperey, the Minister of Air, Eynac. In 1930, at Prague, and in 1931, in Paris, there were conferences attended by military representatives of France and her vassal States. The fusion of the General Staffs is an accomplished fact. Thus the secret work of the embassies prepares the most intimate collaboration of military leaders, who in the sight of the whole world are organizing war against the peaceful Soviet Union.

The head of all this anti-Soviet diplomacy is at Paris, in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is from here that the directions are given.

In order to emphasize the state of mind which prevails we must quote some passages from Briand's speech in the Senate debate on March 27th. It was only the other day! Even the diplomatic formulas used do not succeed in obscuring the extreme seriousness of the danger of aggression:

"We cannot say that our relations with the Soviets are good. The conditions of Russian economy, which are novel and continually changing, provoke uneasiness in all countries of the world. Over there in Russia the prevailing conditions of production and exchange are quite foreign to us. These conditions may have extremely unfavourable effects on the economic life of various countries in their relations with Russia. These countries will be duped if they do not take preventative measures. Such precautions must be taken after mature consideration if the possibility of maintaining normal relations with Russia is to be preserved. In effect there arises the complicated problem of creating an organism capable of ensuring equilibrium between the countries in which production and exchange take place in the old way and the countries which judge it necessary to apply new methods in conditions which give cause for serious apprehension."

Comrades, never since the war has one of the most responsible heads of European diplomacy uttered words so menacing.

We would call attention to another incident which occurred in Paris two days after Briand's speech. Aubert, the secretary of the International Bureau for Combating the Communist International, the defender of Vorovsky's assassin, organized a meeting in a hall in Paris on March 19th, 1931. At this meeting Spalakovitch, who was present in his capacity as Serbian Minister, made a violent speech against the Soviet Union.

When a bourgeois diplomat commits such a serious indiscretion his attitude can only be interpreted as a direct provocation.

### *The Financial and Economic Preparations for War*

As can be easily seen from Briand's speeches, the imperialists are displaying very great activity in the preparation of economic and financial war against the Soviet Union.

During the year 1930 in particular there was a very great increase in the intensity of the struggle against the import of Soviet goods.

Here again France puts herself at the head of the crusade.

The principal event in this campaign against Soviet "dumping" and "forced labour" was the Economic Conference which was held at Geneva in March, 1930, under cover of an attempt to bring about an impossible Customs truce.

The lamentable fiasco of this Conference was finally acknowledged a year later, on March 18th last, by the dissolution of the International Economic Conference presided over by the Dutchman Colijn. But in reality behind this screen there was hidden one more attempt to organize economic war against the U.S.S.R.

This Conference was not, of course, the only one. Remember the meeting of the representatives of the agrarian countries of Eastern Europe called together at Sinaiz in January, 1930; the one at Warsaw in September, 1930; another a month later at Bucharest (October, 1930); a conference of the Scandinavian countries at Oslo in December, 1930; two conferences in Paris in January, 1930; a new one at Vienna this March.

What goes on at all these meetings called one after another under the pretext of saving the distressed agriculture of the Danubian countries, under the pretext of setting up preferential tariffs, of obtaining credits, or of discovering other panaceas? All were instigated by France in the person of Flandin, then the Minister of Trade. It was a question of dangling promises of credit advances from the banks before the eyes of the Governments of the agrarian countries, whose national economy is disintegrating. On conditions, of course; for public opinion in these countries where the agrarian crisis prevails had been prepared by pointing out that the cause of all their troubles was the Soviet Union, its Five Year Plan, and its collectivized agriculture.

The same Minister (Flandin), who was running about Europe and even went as far as Turkey offering his good offices and the credits of the Paris banks, was the very man who on October 3rd, 1930,

introduced the decrees against the import of Russian goods : wheat, cereals, linen, timber, meat, and affecting also oil.

And subsequently, at the end of last February, Rollin, Flandin's successor, declared that the French Government was going yet further along the path of economic blockade of the U.S.S.R. The anti-Soviet decrees of October 3rd are to be enforced more strictly.

It is therefore obvious that at Paris a coherent and sustained policy against the Soviet economy is being pursued. This policy is rounded off by an absolute refusal of credits for trade with the Soviet Union, whilst at the same time milliards are granted to Pilsudski and King Carol. These credits will bring no help to the unhappy peasantry of the Balkan countries, who are plundered by the usurers and by their landlords and Governments. The credits will be used for increasing armaments ; they will serve to furnish more shrapnel, more machine guns, more aeroplanes and tanks, and for the establishment of naval bases and strategic railway lines ; they will be used for the hasty completion of the whole apparatus of destruction designed for use against the Union of Workers' and Peasants' Republics.

#### *Ideological Preparation for the War against the U.S.S.R.*

The nearer the moment for the outbreak of conflict comes the sharper grows the moral and psychological preparation in all capitalist countries.

Campaigns are launched against the U.S.S.R. with extraordinary vehemence. In these the big newspapers are in the front ranks of the battle, and the value to capitalism of this redoubtable weapon cannot be over-estimated. Considering only the two countries which have taken the lead in the anti-Soviet movement, France and Great Britain, let us cite a few figures.

In France eight million copies of newspapers are daily circulated, even to the remotest villages. There is not a single newspaper, except *L'Humanité*, which does not furiously attack the Soviet Union. This is as true of the colossus which prints 1,200,000 or 1,700,000 copies as of the smallest provincial sheet ; it is true of the Socialist and Radical newspapers, all of them ; of the Right and of the Left, their attack is conducted like a massed orchestra led by one single conductor.

In Great Britain this applies not only to the big newspapers of "informed opinion," like *The Times* (200,000 copies), the *Daily Telegraph* (200,000), or the *Morning Post* (180,000) ; it is also true of the demagogic jingo press of Lord Rothermere, which was referred to by Comrade Pollitt in his speech and whose circulation runs into millions. The total weekly number of newspapers printed by the Rothermere press runs into 26 million. The *Daily Mail* alone issues nearly two million copies a day, which are full of furious and passionate hatred of the U.S.S.R., and of praise and admiration for Mussolini and Hitler.

This is how public opinion is manufactured, in just the same way as soap or silk stockings. This is where the series of campaigns against the Soviet Union have their fountain head.

The first of these campaigns was the one of the Catholic Church, that of the Pope, which began at the end of 1929 and beginning of 1930.

That of the so-called Soviet dumping followed at the end of 1930 ; it still goes on in the Press, in Parliament, in chambers of commerce, and in the Ministries.

At the present moment the campaign about forced labour is in full swing.

We mention here only essentials, the headings of the main chapters so to speak. Every day, for years past, there flows forth from Warsaw, Riga and Helsingfors against the Soviet Union a stream of false news which reaches to the furthest corners of the world.

We should give pride of place to the old campaign against so-called Red Imperialism, which is periodically revived by new inventions.

Although the Soviet Union has resolutely pursued a policy of peace, the bourgeois and Socialist newspapers are full of alleged monstrous preparations for war by the Soviet Union, and of statements concerning the aggressive intentions of the proletarians of that country towards their neighbours. It is not, it would appear, the imperialists who are contemplating aggression upon the Union of Workers' and Peasants' Republics. No ! The souls of the imperialists are whiter and purer than Alpine snow ; their formula is that of the Gospels : " Peace on earth, good will to men " ! But unfortunately their passionate desire for peace comes up against the desire for conquest felt by the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, and they spread the most ridiculous stories about this in order to terrify the peaceable people who fear the horrors of war.

*Le Matin* declares that the Soviet Union has at its command 17 million soldiers, excellently armed and equipped. It adds that the Bolsheviks have a remarkably good air service, and that their organization of chemical warfare will enable them to make the fullest possible use of super-poisonous gases.

The *Daily Telegraph* does not speak of 17 million soldiers—that is really a bit too thick—but it gives a figure of 11 millions as if this figure were quite definitely established to be true.

For its part the official naval review of the British Admiralty, the *Naval and Military Record*, in a sensational editorial, has laid down for posterity the strategic plans of Red Imperialism in 1930.

First of all, of course, Moscow is thinking all the time of invading the peaceful Poland of Pilsudski. But the Kremlin does not stop here in its dreams of conquest ; it has resuscitated the old Napoleonic ambition to get control of the Suez Canal. It is stated that Voroshilov has worked out a plan for a gigantic raid across Turkey, Syria and the Holy Land in order to seize Egypt and the Suez Canal.

Thank God, says the author of this ridiculous fairy tale, the British Navy, the glorious Home Fleet, is there watching ! Fortunately the peace-loving Admiralty, under the direction of Mr. Alexander, the Socialist, is forewarned ! Were it not so, poor capitalist England would

find her communications with the East cut. She could no longer ensure the happiness of her loyal subjects of India!

"Besides this," adds the editor of this British review, "to smash the Soviet plans we can count upon the co-operation of the Pacific Fleet of Japan, which would occupy the Vladivostok route whilst ours attacked the Russian ports of the Black Sea."

All these insanities are related, discussed and seriously commented on in the organ of the officers of the English Navy with pretended scientific impartiality. The whole of it strikingly justifies the words of Bismarck: "People lie most of all on the eve of war!"

Similar absurd and lunatic imaginings could easily be found in the technical journals of the French Army, such as *La France Militaire*. Government circles everywhere spread the same kind of fables. When Briand is questioned in the Chamber concerning anti-Soviet war plans he remarks nonchalantly: "You know very well that the Russian Army is the strongest in the world!"

And in barracks the French officers spread the legend of Red Imperialism among the troops and the reservists.

Red Imperialism is above all the everyday theme of the Socialist papers. What have they not written on this subject concerning Georgia, concerning the unhappy enslaved nations of the Caucasus, concerning the Manchurian Railway, concerning the Ukraine, which must be liberated in the name of the struggle for the self-determination of nations!

It is absolutely essential to rebut incessantly this unremitting, absurd and dishonest propaganda. The Soviet Union desires peace. The Federation of Soviet Republics is the only country in the world which has no desire for conquest. Soviets and the spirit of conquest are contradictory themes. Nowhere else in the world except in the Federation of Soviet Republics are the rights of national minorities respected. Their Federation is a model for the future. It is only according to the example they give that the oppressed minorities of to-day can be liberated to-morrow.

And, further, why should the Soviet Union desire war?

Has she need of new territory?

She occupies one-sixth of the globe.

Does she need to seek elsewhere for raw materials? Nature has given her a soil and a subsoil which are amongst the richest in the world.

Is her internal market saturated?

It is far from being so! Far from suffering from an over-production of goods, her population, which is rapidly approaching 200 million inhabitants, has tremendous needs which she is far from being able to supply in spite of the gigantic progress she has been making. The problem of markets, the problem which is a life and death question for the system of commodity production of the imperialist nations, does not exist for her. If the Soviet Union exports raw materials it is in order to import machines which for the time being she lacks.

It is senseless to accuse her of dumping. Dumping is the ordinary commercial weapon—one might say even the classic weapon—of the imperialist countries. Here there is nothing of the kind. The Soviet Union does not sell dear in the home market in order to sell below the cost of production in the foreign market. That is a specifically capitalist method. The Soviets have no capitalist class to support; they have only to ensure the continuous improvement in the conditions of life of the working class and the peasantry, and they do not fail to do so! No Soviet worker disputes this. But, this once accomplished, they have for export a surplus of agricultural products and of raw materials, such as oil. Should the workers in the capitalist countries complain of this? No! The prices of the raw materials exported by the Soviets have helped to reduce the profits of big trusts such as the Oil Trust. This is an actual fact, and, if Deterding is irritated, do the workers suffer from the diminutions in the profits of the trusts? On the contrary, they have cause for rejoicing. On the other hand, have not the purchases of the Soviets, which amount to milliards each year, assured work to hundreds of thousands of unemployed in Europe and the U.S.A.? They would contribute much more than this to diminish the ravages of world unemployment if Soviet trade were not placed in an exceptionally unfavourable position by the refusal of credits which are normal in ordinary exchange between nations.

As to accusing them of bringing down prices with a crash by the magnitude of their exports, this is simply ridiculous when one knows that their present share of world exports is not appreciably greater than that of 1912, and that it only amounts to 1.9 per cent. of world exports.

Thus all these accusations of Red Imperialism and dumping—accusations made in an endeavour to rouse the anger of the people against the Soviet Union and to prepare their minds for the attack against her—fall to the ground.

As to the accusation of forced labour, the capitalists need a colossal impudence even to dare to formulate it. They who by fire and sword and hunger have for centuries been foraging hundreds of millions of men and women in the colonies to enrich the brigands of a few conquering countries; they who profit by a wage system which binds workers, men and women, to their masters by chains less visible but no less heavy than those of Roman slaves—they should at least have the modesty to refrain from accusing the Soviets of using forced labour.

Red Imperialism, dumping, forced labour! These are so many legends and inventions. After these have fallen into complete public disrepute the imperialists and their lackeys will invent others. Veritable factories of lies are thus organized to-day, and on an increasingly international and universal scale. To-morrow these campaigns will become even wider in scope. They are an integral part of the preparation for war, and their increasing violence is one of the most indisputable proofs of the imminence of the danger.

### *The White Guards*

In the preparation for war against the U.S.S.R., a special and important rôle devolves upon the Russian White Guards dispersed in many countries where they have preserved their military organization. As the preparations of the imperialist countries against the U.S.S.R. are accelerated so does the activity of the White Guards increase. There is now a new phase in this activity. Hitherto the chiefs of the White Guards concealed their work behind all kinds of charitable organizations, but now, in the period of increasing menace of war, they enter the arena openly; they speak openly of the preparation of the anti-Soviet war. This can be seen especially in France and in the countries which are under the influence and protection of France.

Recent events which occurred in the camp of White Guards in Yugoslavia, where several of their units are concentrated, show how they seek to influence public opinion, principally in bourgeois circles, in favour of anti-Soviet war. Help is asked for the White Guard detachments in their war preparations.

It is not an accident that General Miller has been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the detachments of White Guards in Europe. General Miller was recently commander of the White Guard detachments in the Balkans, and lived a long time in Yugoslavia, where he was allowed to continue the military instruction of his troops. Some of the White officers are in the service of the Belgrade Government, others practise one of the liberal professions; many of them are employed by French firms in the Balkans or work in enterprises closely connected with French military circles.

Immediately after he was appointed Commander-in-Chief, General Miller went on a tour of inspection in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria; at the same time he had conversations with the banking circles of Bucharest, Sofia, Belgrade, etc. . . . Accompanied by his secretary, Captain Gossard, he visited Bucharest, where "by chance" he met the Commander of the Polish General Staff, Piskor, with whom he discussed the creation of a united front of European countries against the U.S.S.R., and under the ægis of France.

In Bulgaria, General Miller visited the principal camps of his soldiers at Choumine, Viriz, Razgrade, Sistovo, Lome, Virive and Sofia, and reviewed all the units. It is very characteristic that these formations are mainly in the north of Bulgaria, chiefly in the towns close to the Roumanian frontier.

In Yugoslavia, Miller visited the concentration camps of his troops at Novo-Sad, Zagreb, Belgrade, etc. At Belgrade he received his officers. He warmly thanked the Yugoslavian Government for the assistance it gives to all the old troops of Wrangel. At Belgrade, Miller had conversations with high officials of the War Office and of the Government. From Belgrade he left for Paris, where the General Staff of all the White military units is maintained.

At Belgrade, as at Sofia, General Miller conferred with the leaders

of the reconstituted White Army. At Sofia, as the newspaper *Sofia* announced, the conference took place in the apartment of the White General Abramov. General Miller there received an account of the general condition of the White military detachments; he gave advice concerning the military preparations for the anti-Soviet war and for the creation of a military bloc, under the ægis of France, of the countries which are neighbours of the Soviet Union. The *Sofia* announced further on that on the occasion of General Miller's tour of inspection the rumour spread that France was preparing a military campaign against the U.S.S.R., and that she intended to use Bulgaria as her military base.

The declarations made by General Miller to the representatives of the Yugoslavian press were very characteristic. These declarations signify a new phase of White Guard activity in the Balkans and prove the progress made in their open military preparations. Thus he stressed the fact that the military detachments are in excellent condition and that the most essential thing is for them to be absolutely fit politically to perform their duties—that is to say, to take an active part in the war against the U.S.S.R. He spoke of the reorganization of the detachments and of the creation of new organizations even in such places as Australia and South America. Miller announced that his General Staff is continually supplied with information about the Soviet Union, which means that continuous spying is carried on in the U.S.S.R. Miller's General Staff has organized military courses for the officers in every country where there are White units. The students at these courses receive instructions in the latest developments of military technique. Miller's tour also had the aim of organizing such courses in the Balkan countries. The White Guards have large depots of arms at their disposal in the Balkan countries with the knowledge of the Governments.

It is necessary here to recall the sensational interview given by General Miller a few weeks ago to the big British newspaper, the *Sunday Referee*.

He said then :

"We maintain in Paris an Academy of Higher Courses in Military Science for the instruction of Russian emigrés. Courses designed for war training have already been attended by more than 10,000 of our men.

"When Europe engages with her united forces against the Communists, we shall back up the other armies. We shall supply more than 100,000 fighters.

"When the time comes my orders will reach the various detachments of my army. They will be immediately carried out.

"I have just been visiting the commanders of my local detachments in several European capitals. I am completely satisfied with the result of my inspection.

"Do not doubt that a foreign Power will give material assistance to the White troops."

When this impudent article appeared there was stupefaction in the camp of the Whites in Paris. Miller was forced to correct his words, which had revealed too much. He did so in a new article that appeared

in the Paris paper of Russian Monarchists, *La Renaissance*. But the correction only confirmed the essential contents of the interview published in the *Referee's* note.

It is quite certain that Miller formulated in blunt terms the real intentions of his entourage. It is no less certain that he acts in complete agreement with the French Government, which allows important organized and armed military formations to exist in the territory of our country. The Government does not stop at mere tolerance. The connections between the White units of Paris and the south of France with the officers of the French General Staff are perfectly well known and quite public. The most representative French generals attend in uniform—that is to say, by command—at the demonstrations and fêtes of the army of the White emigrés.

And when the Communist fraction in the French Parliament demands that Briand should expel these counter-revolutionaries the Ministers of French imperialism reproach us with asking them to violate the right of asylum. By this avowal, as by all its actions, the French Government openly admits that it considers Miller's White Army as one of the storm troops on whom it means to call for the invasion of the Soviet Union.

#### *The Fascists in the Preparation for War*

Side by side with the White Russians, who, after remaining in obscurity for ten years, are now publicly organizing, there are the Fascists, who will also be in the front ranks when the anti-Soviet war begins.

We have already mentioned the fact that connected with the army proper there are in several countries a large number of Fascist organizations.

The various imperialists are now certain that they will not be able to proceed to general mobilization in the same way as in 1914 without provoking very strong resistance. To-day the capitalist Governments are establishing Fascist military formations which have under their influence the bourgeois associations of ex-soldiers, societies for military training and numerous sports organizations. In these organizations there are both bourgeois and workers. Intensive oral and written propaganda is carried on within these groups to prepare them morally and politically for war.

The bourgeoisie knows full well that in the event of an attack on the U.S.S.R. it must reckon with the Communist movement, with the working class.

From this there arise three fundamental tasks for world Fascism :

First, it must struggle against the Communist movement within its own borders.

Secondly, it must rouse the Jingoism of the population.

Finally, it must agitate to the utmost against the Soviet Union.

They prepare with enthusiasm to carry out these commands.

Fascist organizations are found in different forms in different

countries; some are purely military or semi-military, others are sporting, patriotic or philanthropic.

Those which are militarized represent the very heart of the defensive army of capitalism.

The bourgeoisie knows very well that it can no longer rely, as it did in 1914, on the absolute loyalty of its permanent army of recruited and conscripted peasants and workers. The army is now too unreliable. Working-class strikes take place frequently and affect all the key industries. Movements and mutinies occur quite often in capitalist armies. There have been some hundreds in the French Army and Navy during the last few years.

In these circumstances the bourgeoisie realizes that it cannot entrust the standing army with the defence of its booty.

From now on the capitalists realize that in wartime the armies in which the soldiers of the national minorities are enrolled are extremely unreliable from the political point of view, and that they may easily turn against them or pass over to the enemy. This is why, side by side with the permanent army, in almost every country politically selected Fascist troops are now maintained and put through preliminary tests by the representatives of the bourgeoisie. These formidable military Fascist organizations are not to be distinguished fundamentally in any respect from the organization of the army itself. They are divided up into large detachments having their own officers (the Fascist militia, the Finnish Schutzkors, the Latvian Aizsargs). They are armed and equipped in just the same way as the regular troops. The only difference is that the Fascists constitute a voluntary army with its own detachments, which meet for drill once or twice a week, or on the days of rest. In the summer they go to camp for a short period of a few weeks. The big capitalists encourage by every means the development of military Fascist corps, and voluntarily give extra holidays to those of their employees and workers who go to the camps to drill.

In the United States there is an understanding between the War Department and industrial enterprises. The men who attend the "civilian camps" in which the cadres of the Fascist units are formed draw their salaries during the period they remain in camp.

In order to show the military preparation of the Fascist military societies let us quote some typical examples from the countries which are neighbours of the U.S.S.R.

In Poland the most powerful organization is the "Strelets," thanks to which Pilsudski carried through his *coup d'état* in 1926, and on whose support he has maintained himself these last six years. This organization has 600,000 members, more than half of whom have their arms at home. The Polish Fascists can quickly organize resistance in case of internal trouble. This could be seen in 1926 during Pilsudski's *coup d'état*: 40,000 Fascists were mobilized, with 1000 officers and 5000 non-commissioned officers permanently engaged in preparing the riflemen of this organization.

In Finland the "Schutzkors" are instructed according to a very extensive military programme which embraces all forms of fighting, physical exercise and political instruction. In Esthonia the League of Defence, and in Latvia the "Aizsargs" are trained on the Finnish model.

In Roumania the Fascist organizations have been very active during the last two years since the national-Tsaranist Maniu has been in power. The organization of the "Voinitchi," with a membership of nearly 200,000, takes an active part in strike-breaking.

The coming war, in preparation for which enormous sums derived from the exploitation of the toiling masses are being spent, requires the mobilization of all the human forces and of all the material resources of the country. The bourgeoisie reckons to use these Fascist cadres, which are reliable from the class point of view, in order to maintain political stability among the masses mobilized in the armies. They incorporate them in the army as the political props of this shaky edifice in which workers and peasants are mobilized to defend interests which are not their own.

In organizing these "devoted" cadres the bourgeoisie has endeavoured to equip them with powerful modern technique, to man the aeroplanes with faithful Fascists, to give the steering wheel of the tank to the devoted bandit ready to defend the capitalist fatherland, to hand over to him the best machine guns and other weapons of destruction. That is the dream of all the general staffs.

The social composition of the military Fascist associations in the Western countries neighbouring on the U.S.S.R. will be found to be more or less as follows: wealthy farmers and capitalists, 50 to 60 per cent.; town and country workers, 5 to 10 per cent. The proportion of industrial workers varies from 1 to 3 per cent.

The underlying aim of the sports clubs, aerial clubs, motoring clubs, scientific military societies and clubs is the same.

#### *The Social Fascists and Intervention*

We must now state exactly the abominable rôle played by the whole Socialist International in the preparation for attack on the U.S.S.R., illustrated clearly in the recent trial of the Menshevik saboteurs.

From 1917 until now all the leaders of the Socialist International without exception, from Right to Left, have not let a day pass without attacking the October Revolution, without insulting and falsifying its actions, without spreading the most absurd calumnies about it amongst the working class, without prophesying and hoping for its defeat and collapse. Volumes could be filled with this disgraceful story.

On pedantic grounds they have denied the title of Proletarian Revolution, of Socialist Revolution, to the October movement. The moment the Revolution was born outside their academic prophecies it had no right to live. A thousand times have they declared that the

Revolution of 1917 was not a proletarian revolution; that its historical rôle was to create a bourgeois democratic State; that it was necessary to pass through this stage before constructing Socialism.

This has been the permanent theme of Kautsky since 1917. He proclaimed it once more a few days ago in articles in *Gesellschaft*:

"If Lenin is right then all my life's work, consecrated to spread, to apply and to develop the conceptions of our great masters, Marx and Engels, has been in vain."

But whilst Kautsky, the one-time revolutionary theoretician, has blundered into the "blind alley" of democracy, Bolshevism is victoriously realizing the Five Year Plan and condemning by life and experience this doctrinaire and his criticisms.

The fulfilment of the Five Year Plan testifies to the definite defeat of Social-Democratic tactics; it finally discredits that which was Kautskyism; in the eyes of the workers of the whole world it is, and will be to an increasing extent, the proof of the blindness and of the monstrous treason of the Second International.

At this very hour, when the most inimical of the bourgeois enemies take off their hats to the amazing successes of the Five Year Plan, Blum, Kautsky and the rest of them persist in declaring that its failure is certain. They repeat time and again that the trial of the wreckers was but a phantasmagoria meant to hide the failure of the Plan.

But the activity of the leaders of the Second International was not limited to theoretical and doctrinal criticism of Bolshevism in its construction of Socialism.

They were not content to scoff, to trample under foot the dictatorship of the proletariat and to substitute the most vulgar bourgeois democracy. No! In the service of imperialism they entered into the actual fight against the Soviet Union. It was not enough that in the Press, in parliaments, in public meetings and in the whole of their propaganda they should place themselves amongst the most rabid adversaries of the Soviet Union; they have also assisted in actual fact, in action, in the preparations for armed intervention and for the carrying out of such acts of aggression in the past and to-day.

To say, as Abramovitch did at a Berlin meeting in March, 1931, that "the old Tsarism was not as bad as Communist Tsarism" is deliberate incitement, and of such a nature that it would be hard to find anything more provocative.

If it is true that Bolshevism is worse than Tsarism, simple and logical minds must draw the conclusion that any action is right which is taken to destroy it and annihilate it. This was indeed the rôle of the notorious Menshevik friends of Abramovitch, like Garvy, who after the imperialist war called upon the imperialists to invade the Soviet Union.

This Garvy wrote in November, 1918: "We cannot solve the problem of Russia's fate *without the assistance* of a foreign Power. The arrival of Allied troops in Russia is an event of great political importance. It may have the *most favourable* results for our work of reconstruction."

Did the Second International support this Garvy, who called upon the imperialists to invade the Soviet Union, who helped them kill and torture thousands and thousands of revolutionary workers and peasants? Is the Second International jointly liable with him? Yes! And without reserve. The Socialist International entrusted him with the post of Russian expert on *Vorwärts*, the most important of the Social-Fascist newspapers. He has the duty of misleading and exciting the opinion of the German Socialist proletariat against the U.S.S.R. Garvy is the confidant and the counsellor of Kautsky, whilst his brother Rosenfeld is the counsellor of Blum, who has made him foreign editor of the *Populaire*. These Siamese twins are entrusted with very responsible posts in which they continue their work of poisoning the minds of the working class.

Are not the Georgian Mensheviks affiliated to the Socialist International? Did they not organize armed invasions of Georgia with the co-operation of the Western imperialists and the oil magnates?

No one can deny this. Have they ever been repudiated by the leaders of the Socialist International? On the contrary, they have always been, and will continue to be, assisted, congratulated and protected.

Does not *Vorwärts* still write that the best solution for peace is to take the oil regions of the Caucasus away from the Soviet Union and internationalize them? Internationalizing them means to tear them away by force from the Soviet Union in order to hand them back to the capitalist trusts, acting on the formula of the armed Menshevik interventionists of Georgia.

Is not this the programme of Deterding and others of his ilk?

These are precise questions which the Socialist International cannot evade.

When the Socialist leader Paul Boncour declares that the soldiers of Pilsudski's army are the guardians of civilization, when a delegation of French Socialist deputies who were guests of Pilsudski in 1929 declare that *France's frontier is on the Vistula*, what name can we give to such a provocation?

When the Czech Socialist Senator Soukup states that Ukraine must be helped to liberate itself from the yoke of the Soviets and re-enter the European sphere of economy, is this being for intervention or not?

Besides this, the trial of the Menshevik wreckers in Moscow has just supplied us with documents, with absolutely irrefutable proofs, of the interventionist designs of the active Mensheviks of the Second International, and when Krylenko thundered their indictment Vandervelde realized the extreme seriousness of the blow struck at Social-Fascism.

He protested in these terms:

"One must reckon to an extraordinary degree upon human credulity to accuse men like Hilferding, Blum, Adler and myself of having secretly

prepared foreign intervention in Soviet Russia and of connivance with the imperialist General Staffs.

"The men of the Kremlin had better not have any illusions concerning the success of such manoeuvres. The power of lies has limits. Sooner or later truth triumphs. When that time comes the workers of the U.S.S.R. will settle accounts with those who so impudently deceive them. We shall be cleared."

The answer to this grandiloquent duplicity is to be found in events themselves. What does Vandervelde say to the following words of Kautsky, the "venerated theoretical master" of the Socialist International?

"Can anything worse be imagined than the present hell which is Soviet Russia? Can the fall of the Soviet dictatorship lead to anything but a diminution of this hell? My imagination cannot picture anything more horrible than the present situation in the Soviet Union. I am deeply pained when we slacken the force of our offensive against the pitiless horrors of the dictatorship, because it is stated that the situation may become worse after its fall."

If this is not a direct appeal for intervention then in truth words have lost their meaning.

Everyone knows that Kautsky periodically foresees and announces local insurrections, in town and country, in the U.S.S.R. Together they may—and this is what he hopes—sweep away Bolshevism "with its instruments of domination."

"It would be fatal," he says, "for our International, because it rejects an armed rising against Bolshevism, to condemn every counter-revolutionary insurrection and to forbid its members to take part in such an insurrection. Such neutrality would be political suicide."

So speaks the mentor and spiritual guide of the Socialist International. But how can it be honestly denied that words such as these are cynical appeals for the necessity of intervention? Kautsky is not the only Social-Fascist to say aloud what the others whisper.

We have heard with our own ears in the French Chamber of Deputies, M. Spinasse, a friend of Vandervelde's—not an important personage, but one of the rising parliamentary hopes of his Party—speak of the necessity for that intervention against the U.S.S.R. which Kautsky considers to be a duty.

I quote the following passage from his speech for submission to Vandervelde:

"Are we going to leave the working class in Russia defenceless under the dictatorship of those who stick at nothing to keep in power? We do not think so. Unhindered by the hypocritical objections to foreign interference in the affairs of a country, we believe that Republican and Socialist France has the right in respect of the Russian people, as in respect of small nations, to take action in accordance with its theories.

"The recognition of democratic rights is a life or death question for the Russian proletariat. We cannot achieve that alone; the peoples united in the League of Nations must assist us."

Those who were present at the sitting five years ago where those shameful words were spoken remember the delirious applause with

which they were received on all sides of the imperialist Chamber. Never had a bourgeois deputy or Minister so "openly" called for intervention in order to *impose* bourgeois democracy by armed force on the proletariat which has freed itself from it for ever. Other interventionist formulas of this kind could easily be collected. There has not been an anti-Soviet campaign which was not started by them, that the whole of the Socialist International has failed to support.

It is this which gives its real significance to the declaration made by the fourteen members of the Russian Social-Democratic Party who have just been accused before the Soviet Supreme Court.

On the eve of the trial Vandervelde and all the leaders of the Socialist International declared their sympathy for those whom they called the new victims of Bolshevism. "We *identify* ourselves with the accused," wrote one of the Socialist newspapers; "we follow and we approve of their activities." And Vandervelde, in the name of the Executive of the Second International, then meeting in Zürich, telegraphed to the People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. on behalf of Groman, Sukhanov and the fourteen.

The accused have spoken. They have reminded us that during the course of their long lives as militants they have played important rôles and occupied important posts in the Russian section of the Socialist International.

They recalled their political past of fifteen, twenty and thirty years, the services they rendered, their Party work. Then they solemnly confessed in the presence of the whole world their work of sabotage carried on in conjunction with the agents of the Industrial Party and French imperialism. Their state of mind can be justly summed up by collecting and quoting their own statements.

Listen to Ikov: "I have tried to put into practice that which our Party has officially laid down in its vague and equivocal resolutions."

And Teitelbaum: "All that has been said at this trial is what Russian Menshevism lived and breathed from the time of its birth."

Then the old economist Sukhanov: "The tactics of sabotage and intervention were always at bottom those of Social Democracy. The line we have followed is not only our own line; it is that of the Menshevik delegation abroad, which gave us its instructions."

Rubin the theoretician: "The Menshevik delegation abroad endeavoured in words to fix a limit to the struggle against the Soviet power. But the logic of the struggle made it overstep these limits. It sanctioned the counter-revolutionary methods applied by us in agreement with the Central Committee abroad." . . . "All struggle against the Soviet power, by virtue of its internal logic, ends in the policy of sabotage and intervention."

Here is the reply to the hypocritical denials of Vandervelde, and to his pretended indignation.

In fact, then, the Social Democratic leaders are one of the most active forces in the preparation of armed intervention against the

U.S.S.R. Daily they carry on their furious anti-Soviet propaganda amongst the working class. They go so far that the Social-Democratic workers in Germany and in France are demanding that they call a halt to this criminal game.

Their watchwords are those with which world capitalism rallies its forces for the blockade of the U.S.S.R. as the preliminary to open warfare. They participate in the accusations of dumping; they have invented a Red Imperialism in order to stigmatize it.

Did not De Brouckère, that *alter ego* of Vandervelde, declare at the Congress of the Socialist International at Marseilles in 1925 that "the main source of the war danger was the Red Imperialism of the Soviets"? This was equivalent to proclaiming in advance the guilt of the Soviet Union in case there should be war. In the name of twelve delegations at the Congress—amongst them France—De Brouckère demanded of the Socialist International that it assist the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries to impose democracy on the Soviets and to take action against the aggressive and annexationist policy of the Bolsheviks.

Three years later, at the International Congress at Brussels in August, 1928, it was the notorious Garvy himself, the interventionist of 1917, who insisted on the imaginary danger of Soviet militarism. He proclaimed the necessity, in the interests of the struggle for peace, of unmasking the Soviet proposal for complete disarmament.

These are the authentic texts with which we reply to M. Vandervelde:

The Social-Democrats are responsible for the absurd statement concerning forced labour in the U.S.S.R. They do all they can to destroy the belief of the international working class in the work of Socialist construction, which they systematically discredit.

In the country which plays the leading rôle in the preparations of the anti-Soviet war—that is to say, in France—the heads of the Socialist International are directly associated with the interventionists. The scandals arising from the Oustric affair have revealed the fact that Blum received 25,000 francs from the Benard Bank for the *Populaire*, and the Benard Bank was that of the ex-industrialists and oil men of Tsarist Russia. It was with the money of these White interventionists that the banker Benard subsidized the *Populaire*. Another scandal, that of the Baku oil wells, brought in another leader of the French Socialist Party, Marius Moutet. Moutet worked as the paid lawyer in the organization of the counter-revolutionary Russian industrialists. He helped them to speculate with the title deeds annulled by the proletarian October Revolution.

The Social Fascists deny the war danger. They defend the lying pacifism of Geneva, whose only aim is to lull the proletariat to sleep, to deliver them to imperialism bound hand and foot as in 1914.

In Germany, in Belgium, in Great Britain, in France they have proposed and voted war credits or manœuvred to enable them to be passed. The German Socialists want to push Germany into an alliance

with capitalist France in order to create a united front of the bourgeoisie against the U.S.S.R.

In a word, they continuously attack the Soviet Union. This is a logical attitude since, as the last line of defence, they are now an integral part of the capitalist regime. They participate in capitalist power; they are the police chiefs of capitalism; they shoot down the workers in the streets of Berlin; they do their part in outlawing the revolutionary workers.

They repudiate revolutionary Marxism for the sake of the most demagogic and vulgar democracy. Blum proclaims that the urgent task of the day is to destroy the ranks of Bolshevism everywhere.

It is the first duty of the revolutionary proletariat of the U.S.S.R., and of all countries, to wage a relentless and pitiless struggle against these leaders in order to rally and win over the honest workers who still follow them.

#### *Anti-Communist Repression is Part of the Preparation for War*

It seems quite impossible to enumerate the various forms of war preparation without speaking at least briefly of the repressive measures taken against the workers and the revolutionary militants affiliated to our Communist Parties.

This repression, which becomes more and more violent and sanguinary, is a definite form of war preparation. Before embarking on the great adventure the imperialists are determined to annihilate the organizations and parties of the working class which stand in the way of their designs. Anti-Communist repression, the preliminary suppression of the rebel proletarian forces, the physical oppression of its members, is an important part of the war plans. And this is why the bourgeoisie of the various countries devote themselves with such vehemence to this work of destruction, in which the Social Fascists render invaluable assistance.

There is no section of the Communist International which could not bring to this tribune its tragic account.

The following precise information was obtained from the most recent statistics of the Class War Prisoners' Aid Society:

It is clear that it is in the countries where civil war has already begun that the victims are the most numerous. They are already numbered in *hundreds of thousands* in China and India.

The figures for China are terrifying, and yet for years the courage of the revolutionaries has not flagged. What homage should not be paid to such heroism by the proletariats of the whole world!

For the year 1930 alone, according to the bourgeois press itself, there were in China 160,000 wounded in battle, 300,000 killed, 90,000 condemned to death by the mockery of Kuomintang democratic justice. (It was these same gentlemen of the Kuomintang who received the congratulations of M. Vandervelde during his last tour in China.)

In India in 1930, under the MacDonald Socialist Government, 30,000 men and women were arrested and imprisoned, 8600 wounded

546 assassinated, 24 condemned to be shot or to be hung. The number of victims increases daily.

In Indo-China and the other French colonies there were, in 1930, 3500 arrested and imprisoned, 1027 wounded, 979 murdered, 122 condemned to death.

In Italy 21,000 arrests, 5900 wounded and maltreated, 40 murdered, 5 condemned to death, 2300 sentenced to imprisonment and fined.

In Germany 17,800 arrests, 10,100 wounded or maltreated, 74 murdered, 2100 sentenced to imprisonment.

In Poland 6200 arrests, more than 8000 wounded and maltreated, 89 murdered, 17 condemned to death, 970 committed to prison. According to Comrade Lensky's report there are at this moment more than 7000 workers and peasants in Polish prisons.

In France 3500 arrests, 2025 wounded or maltreated, 2 murdered, 442 sentenced to imprisonment and fined.

In Yugo slavia more than 2000 imprisoned and 100 killed in the convict prisons since the establishment of the dictatorship.

In Hungary Horthy's prisons are full of members of the Communist Party. They are tortured, and some are murdered, under that Fascist terror. The lives of many of our comrades, like Rakosi's, are seriously threatened by their torturers.

The position is the same in all the Danubian Balkan countries and in Greece.

And the general conclusion which can be drawn is that since 1925 the progress of repression has been general in all countries, and becomes more rapid as war approaches. The total number of the victims of repression is three times as great for 1930 as for 1925, and this statement is in itself illuminating.

One must not forget that class justice takes less and less account of the old legal forms. The cost of the police force is increasing everywhere, especially in France, where it is now more than two milliard francs per annum. The prison regime is made more brutal; demonstrations and even meetings of workers are forbidden—in a word, the governing classes have already broken their own democratic bourgeois forms of procedure.

The Communist Parties are forced to an ever-increasing degree to live outside the law.

This repression, which is often horrible and sanguinary, is a clear indication of the intense preparations being made for war.

#### *The Tasks of the Communist Parties in the Struggle against the Anti-Soviet War*

We have now come to the end of our analysis. All the irrefutable facts have been collected for the purpose of implanting an absolute certitude in the minds of all workers: a certitude that war against the U.S.S.R., under the direction and inspiration of French imperialism, occupies the central place in world politics. The facts were already

sufficiently striking, but new proof was furnished by the historic trials of the Industrial Party and of the Mensheviks at Moscow.

The date of intervention was fixed for July, 1930. If war has not yet broken out it is because of the deep antagonism between the various groups of imperialist Powers, it is in consequence of the consistent peace policy of the Soviets; it is because the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union have demonstrated their fierce determination to defend the Soviet fatherland. It is also, we may venture to say, because, in spite of their shortcomings, the different sections of the Communist International have played their part in the struggle to preserve peace.

But the war against the U.S.S.R. is only postponed. The danger is more certain than ever, and the rhythm of anti-militarist activity of the Sections of the C.I. and of the masses of workers and peasants is far from having kept pace with the acceleration in the preparations for war.

The Communist Parties must spread knowledge of Lenin's teachings about war more widely. His directions were recalled in the resolution of the Sixth Congress, but this resolution has not been circulated widely enough amongst the workers. And first of all we must popularize the slogan of transforming the imperialist war and the war against the Soviet Union into a civil war against the bourgeoisie.

Anti-militarist work must be intensified everywhere. The workers' and peasants' organizations must everywhere establish permanent contact with soldiers, sailors and reservists. Lenin said :

“ The duty of spreading Communist ideas includes the special undertaking of carrying on systematic and persistent propaganda in the army. Wherever this agitation is prohibited by special laws, it must be carried on illegally. Renunciation of this work would be a betrayal of revolutionary duty and is incompatible with the title of member of the Third International.”

We must also work very carefully amongst the workers in the war industries and in the peace industries most directly interested in the production and transport of war supplies.

We must make the truth about the Red Army known to all the workers of the world and get them interested in its aims and its rôle. It differs fundamentally from the armies of imperialism; it is the international organ of the working class of all countries. Consequently every worker in the world, wherever he may be, should be ready to defend it and to consider himself as a soldier of the Red Army.

We must make the growing menace of war strikingly clear to the masses by concrete proofs. Up to now we have announced that war was near, and as it has not yet come many among the proletariat believe that it will not come.

They are encouraged in their fatal placidity by the Social-Democrats, who make themselves guarantors of the good intentions of the bourgeoisie and declare on every possible occasion, against all the evidence, that no Government is contemplating an attack on the U.S.S.R.

We must react with great energy against this propaganda of the Social Fascists. The leaders of Social Fascism stand at Geneva at the side of the imperialist leaders in order to maintain the contemptible Treaty of Versailles, to oppress national minorities, and to crush down the German proletariat with the burden of the Young Plan.

Similarly, in the internal affairs of each country, the Social Fascist leaders support their Governments and their capitalists in the work of dictatorship and robbing the working class, in strike-breaking, in violence against the revolutionary organizations.

From now on the chief task of the Communists must be to unmask the Social Fascist leaders day by day before the workers and to bring the latter into a united front against the bourgeoisie, against Versailles and the Young Plan, side by side with our German comrades and in favour of the national minorities.

It is our duty to launch a mighty movement against imperialism, the murderer and devastator; against the unprecedented bestiality of aerial warfare, of gas, of bacteria; against the mass assassination which is being organized and which will once more drown humanity in blood. In the Communist press and in Parliament we must tear aside the veil which covers the mystery of the origins and the causes of war; we must continually unmask the diplomatic hypocrisies and secret plans of the Governments.

In the struggle against bourgeois militarism and against its secret diplomacy it is important to make use of concrete examples, established facts, precise and clear explanations. Let us take our examples from the actual life of the imperialist armies, from the enterprises where war preparations are going on, as well as from the discussions of parliamentary committees. Let us proclaim all these secrets to the four corners of the earth.

We must struggle relentlessly against the false pacifism of Geneva and the League of Nations. It is by means of this that Social-Democracy misleads, deceives and stupefies the proletariat. The pacifism of Geneva and of the Socialists, their pretended disarmament, their pretended brotherhood of the peoples, their latest invention of Pan-Europe, are but screens to enable the war preparations to be intensified.

We have also other tasks. It is essential to call the attention of the proletariat to the heroic construction of Socialism proceeding in the U.S.S.R. In spite of the efforts of the wreckers, in spite of countless internal and external obstacles, the enthusiasm of the Soviet workers ensures the success of this great work. It is by giving vivid details as much as by the accumulation of statistics and figures that we shall interest the workers in the progress of Socialist construction.

What is the stimulus which draws hundreds of thousands of Soviet workers into the path of Socialist competition? What is a shock brigade? And what is the new morality which takes the place of the old standards and the old dying discipline?

Here is being realized the greatest human achievement of all ages.

Here the worker has freed himself from his subjection to the ruling class. How does he in actual fact ensure, day by day, the existence and the progress of this new and free society?

All workers are greedy for information on these questions, which are of vital interest to them. Already, in whatever continent they dwell, the best of them follow with passionate interest the news which reaches them about the Soviet fatherland. But we are not always able to give them exact information; we do not know how to satisfy their awakened curiosity and their desire for exact details. Yet it is by replying correctly to this invaluable curiosity that we can closely bind them to the common defence of the U.S.S.R. We can also do this by demonstrating to them that their own daily demands are connected with this defence, that, for instance, one of the causes of their misery and want arises from the continual increase in expenditure for the imperialist war and for the war against the U.S.S.R., and also that the prohibition of Soviet imports benefits the trusts, helps to raise the cost of living and to increase unemployment.

It is the mission of every one of us to mount guard around the Soviet Union. Our work? To bind the toiling masses to the Soviet Revolution, the armed camp of the world revolution; to go and recruit them everywhere, among the Socialists, the Christians and the Fascists, and to rally them all to the defence of the U.S.S.R.; to transform their sympathy for the Soviet Revolution into revolutionary action.

The events of yesterday in Germany, the raid on the headquarters of our brother Party, the new restrictions placed upon the legal existence of the German revolutionaries, of the Reich, remind every Communist of the extreme urgency of connecting their illegal with their legal work.

The French imperialist Government, on the occasion of August 1st, 1929, took forcible measures in an endeavour to decapitate the Communist organization and Red trade unions of our country. It is easy to foresee that, at the moment chosen for the attack on the Soviet Union, it will proceed to take the most pitiless and violent action in order to destroy and utterly wipe out the Communist Party and the Red trade unions. It is for such an emergency that we must now provide by taking all the necessary measures to meet it.

Thus, the representatives of the sections of the C.I. gathered here at this Plenum bear the most heavy responsibility. Our tasks are tremendous. We have just seen how our enemies are organizing in every detail a decisive fight against the Soviet Union and against International Communism.

Hence we none of us must be taken by surprise by events which we all must foresee as clearly as the light of day. It would be madness to expect a miracle of spontaneity at the last moment. It is now, without the loss of one single day, that the workers must prepare their action by following the example set by the Bolshevik Party.

Comrades, all here are fervent admirers of the Soviet Union.

But at the hour when her very existence is threatened by imperialism she has the right to expect more from the proletariat than vows and manifestations of sympathy.

Woe to her and woe to us if the workers cannot bring material force to the service of their cause, practical and concrete means with which to struggle and to conquer; if they cannot reply to violence by violence, to organization by organization!

War against the U.S.S.R. will unleash universal civil war all over the world. At this hour of capitalist decline history offers to the world proletariat the most favourable prospects of deliverance. But it will not gain the victory unless it deserves it by reason of its willingness to take action, its courage, its hardihood, the superiority of its strategy and tactics.

Let the world proletariat follow in the glorious footsteps of the Soviet proletariat! Here they succeeded in winning victory under the banner of Marx, Lenin and the Communist Party, inspired and led by these immortal masters.

Forward then, workers of the whole world, of the old world and the new, our hearts filled with hope, to the final struggle for defence of the Soviet Union, for the World Soviet Republic! (*Prolonged applause.*)

## DISCUSSION ON THE WAR DANGER AT THE XI PLENUM OF THE E.C.C.I., 1931

**Bratkovsky** (Poland): Fascist Poland is the advance post of imperialism in the fight against the Soviet Union; it acts as an anti-Soviet *place d'armes* and is one of the organizers of the counter-revolutionary bloc of bourgeois States from the Baltic to the Black Sea. The part being played by Poland in the preparations for the attack on the Soviet Union should therefore focus the attention of the Communist International, and the resistance put up by the Polish working masses, under the leadership of the Communist Party, against a war on the Soviet Union should receive the active support of the Communist Parties of other countries.

The very existence of bourgeois Poland is bound up in the most intimate way with her anti-Soviet activities. From Tsarist Russia Poland inherited the historical mission of the policeman of Europe. This fact has laid a firm imprint on the whole internal life of Poland and is one of the principal reasons for her profoundly reactionary character.

The anti-Soviet position occupied by the Polish bourgeoisie is based on *class interests*. The landlords, the capitalists, the kulaks and the bourgeois intellectuals are seeking the fulfilment of their class interests in a counter-revolutionary interventionist war against the Soviet Union. To this very day the Polish landlords cannot forget the loss of their estates, which passed into the possession of the peasants of Ukraine and White Russia and on which to-day collective farms are being organized; to this very day the capitalists of Poland have not abandoned the hope of some day receiving back their former factories and mines in what is now Soviet Ukraine.

At the bottom of the anti-Soviet policy of the Polish bourgeoisie lies the fear for the fate of the bourgeois power in Poland. The toiling masses of Poland are suffering from the most extreme poverty. Polish wages are the lowest throughout Europe; land hunger is extremely acute; the hatred of the enslaved nationalities towards the Polish usurpers is increasing from day to day. Proximity to the Soviet Republics, in which the great work of Socialist construction is being carried on and in which the agrarian and national problems have been radically solved, exercises a powerful force of attraction on the workers and peasants, who are becoming convinced by the example offered by the U.S.S.R. that the only way of escape from the misery of capitalist exploitation is the overthrow of the bourgeois power and the establishment of a Polish Soviet Republic. The force of attraction exercised by the Soviet Union is a menace to the Polish bourgeoisie, to its existence as a class; and the menace increases in proportion to the growth of class-consciousness among the masses and the growing acuteness of the class struggle in Poland. Since they are unable to destroy the revolutionary movement among the workers and peasants, the Polish bourgeoisie see their only way out in a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union.

The Polish Party most vigorously rejected the conception of the Polish-Soviet war in 1920, developed by Comrade Varcky in his memorandum of last year, in which he declared that in Poland in 1920 "there were isolated capitalist groups, but there were still no capitalist classes;" that the Pilsudsky Government conducted the Polish-Soviet war "against its own bourgeoisie," and that Poland was not an imperialist Power in the Leninist meaning of the word.

The growing acuteness of the economic crisis in Poland is intensifying the efforts of the Polish bourgeoisie to organize an anti-Soviet bloc for an attack on the U.S.S.R. The more profound the economic crisis becomes, the more the internal market narrows, the more difficult it becomes for the Polish exporter to find an outlet in foreign markets, the greater becomes the desire of the Polish bourgeoisie, by means of armed intervention, to force a path for Polish capital in the East.

The capitalists, who, as the kulaks as a class are being liquidated, are losing one of their main bases of support within the Soviet Union, are beginning to see clearly that in spite of all difficulties the Five Year Plan will be realized in four years. Hence the plan to prevent the fulfilment of the Five Year Plan by organizing an armed attack on the Soviet Union is finding an increasing number of supporters in the imperialist camp. Here too Poland is acting as the advance guard. This is what the Fascist *Illustrirovanny Courier Podenny* recently wrote:

"Soviet Russia is carrying out its Five Year Plan and is displaying a will to action which has no precedent in history. In Russia itself there is no force that is capable of preventing the fulfilment of these plans. The plans of the Soviet builders can be destroyed only by foreign intervention carried out by a coalition of States."

The feverish preparations by Poland for war against the Soviet Union are manifest in every sphere of action of the Fascist Government, alike in its foreign, its internal, its economic, its agrarian and its nationalist policies. In conformity with the anti-Soviet rôle it has assumed, Poland has a vast war budget, which is increasing constantly. In 1923 the official estimates of war expenditures amounted to 74 million dollars, increasing to 85.8 million dollars in 1928, and to 95.1 million dollars in 1930. In no country in the world, except boyar Roumania, has military expenditure increased with such rapidity. But Poland has left even Roumania behind in the size of her military budget. The military expenditure of Poland is, however, far greater than that shown in the official military budget; a number of items are concealed in the appropriations of other branches of Government. Moreover, the Government is spending for military purposes vast sums which are not provided for at all in the Budget, and for which it renders no account. For instance, in 1928 the Pilsudsky Government spent more than half a billion zloty more than was provided for in the Budget, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that a large proportion of this sum was spent on military preparations.

In this connection particular attention should be devoted to the growth of the so-called disposition funds, out of which are financed various counter-revolutionary, anti-Soviet organizations and the work of spying and wrecking carried on in the Soviet Union.

In 1925 the Government appropriated 10 million zloty for the disposition fund; in 1926, 12,500,000 zloty; and in 1928-29—*i.e.*, after the Fascist *coup*—23,700,000 zloty. By 1929-30 these appropriations had already risen to 26,900,000 zloty. At least these are the figures which the Fascist Government itself found it convenient to publish.

Characteristic of the preparations for Polish Fascism and for the war against the Soviet Union is the extremely rapid growth of expenditure on armaments, which swallows up an ever-increasing proportion of the military budget. Thus in 1925 the cost of maintaining the army amounted to 46 per cent. of the military budget, while in 1928 it dropped to 38 per cent. At the same time expenditure on armaments, on mobilization stores, etc., grew from 54 per cent. in 1925 to 62 per cent. in 1928.

The increasing preparations for war on the part of Fascist Poland are also demonstrated by the figures illustrating the technical equipment of the Polish army, which are as follows:

	1923	1930
Machine guns . . . . .	8,500	9,500
Guns . . . . .	1,100	2,000
Tanks . . . . .	50	120
Aeroplanes . . . . .	150	320

The Fascist Government is devoting particular attention to the development of war industries. Even prior to the revolution of 1922-23 a grandiose plan had been drawn up for transforming the whole of the industries of Poland for the production of war supplies. The plan also provided for the construction of a number of new armament works. These plans began to be carried into effect indeed, and on a still more extensive scale, only after Pilsudsky came to power. From 1923 to 1928 twenty new armament works were constructed. Furthermore, 100 industrial plants are fulfilling the orders of the War Ministry in the production of military supplies.

The growth of war industries in Poland is strikingly illustrated by the figures of the number of workers employed in armament works:

1926 . . . . .	21,124
1927 . . . . .	61,833
1928 . . . . .	64,430

In spite of the crisis about 65,000 workers are being employed in war industries, and, as we see, the number of workers so employed jumped considerably after Pilsudsky came into power.

The Fascist Government is also displaying extreme interest in the development of the chemical industries. In addition to the chemical plants in Kholov in Upper Silesia, which Poland acquired from Germany, a huge plant was built in 1929 in Mostitsakh, near Tarnov.

Poland imports a large amount of war material from other countries, as, for instance, machine guns from Belgium, and heavy guns, zenith guns and heavy armoured cars from France.

Poland is not only increasing its production of war supplies and adapting its army for war against the Soviet Union, but is also to a certain extent one of the sources of supply of war materials for other capitalist countries, chiefly the Baltic States, Roumania and Yugoslavia. For instance, the export of explosives in the years 1926-28 was as follows:

1926 . . . . .	39,000	zloty
1927 . . . . .	270,000	„
1928 . . . . .	888,000	„

In making its preparations for attacking the Soviet Union the Pilsudsky Government has not overlooked the fact that the railway system is very poorly developed in the future theatre of war and that, therefore, auto-transport will play an important part. Considerable attention is accordingly being paid to the mechanization of the army, as is shown by the rapid growth of automotive machines in Poland from 8481 in 1925 to 27,597 in 1929. It is worthy of note that the number of motor trucks and autobuses, which are of particular importance in the event of war, increased with particular rapidity.

While encouraging the development of automobile transport in every possible way, the Pilsudsky Government is at the same time mechanizing various military units, such as the cavalry, artillery, etc.

Side by side with the equipment of the army and the development of war industries the Fascist Government is also increasing the numerical strength of the army. Thus, according to official figures, the numerical strength of the Polish army in 1923 amounted to 264,000 men, in 1926 to 306,000 men, and in 1927 to 311,000. The Polish army consists of an unusually large number of officer and subordinate ranks, which enables it in the event of war to train a vast number of recruits for the field.

Apart from her official army Fascist Poland also possesses a numerous reserve army in the form of various semi-military organizations. In 1923 these organizations counted 150,000 members; in 1925, 300,000; in 1926, 565,000, and at the present day 1,250,000. The largest of these organizations is the Strelets, which is making particular efforts to recruit members from among the working class and peasant youth. The Fascist Government has effected a centralization of the semi-military organizations. The Federation of Leagues for the Defence of the Fatherland comprises twenty semi-military organizations, such as the Strelets, the League of Legionaries, the League of Upper Silesian Rebels, the League of the Defenders of Lvov, the League of Reserve Non-Commissioned Officers, etc.

These semi-military Fascist organizations not only act as a reserve for the White Polish army in the event of war, but also now assist the police in the breaking up of the demonstrations of the revolutionary

workers and peasants, and in the sanguinary suppression of national emancipation movements in Western Ukraine and Western White Russia.

Since 1927 the militarization of railway workers has been actively conducted. The Railway Military Organization counts 38,000 members—one out of every five railwaymen.

Military work among women is conducted by Strlok and other semi-military women's organizations, which organize summer camps, military courses for women, etc. A plan has been drawn up for the military organization of women in the event of war.

The Fascist Government is carrying on extensive military work in the schools.

In the military preparations of the Fascists and their struggle against the national emancipation movement a particular part is played by the Polish besegers (military settlers) in Western Ukraine and Western White Russia, who are armed at the cost of the Fascists.

The Fascist Government is forcing the construction of strategic railways, such, for instance, as the railway connecting the military port of Gdynia with the coal basin of Upper Silesia and the Skoda armament works, as well as a number of railways in Western Ukraine and Western White Russia. At the same time, by means of forced labour, military roads and strategic bridges are being built.

While strengthening its land forces the Fascist Government is at the same time developing its naval base, namely, in the port of Gdynia. In 1920 Gdynia was a small fishing village with a few hundred inhabitants; it is now a city with a population of 50,000.

In the event of war with the Soviet Union the Bay of Danzig will undoubtedly be of great importance in respect of the transport of troops and of military supplies from Great Britain and France, and as a base for the operations of British and French naval forces. Therefore, not content with developing the port of Gdynia, the Polish Government, with the active support of France and England, is endeavouring to strengthen its position in Danzig. The Fascist Government already owns the whole railway system of Danzig and is a half-owner of the port of Danzig. Poland possesses the peninsula of Nesterplatte, at the entrance to the harbour, on which capacious warehouses for the storage and transfer of munitions and military supplies have been erected.

The fact that last year General Leron, notorious as the organizer of anti-Soviet aggression, was appointed Chief of the port of Danzig bears witness to the importance which France attaches to Danzig as one of the military bases for war against the Soviet Union.

French leadership of the preparations for war against the Soviet Union is clearly seen in the case of her Polish vassal. The military supplies, control and training of Poland are to a large extent in the hands of the French imperialists. Warsaw is being continually visited by French military missions, who take an active part in the training and reorganization of the Polish army; Poland, France, Roumania

and the Baltic countries are constantly exchanging military missions.

The part played by France in the military preparations of Poland is illustrated by the fact that the railway from Upper Silesia to Gdynia is being constructed from the funds provided by a loan received from the French armament firm of Schneider-Creusot. In return for this loan the Pilsudsky Government guaranteed France the exploitation of the railway for ninety-nine years. It is evident that the magnanimous Pilsudsky Government is counting on the influence of bourgeois France over the destinies of "independent" Poland lasting for some considerable time.

Each year Poland conducts military manœuvres on the frontiers of the Soviet Union under the guidance of officers from the French General Staff. The chief object of all the grand manœuvres of the Polish army is to rehearse a campaign against Soviet Ukraine. One sign of the feverish preparations being made by Poland for an attack on the Soviet Union is the trial mobilizations which are being carried out by Polish Fascism with increasing frequency. Thus in March of this year there was a trial mobilization in many of the districts of Polish Upper Silesia at which all reserves up to twenty-seven years of age were called up. This mobilization was effected with such suddenness that many of those called up were obliged to proceed to the points of mobilization directly from their places of work.

The Fascists realize that the broad masses of the workers of Poland are undoubtedly hostile to an imperialist war and that their sympathy towards the Soviet Union is rapidly growing. That is why the Fascists are devoting themselves to pacifying the rear, to crushing the struggle of the working class, to organizing the brutal attack of capital on the toiling masses of the town and country, and to spreading the White terror. What is known as the pacification of the Ukraine, the bloody suppression of the revolutionary struggle of the peasants of Western Ukraine, is clear evidence of the fact that the Fascists fully realize that the national emancipation movement represents a powerful ally of the Soviet Union and of the revolutionary struggle of the Polish proletariat. Punitive expeditions are not the monopoly of Western Ukraine, but are being applied with increasing frequency against the toiling masses of Western White Russia, and even of native Poland. The brutal prison regime, as illustrated in the mediæval methods of torture practised in the prisons of Lutzke, Lvov and Lodz, has as its object the physical extermination of the Communist vanguard. Simultaneously the Fascist Government is smashing up the mass revolutionary organizations.

The police are armed to the teeth. The Warsaw police, for instance, were issued armour and steel helmets, while the police of Lvov were supplied with armoured cars, machine guns and towers for shooting poison gas.

According to *Polska Zbrojna*, the organ of the Ministry for War, gases and armoured cars not only proved very effective weapons in the

hands of the police for suppressing workers' demonstrations, but are to be recommended as being "extremely humane."

In addition to improving the armaments of the police the Fascist Government is also militarizing them. In accordance with the Government decree of March, 1928, the Polish police are organized in corps on a military basis.

Since the Fascist *coup* intensive work is being conducted in the militarization of the whole machinery of State, particularly from 1930 onwards. From Cabinet Ministers to superintendents of prisons, all responsible posts are being filled by generals and colonels loyal to Pilsudsky.

The elections to the Polish Seim held last year were also closely associated with the anti-Soviet policy of the Fascist Government. The new Seim, the large majority of which consists of followers of Pilsudsky, aims at war against the Soviet Union. The Second Plenum of the C.C. of the Polish Communist Party rightly declared that in Poland "there is being effected the maximum concentration of power for the purpose of combating the revolutionary movement and of war against the Soviet Union."

The coming to power of the Fascist camp of Pilsudsky has intensified the preparations for armed attack on the Soviet Union and has made terrorism exercised against the Soviet diplomatic representatives in Poland one of the chief political methods of preparing for war. During the last five years four terrorist attempts on Soviet representatives in Warsaw have been made:

In June, 1927, the Soviet Plenipotentiary Representative, Comrade Voikov, was assassinated by the White *émigré* Boris Koverda.

Two months after the murder of Comrade Voikov a Vilna White Guard, Traikovich, made an attempt on the life of the Soviet *Chargé d'Affaires*, Comrade Ulianov.

On May 4th, 1928, the White *émigré* Yurii Voitzechovsky fired on the Trade Representative, Comrade Lizarev.

On April 26th, 1930, by a mere chance, there was discovered in the chimney of the Soviet Embassy an infernal machine of considerable power, placed there by terrorists with the purpose of destroying the Embassy. The circumstances of this outrage, as well as the preliminary trial of one of the perpetrators, Poliansky, leaves not the slightest doubt that the attempt was the work of the Polish counter-espionage organization and the Polish General Staff. It should be mentioned that letters of political prisoners who met Poliansky as far back as 1924 in the guise of an agent-provocateur, furnish documentary proof that this individual has been in the service of the Polish secret police for a number of years.

The military and political character of all the attempts enumerated is borne out by the circumstances under which they were carried out:

1. The attempts invariably take place at moments when the international relations of the Soviet Union are considerably strained and when every variety of international anti-Soviet campaign is

being initiated. The shot of Koverda was a result of the rupture of Anglo-Soviet relations. The attempt of Voitzechovsky coincided with the violent anti-Soviet campaign which was being conducted in Poland in connection with the destruction of the White Russian, Gromada. The attempt of Poliansky followed the Kutepov affair and coincided with the Vatican "Crusade."

It is significant that the attempts take place at a certain time of the year (April-June), which indicates the existence of some regulating centre.

2. The attempts are invariably accompanied by an outburst of abuse directed against the Soviet Embassy in Poland.

3. The perpetrators usually belong to White Guard circles, who are intimately associated with the Polish authorities and the Polish anti-Soviet organizations.

4. The Polish authorities invariably attempt to cover up the tracks and to characterize the attempts as individual acts of outraged *émigrés* "settling personal accounts" with Soviet representatives on Polish territory.

5. The attempts become the signal for fresh anti-Soviet campaigns in Poland.

Following the assassination of Voikov the Fascist papers were full of sensational headings, in which the phrases "Bloody Moscow" and "the Moscow hangmen" were interwoven in the most varied combinations. Inspired jingo papers attempted to put forward the version that the assassination of Voikov was organized by the Communist International, for which purpose a forged "letter from Voikov's brother" was fabricated.

The Voitzechovsky trial was accompanied by a similar campaign. After the attempt on the Soviet Embassy in April, 1930, the Fascist press initiated a rabid campaign against the Soviet Union and circulated the theory that the outrage was arranged by the Embassy itself. The Social Fascist *Rabotnik* went even further than the bourgeois press and cynically declared that the bomb had been manufactured by the G.P.U.

The secret police stage-managed the Poliansky trial as a trial of a "former Communist" who had occupied responsible posts in Soviet organizations.

The indictment described Poliansky as a "Communist in principle" and represented the attempt to blow up the Embassy as an internal "struggle within the Communist camp."

The purpose of the terrorist attempts against the Soviet representatives in Poland is (a) to maintain the anti-Soviet sentiments of the petty-bourgeoisie in a state of constant tension, and (b) to provoke perpetual conflicts with the U.S.S.R.

Fascist Poland, whose frontiers are common with those of the Soviet Union over an extent of 1,300 kilometres, serves as a base for espionage and wrecking work on the territory of the U.S.S.R. There has not been a single trial of counter-revolutionaries and wreckers in

which the notorious Second Department of the Polish General Staff did not figure. Take, for instance, the Shakhta trial, in which, in addition to the Second Department of the General Staff, there figured a number of large Polish capitalists, as, for instance, Dvorzhanchik ; and the trial of the counter-revolutionary League for the Emancipation of the Ukraine, which received material and "moral" support from the Polish Consul in Kharkov. The trial of the counter-revolutionary Industrial Party of Ramzin exposed the connection between Polish Fascism and the Russian White Guards and the former's share in organizing wrecking work within the Soviet Union.

Engaged in arming feverishly and in inspiring ever fresh anti-Soviet acts of provocation, Polish Fascism is at the same time taking a most active share in organizing an anti-Soviet counter-revolutionary bloc of bourgeois States. The Polish purpose is, in the first place, to organize under her own hegemony a bloc of the States bordering on the Soviet Union. This is the explanation of Poland's participation in various so-called agrarian conferences, to which Comrade Cachin referred in his speech ; the consolidation of the Polish-Roumanian military alliance, which was recently prolonged for another five years ; the strengthening of the bonds between Poland, Yugoslavia and Greece ; the active policy being conducted by Poland in the Baltic countries as manifested in the negotiations between Poland, Latvia and Esthonia, the purpose of which is to persuade Latvia and Esthonia to agree to immediate mobilization of their own armies the moment Poland herself mobilizes. The Fascist Pilsudky Government, which has worked out a plan for the occupation of Lithuania the moment a Polish-Soviet war breaks out, is conducting negotiations with Lithuania with the purpose of obtaining the latter's consent to railway transit from Esthonia and Latvia into Poland, which Lithuania for a number of years has most vigorously resisted.

Poland is carrying on anti-Soviet activities within the League of Nations. The Pilsudsky-Slavek Government was the first to back the Pan-Europe project and is whole-heartedly supporting a Pan-European policy the blade of which is directed against the Soviet Union. This is what the Fascist organ *Slovo* recently wrote :

"A Pan-Europe is advantageous to us, since it would signify the return of Germany to Europe and the abandonment by Germany of the Rapallo policy."

The Pilsudsky Government, with the active support of the French bourgeoisie, is attempting to ameliorate Polish differences with Germany and to create a basis for a *rapprochement* between Fascist Poland and a Germany which is rapidly becoming Fascist. However, to strengthen the anti-Soviet bond between Polish and German imperialism is far from destroying the fundamental contradictions existing between them.

Although differences of opinion exist among the various sections of the Polish bourgeoisie on certain questions of foreign policy it would be a gross political error to accept as genuine the pacifist sentiments

expressed by the National Democrats towards the Soviet Union. As the Fifth Congress of the Polish Communist Party rightly pointed out, the differences between the National Democrats and the Pilsudsky-ites is not as to whether there should be a war with the country of the proletarian dictatorship, but as to when and how to fight, and how to create a united front of the country against the U.S.S.R., how to crush the revolutionary movement and how to prepare and carry out the war against the U.S.S.R.

The policy of the various Social Fascist groups (the Polish Socialist Party, the Bund, the Ukrainian Social Democrats, the Radicals, etc.) is directed towards the psychological preparation of the workers and peasants for war.

The P.S.P., which during the imperialist war of 1914-18 acted as the agent of German and Austro-Hungarian imperialism, has, during the whole period of existence of bourgeois Poland, been conducting a disgusting campaign of provocation against the U.S.S.R.

The Socialist Party Deputies in the Seim supported the military and police budgets of every bourgeois Government, introduced Bills which would transform Poland into a military camp, organized every kind of semi-military organization, the purpose of which is to retain the workers and peasants in the grasp of imperialism and at the moment of war to transform them into obedient and compliant gun fodder.

While Poland is arming to the teeth—and even bourgeois politicians such as Dmovsky are obliged to admit that Poland is preparing for an attack on the Soviet Union—while the Government press is openly proclaiming a policy of "driving a wedge" into the U.S.S.R., the P.S.P. cynically declares that the aims of Fascism are pacific.

Of extreme importance in the preparations of the Polish Fascists for war against the Soviet Union is their national policy. The war, of course, is to be waged on Ukrainian and White Russian territory, where a powerful Nationalist movement is developing. The punitive expeditions are intended to smash this movement, protect the rear and clear the field for military action. That is why the White Terror is particularly savage in Western Ukraine and Western White Russia, and why the policy of the Fascist Government is to destroy the Ukrainian and White Russian institutions of mass culture. At the same time, however, the Fascist Government is endeavouring to win over to its side the bourgeoisie of the national minorities in the fight against the revolutionary movement in Poland and against the Soviet Union.

The basis for the alliance between Polish Fascism and the bourgeoisie of the enslaved and oppressed peoples is the identity of their interests and their struggle against the revolutionary movement in Poland, in Western Ukraine and Western White Russia, and against the Ukrainian and White Russian Soviet Republics and the Soviet Union in general.

The increasing preparations of Polish Fascism for a war against the Soviet Union is reflected in the attitude of the Fascist Government

towards the Church, as manifested in the anti-Soviet activities of the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic clergy, the implanting of what is known as the Polish Union in Western Ukraine and Western White Russia, the activation of the Orthodox Church (the decree regarding the summoning of the Orthodox Synod).

The growth of the revolutionary movement in Poland is helping to fuse together the bourgeoisie of Western Ukraine, Western White Russia, as well as the Jewish, German and Lithuanian bourgeoisie, with Polish Fascism. The recognition of the fact that a great process of national development is taking place in Soviet Ukraine and White Russia and that the "Ukrainization" and "White Russianization" is not a mere "manœuvre," as the bourgeois press professes, but an actual fact, and that the proletariat in Soviet Ukraine and White Russia is building up a new Ukrainian and White Russian culture, national in form and Socialist in character, is driving the Ukrainian and White Russian bourgeoisie to ever greater lengths in its opposition to the Soviet Republic.

The old seductive slogan of Petlura, "To Lvov through Kiev," which was intended to mask the fact that Petlura had sold it to bourgeois Poland, has now become the slogan of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie. It is also the position of the bourgeoisie of White Russia.

With the development of the Nationalist movement, directed against the Polish occupation, are also developing nationalist Fascist organizations, such as, for instance, the Ukrainian Military Organization, the object of which is to exploit the revolutionary sentiments of the masses and direct them into anti-Soviet channels. Under the screen of the defence—*i.e.*, union—of the Ukraine, the Ukrainian Military Organization is preparing the ground for a military attack on the part of international and Polish imperialism against Soviet Ukraine and the Soviet Union in general.

Passing now to the question of the fight against imperialist war, it must be noted that the activities of our Communist Party, as of the other Sections of the Communist International, are far from commensurable with the feverish preparations on the part of imperialism for an attack on the Soviet Union.

The tremendous achievements of the Soviet Union in fulfilling the Five Year Plan in four years renders the task of popularizing the work of Socialist construction being carried out in the U.S.S.R. extremely important.

Every economic struggle, every demonstration of the unemployed, every movement against taxation and against the Fascist land policy, and every manifestation of the political struggle of the toiling masses must be associated in the most intimate fashion with the struggle against the preparations being made by the Fascists and the Social Fascists for war on the Soviet Union. Our fight against imperialist war must be given concrete form. Widespread activity must be developed in unmasking the military plans of Polish Fascism.

Equally concrete must be our fight against the Social Fascists.

In view of the increasing mechanization of modern armies an important task of the Party is to intensify the work within the war industries. The number of our nuclei in the war industries in Poland is completely inadequate.

Since the Fifth Congress our organization within the army has increased twofold. The revolutionary circles for young men undergoing training for the army have also increased their membership; conferences of them have been held in Warsaw and Vilna. In Warsaw a local league of revolutionary army recruits has been formed which issues its own newspaper. In connection with the calling up of recruits in Warsaw, meetings of those to be called up were organized and numerous conferences held. In the summer and autumn stormy meetings and demonstrations of these men took place in Dombrova and Lodz.

Fascism strives to isolate the army completely, to cut it off from the factories and the villages. With this purpose in view they draft the recruits to other regions of the country, sometimes hundreds of kilometres from their native towns and villages. The purpose of our work within the army should be to break down the "Chinese wall" which the bourgeoisie endeavours to build between the soldiers and the workers and peasants. The problems of the struggle of the workers and peasants must be aired in the barracks and vice versa. In the work of building up a united front of workers and soldiers of particular importance are demonstrations in front of barracks and meetings of soldiers and workers. An important part must be played by the revolutionary trade unions and the trade union Opposition organizations, which should maintain contact with their members even when the latter have been called up for military service.

The Fifth Congress of our Party rightly pointed out that in order to win over the army not only agitation from the outside is required, and work for its disarming from within, but also organized influence on the soldiers by the workers and the revolutionary peasantry. Revolutionary patronage, meetings of workers and soldiers, etc., are all elements in the struggle for the army. As the class battles become more acute so also will the fight for the army become increasingly intense. It is therefore essential to draw the lessons from the revolutionary movement in Russia and the instructions of Lenin, who over and over again pointed out the importance of the fight to win over the army. This is what he wrote in his article "Lessons of the Moscow Uprising":

"During the December days the proletariat of Moscow gave us excellent lessons in how to exert moral influence over the troops, as, for instance, on December 8th, on the Strastnoi Square, when the crowd surrounded the Cossacks, mingled with them, fraternized with them and persuaded them to turn back. Or on the 10th, in Presna, when two working girls carrying red banners amid a crowd of 10,000 flung themselves in front of the Cossacks with the cry, 'Kill us; alive we shall not surrender the banners!' The Cossacks became confused and dashed off amid the cry of the crowd, 'Long live the Cossacks!' Such examples of daring and heroism deserve to be stamped for ever on the consciousness of the proletariat."

During the last two years in Poland there were several occasions when the soldiers refused to fire on demonstrations of workers, fraternized with them, and even defended the workers against the police. With the revolutionary development of the fight of the workers and peasants to win over the army the magnificent examples cited by Lenin will become of increasing frequency and importance.

An important sector of anti-war activity is the work of undermining the semi-military organizations. Polish Young Communists have succeeded in disintegrating ten companies of the Streletz organization and several other Fascist youth organizations. The youths who break away from the Fascist, National Fascist and Social Fascist organizations should be drawn into Red sports clubs and into workers' and peasants' self-defence groups.

The organization of mass self-defence in the cities and villages, based on factories and estates, on the organization of revolutionary shop delegates and on mass revolutionary organizations, is of extreme importance in view of the intensification of the Fascist terror and the increased preparations for an attack on the Soviet Union.

The heroic struggle of the peasant masses of Western Ukraine, directed primarily against the Polish occupation, furnishes the best proof of the fact that the U.S.S.R. and the revolutionary movement in Poland possess a powerful ally in the movement for national emancipation on the part of the toiling masses of Western Ukraine and Western White Russia. Our Party and the toiling masses should learn the lesson of the heroic struggle of the peasants of Western Ukraine against the Polish occupation and bear in mind the possibility of a recurrence of revolutionary action by the peasant masses this spring and summer. We must explain to the masses the nature of the nationalist policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and give widespread popularity to the achievements of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the White Russian S.S.R. in the spheres of Socialist and Nationalist cultural development. Particularly important is it to enlist the Polish toiling masses in the struggle against the Polish occupation of Western Ukraine and Western White Russia. The counter-revolutionary league of the Polish, White Russian, Ukrainian, German and Jewish bourgeoisie must be met by a revolutionary league of the toiling masses of all nationalities of Poland, Western Ukraine and Western White Russia.

Not only is the movement for national emancipation in Western Ukraine and Western White Russia of importance in the fight against an anti-Soviet war, but also important in the national movement in Upper Silesia.

The fraudulent pacifism of Fascism and Social Fascism must be countered by widespread propaganda for transforming an imperialist war into a civil war. This must become one of the most popular slogans of the workers and peasants of Poland. The masses should be made widely acquainted with the fight of the Bolsheviks against the imperialist war of 1914, when from the very outbreak of the war they

issued the slogan for the defeat of the Tsarist Government, mobilized the proletariat in the struggle against the war, actively worked for the defeat of their own bourgeoisie and gave the toiling masses of the world a magnificent example of revolutionary anti-war policy. Indefatigable propaganda of revolutionary defeatism by the Party should set itself the aim of bringing home to the masses the thesis of Lenin: IN A REACTIONARY WAR THE REVOLUTIONARY CLASS CANNOT BUT WISH FOR THE DEFEAT OF ITS OWN GOVERNMENT.

At the same time the Party must point out to the masses that while assisting to defeat their own bourgeoisie they must give active assistance to the U.S.S.R., which is their real Socialist Fatherland.

The Party must popularize the Red Army among the masses as the army of the world proletariat, contrast it with the armies of the bourgeois States, and point out the rôle of the Red Army as a defender of peace and a participant in the great work of Socialist construction.

In the event of war against the U.S.S.R. the Party must adopt every means to destroy the apparatus of the State and to aid the Red Army.

In the fight against imperialist war the mass political strike and the general strike are of tremendous importance.

In this connection the Party must devote particular attention to the organization of mass political strikes, which have become a regular feature in the development of the revolutionary struggle in Poland.

In the event of mobilization being declared the Party must organize a mass anti-war campaign, endeavour to disorganize the mobilization plans and to prepare the mobilized men for an active struggle against the war, and work within the army for the going over of the troops, together with their arms, to the side of the Red Army.

In view of the direct danger of war, Party discipline and conspiratorial methods must be strengthened.

Comrades, in Poland thousands of proletarians and revolutionary peasants have been flung into prison because they wanted to follow the example of the Soviet Union and drive out the exploiters. In Poland the bourgeoisie takes vengeance for the fight against war and for the defence of the U.S.S.R. by meting out years of penal servitude and by mediæval torture in the prisons of Lutsk, Bronsk, Lodz and Byelostock.

But under the blows of the crisis fresh thousands and millions of workers and peasants will become convinced by experience that there is no other alternative for them but to follow the example of the heroic proletariat of the Soviet Union.

Poland, the heir of Tsarism, the gendarme of Europe, the jail of the people, the bulwark of reaction.

The U.S.S.R., the great league of nations building up Socialism, giving body and form to the behests of Marx and Lenin.

And therefore, in spite of the scorpions of terrorism, the ranks of workers and peasants who are prepared to make any sacrifice for the slogan "Long Live the U.S.S.R., the Socialist Fatherland of the

Proletarians of the World!" will continue to grow. The ranks of revolutionary toilers will continue to grow and, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the masses will attack the Fascist regime, overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and on the ruins of Fascism build up a Soviet Poland. (*Applause.*)

**Rust** (Great Britain): Comrades, the resolution on the war danger must be carried back to the heart of the Parties and translated into their mass activities. The responsibilities of every Party are heavy, especially those of the British Party, because, unless we succeed in transforming our Party into a mass organization, there can be no question of any struggle being carried on against the war danger in Great Britain.

The policy of the Labour Government can be summed up to be the preparation of war against the Soviet Union while at the same time resorting to all possible demagogic manœuvres in order to deceive the workers of Great Britain, among whom exists strong feelings of solidarity with the Russian workers and peasants. This was apparent especially in 1921, when the big "Hands Off Russia!" movement swept the country, and was also expressed in recent years, when the Labour Government was compelled to recognize the Soviet Union under pressure from the masses. But the policy of war preparations against the Soviet Union can be clearly seen and must be exposed by the Communist Party to the masses of the workers.

For example, during recent weeks we have had the conclusion of the Italian-Franco Naval Pact as a result of the direct intervention of Henderson, the Foreign Minister. This and other developments on the Continent show very clearly that Great Britain, under the Labour Government, is doing its utmost to support the war preparations of which France stands at the head. We see that Henderson has made speeches and proposals to be placed before the League of Nations which show very clearly that Great Britain is doing its utmost to encourage every tendency which will bring about the political unification of the imperialist Powers of Europe against the Soviet Union.

In the relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain one of the chief points of the attack which the Labour Government makes is the charge that the Soviet Union is violating the propaganda pledge, refusing to draw any distinction between the Communist International and the Soviet Government, of course basing themselves upon a letter which MacDonald sent in 1924 following the forged Zinoviev letter, in which MacDonald charged the Soviet Government with intervention in British affairs.

In connection with "forced labour," the Labour Government cautiously does not take a direct part in the campaign, but its Ministers express the opinion that they are disquieted by these reports and that they believe that there is something in them.

We remember in the religious campaign, when the attack was made by religious bodies to stir up those workers who are under the influence of religion and to draw them into the anti-Soviet campaign, that the

British Labour Government instructed its Ambassador in Moscow to collect information with regard to religious persecution in the Soviet Union.

Similarly on the "forced labour" question the request has been made that the question of setting up a Commission of Inquiry should be raised by the Ambassador in Moscow.

With regard to the armament policy of the Labour Government, the Minister of War—Thomas Shaw, the one-time Secretary of the Second International—boasts that during the period of office of the Labour Government there has been a considerable increase in the Army. The very highly trained British Army is a very powerful force, especially when mechanized for the supplementing of the armies of the Border States, and forming the kernel of these armies to direct their operations. Recently manœuvres of the Latvian and Esthonian armies were carried out on the assumption that the British Fleet was operating in the Black Sea. Comrade Cachin, in his report, gave many facts in regard to the activities and war manœuvres of British imperialism in the Baltic and the Balkan States, and also in the Near East.

It is also necessary to recognize that in India great military preparations are taking place; the North-West Frontier is being fortified, military roads are being built. Possibly India will not be used as a base against the Soviet Union, but still the military preparations in India are being conducted for the purpose of strengthening British imperialist domination over India, so that in the event of a war against the Soviet Union it will be possible for British militarism to hold firmly its Indian colony.

So far as the foreign policy of the Labour Government is concerned, as is shown by the recent developments—the Irwin-Gandhi pact, the entente with France and the following of war preparations on the Continent—it can be said that it is governed by the single aim of building up an anti-Soviet front, because this is the chief question before the British bourgeoisie. The continued existence of the Soviet Union menaces the power of the British bourgeoisie.

It is to be noted that the Independent Labour Party makes criticism of the Labour Government, but confines that criticism only to the domestic policy, and in fact goes out of its way in order to praise the foreign policy of the Labour Government. Why is that? Precisely because the foreign policy of the Labour Government is one of war preparations. This attitude of the "Left" Independent Labour Party—the criticism of the Government at home and support for the Government's policy abroad—is the most effective way at the present time that the "Left" leaders can carry through the policy of war preparations against the Soviet Union.

During the last two weeks there has been published a new manifesto signed by the Socialist Party of Poland, the Polish Bund, the Norwegian Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain and the Left Wing of the Dutch Social Democratic Labour Party:

This manifesto proposes that there should be formed a united international; that the basis of this united international should be, to take only two of the points, (1) acceptance of the principles of the class struggle; (2) unity with the workers of the Soviet Union and close and constant relation with the militant movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. This is a new attempt on the part of these "Left" leaders to save the Second International, to disguise the war preparations of the Second International at this very moment when the two famous trials in Moscow have exposed the Second International in the eyes of a great number of workers as an organization which not only advocates war against the Soviet Union, but directly participates in and organizes that war.

Too often do we find in Britain that our propaganda regarding the war danger is tinged with pacifism, that too many of the speeches are devoted to an exposure of the horrors of war, that insufficient attention is paid to making an appeal to the workers on the basis of clear class lines.

Too often we are satisfied with generalities, with mechanical phrases, with tacking on the Five Year Plan to the end of arguments.

But whilst we neglect this it is clear that the bourgeoisie do not. In recent weeks or months the British capitalist press has been full of statements by leading bourgeois politicians and economists on the meaning of the Five Year Plan, pointing out that if this Plan succeeds then capitalism will be doomed. Only recently a prominent British diplomat, Sir Reynell Robb, a diplomat associated with the Curzon school for many years, made a speech in which he said that this Five Year Plan is a great danger, that he is alarmed by the indifference that is shown by the British people to this great menace that is being built up against them in the Soviet Union.

Moreover, in our propaganda there is a lack of continuity. Following upon these trials there again recurred a period when the war danger receded into the background so far as our daily work was concerned. Further, it is necessary to prepare now, in advance, and to counter the fundamental lines of the bourgeois propaganda.

As to the actual preparations which should be carried through by the Party. On the question of work in the army and navy: this has been laid down a considerable number of times in the resolution to the Communist International, and I only want to emphasize the tremendous importance, as far as Great Britain is concerned, of the real necessity of penetrating into the navy, which is certain to play a tremendous part in the war policy against the Soviet Union. This is a sphere of work which we in Great Britain have neglected. It is a work that we have to take up with increased energy, because it is clear that the war against the Soviet Union and the participation of Great Britain in that war may come at any time, and may come without any formal declaration of war.

Finally, comrades, it is clear that the organization of the struggle of the working class against the danger of war on the Soviet Union is

not only a question of carrying out this particular resolution on the war danger, but of reorganizing our entire work and our entire approach to the fight.

**Manner** (Finland): Comrades, it is doubtful whether the bourgeoisie of any other country displays its imperialist lust for the annexation of Soviet territory as openly as does the Finnish bourgeoisie. From its very inception the main point of the programme of the Fascist Lapuas movement has been "Against Communism and the Russians"; and they did not hide their concrete aims in the least. When the chief of the Finnish General Staff, General Vallenius and the chief of the Mobilization Department, as far back as September, plotted to provoke a war through a frontier conflict by putting ex-President Stolberg across the Soviet frontier, Havu, the President of the Supreme Court, and General Vallenius, the Fascist leader of Yaskara, who belongs to this gang of plotters, openly admitted that this act was to be ascribed to Communists supposedly commissioned by the G.P.U. The capitalist press quite openly discussed the purpose of this act of provocation. Thus the *Abo Underrettelsen* said the following of the "great step forward" made under the direct leadership of General Vallenius:

"We must build up a great Finland. Yes, that means Eastern Karelia. Just think of its forests and the natural wealth it contains. But before we can gain possession of these forests we must have a war, and that costs the lives of tens of thousands of people, costs billions. But what of it? We have Esthonia, Latvia, Poland and Roumania with us, and England and France are behind us."

One of the leading representatives of the Fascist dictatorship, Probst Kares, at a banquet held in December, 1930, to celebrate the anniversary of Finnish independence, at which all the members of the Government were present, said:

"Our task is to unite both parts of Karelia and the Leningrad district and push the frontier of Finland right up to the Urals, where Finns also reside. We must put an end to the power of Moscow. We must organize international intervention against the Bolsheviks."

Last year two new submarines and an armoured cruiser were launched in addition to the already increased equipment of the army. Strategic railroads and highways have been built in the eastern parts of the country, and new ones are being built under great pressure. The Nurmes-Kayani-Uleaborg line was opened in December, and was followed by the Vybord-Valk-Yarvi line. This year the Fascist Government decided to build the Yelisenvaara-Vuoksennisk-Vtilmanstrand line. All these either border on the U.S.S.R. or lead up to them. The air force is being greatly augmented. Quite recently new aeroplanes were bought. In Vaza, on the shore of Votnich Bay, the Government proposes to build a large munition factory. The members of the Schutzcorps, who are serving in the army reserves and in the gendarmerie, have received special reinforcements. And

quite recently Svinhuvuwood was elected President and General Mannerheim was appointed Chairman of what is called the Council of Defence, which is really the council for preparing the attack. In 1918 both these men were prominent in shooting down the Finnish working class, acting as agents of international imperialism in the work of intervention against the U.S.S.R.

During the Easter holidays the university students and students in the higher technical schools carried on a campaign throughout the country for the preparation of an offensive on Leningrad under the slogan of "Liberation from the Bolsheviks" of the Ingermanlands living in the Leningrad district and speaking Finnish. In the middle of this month a special campaign for war was organized all over the country, in which the representatives of the bourgeoisie of Esthonia, Latvia and the Scandinavian countries participated.

The characteristic features of the preparation for intervention in Finland is that it is not confined to Finland alone. Finland is serving as an auxiliary to France, Poland and Great Britain in carrying out the interventionist aims of the border States, particularly of Esthonia and Latvia and the Scandinavian countries as well.

The establishment of the Fascist dictatorship signified the growth of the aggressiveness of the Finnish bourgeoisie in relation to the U.S.S.R. The same holds true in regard to the "Left" Wing of the Fascist united front, *i.e.*, Social Democracy. Finnish Social Democracy has already an old tradition in anti-Soviet affairs. And when the Finnish Whites, in co-operation with the Government, organized a bandit raid on Soviet Karelia in 1922, one of the Social Democratic leaders raised the slogan "To the Frontier," and the whole of the leadership of Social Democracy approved this slogan. In February the chief organizer of the Social Democrats in a public statement clearly and concisely defined his position on the question of intervention as follows :

"In brief we only want to say that there are only two ways in which the Russian problem can be solved: either violent intervention or a conciliatory compromise."

In order to lull the vigilance of the masses Social Democracy has lately begun to speak about the neutrality of the Baltic Sea, and is accusing the U.S.S.R. of "not being sufficiently flexible in their foreign policy in this and in other questions."

The Finnish Social Fascists conform in everything to the Fascist dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, their masters, and it stands to reason perform everything they are called upon to do. Just as the Finnish bourgeoisie are in the front ranks of the interventionists, so there the leaders of Finnish Social Democracy are also among the first of the agents of imperialism.

I dealt with the capitulation of the Finnish Communist Party before the Fascist *coup d'état* in the discussion on the first item on the agenda of the Plenum. This capitulation meant that the Finnish

section of the anti-imperialist front of the international proletariat has been greatly weakened, that Finnish Fascism won a very advantageous position in its work of intervention. The latter have taken advantage of this, as recent events have proved.

Comrades, our opportunism went to such an extreme that we delayed the ratification of the Copenhagen agreement because it contained a point which pledged the trade union organization which signed the agreement to carry on a determined struggle against imperialist war, and in defence of the U.S.S.R. We opportunistically delayed the ratification of the agreement and abandoned the struggle against imperialist war and in defence of the U.S.S.R. in order to save the legal existence of the trade union organizations. But we did not save the unions—because only a resolute struggle can bring victory. We committed a grievous error on a matter of principle which could not but have a bad effect upon the anti-war spirit of the masses.

However, I can state in all seriousness that the Finnish workers, including many Social Democratic workers and a considerable section of the poorest peasantry, are opposed to Fascism, are the enemies of the Fascist dictatorship and its provocation to war, are ready to fight against imperialism and do not wish to serve as cannon fodder for the bourgeoisie in intervention against the U.S.S.R. The question is: will our Party be capable of utilizing this source of strength?

But I can say in the name of the Party leadership and of the Party that it is trying very seriously to bring about a change. It is carrying on the struggle on two fronts: against Right and Left opportunism, the first of which is the main danger. It is exerting every effort to expose the dangerous rôle of Social Fascism. The Party is fighting, and will fight, to organize and lead the masses in the army and among the civilian population in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, for the U.S.S.R., and for turning the imperialist interventionist war into a civil war, into a war for the overthrow of the Fascist dictatorship.

The Communist Parties and the revolutionary proletariat in various countries on the Baltic must unite still more closely, for our countries represent the outposts in the attack on the Soviet Union, under the leadership of French capitalism. We must accelerate our work in order to make up the ground we have lost.

**Schwartz** (Roumania): Comrades, Roumania, like Poland, has an important rôle in the preparation of war against the U.S.S.R., and more has been done this year in the way of practical measures for the war than has been done in the last ten years. After the secret military treaty with Yugoslavia was signed the military budget was increased by six billion lei, five billion of which were assigned exclusively for cannons and new military supplies. Five hundred million lei were provided for the increase of officers' salaries. Besides that, supplementary credits amounting to 500 million were appropriated to finance the accelerated training of officers for higher posts.

Last year the Budget had to be revised twice, since it proved

impossible to collect the taxes provided for from the poor peasantry. In spite of that the military budget remained unchanged, even in regard to the supplementary credits. More than that, another large sum was arranged for in order to finance the autumn manœuvres. An army reorganization law and a conscription law were passed under which women, and even school-children, became liable to military service. In addition a "Cadres" law was passed, which provided for the training of new cadres of non-commissioned officers as officers for the Army Supplies Department. A "physical training" Bill is also ready, according to which all sport and cultural organizations can function during war only under the supervision of the military authorities.

After King Carol came to the head of the Roumanian Fascist bourgeoisie with the help of the French General Staff many more such measures were passed. The organization of various military exercises was immediately begun. A number of air manœuvres were organized. "Air and marine fleet days" were arranged. Various generals and French politicians began to visit Roumania and Poland. Hardly a month passed but what some French militarist or other visited Roumania. After General Samsonovich visited Warsaw at the head of the Roumanian Military Mission to return Pilsudsky's visit to Roumania, the imperialist leaders—Loucher, Bertelot and General Gouraux—visited Roumania. The latter reviewed the troops of the different garrisons and visited a number of engineering works.

Later the English fleet visited Constanza. Very soon after work on the construction of the new military port near Constanza was commenced. Two new battleships came to Constanza. A number of submarines and hydroplanes were ordered. Last year an order for cannons amounting to three billion lei and for more than 100,000 gas masks was placed with the Skoda works. A railroad was opened between Marmarosh and Bukovina, which is one of great strategic importance for Poland and Roumania in case of war. Concrete fortifications on the Roumanian side of the Pruth are being secretly built at great speed.

In October of last year military manœuvres were held on a scale unparalleled in Roumania. Three army corps were mobilized with the aid of officers of the French and Polish general staffs. Simultaneously the manœuvres of the Jeger Corps took place. In both manœuvres the operations were supposed to represent a fight between the red and the whites, in which a Bolshevik attack was presumably being repulsed.

The Budget adopted in November of last year even more accurately reflects the war preparation. While the budget of all Ministries was reduced, schools closed, wages ruthlessly reduced all over the country from 25 to 40 per cent., the budget of the Ministry for War was increased, so that it now represents one-third of the whole Budget.

The aeroplane factory in Brasho is steadily expanding. The first

Roumanian factory for the manufacture of gas masks was built here. The Bucharest factory "Vulcan" has been equipped with the most up-to-date machines to manufacture rifles and machine guns. The same is true of Lemetrouth. The Reshitza works were built to produce the most modern type of cannon. Another arms factory has been set up in Kishkapush, Transylvania. This year the Skoda works are building a subsidiary factory in Transylvania. The same firm is also building a munitions factory in Bucharest. A large chemical works has been built near Ployesti. The Bucharest arsenal and munition works are equipped with most modern machines. The Bucharest cloth mill "Saturn," which worked exclusively for the army, will be transferred to Bubush, the centre of the Roumanian textile industry, in order to be able to supply clothes to the front more quickly.

Just now the mercantile fleet is being reorganized so that it can be adapted for war purposes at a moment's notice. The loan concluded a month ago throws even more light on the state of military preparation. The greatest part of this loan was used for buildings and highways: 674,875,000 lei were assigned for the construction of new lines; 824,000 lei for the Babadag-Tulscia railroad, uniting Constanza with Bessarabia; 990,740,600 lei for locomotives and railroad cars, and 132,200,000 lei for doubling the Adyut-Harashesti-Tekusi line. A railroad bridge joining Yugoslavia with Roumania is to be built this year. This bridge will shorten the distance between Paris and Bucharest by twelve hours. And now new manœuvres are taking place throughout the country.

The visit of Sir Henri Deterding to Roumania was not accidental. He was the guest of the King. The recruits of the Bucharest garrison took the oath of allegiance in his presence. General Manui made a speech to the recruits, in the course of which he said: "In the difficult days of war the memory of this day will stimulate you to perform your duty to the last."

During the past year an uninterrupted campaign against the Soviet Union has been carried on in the bourgeois and Social Fascist press. Screaming articles about "Russian dumping," the persecution of religion and peasant uprisings in the Soviet Union appeared every day, all aiming to prepare the minds of the masses for war. Professor Kiritescu, who visited the Soviet Union last year, wrote an article in which he praised the Soviet system. This was enough to arouse a strong protest from all the Fascist press, and demands were made that the author be punished. The Social Fascists go even further. Radechiano, secretary of the Social Democratic Party, wrote the following in the *Niskarka Social*, the official organ of the party (November issue): "The time has come for the capitalist countries to join forces in order to put an end to Bolshevik madness." The Social Democratic leaders have more than once publicly declared that the Soviet Union was the cause of the economic crisis in Roumania.

The members of Parliament, the prefects, the notaries are compelled to go to the rural districts in order to lecture to the village

population on Russian dumping, on the persecution of religion, etc. The same thing holds true for the barracks and the schools. Soviet Russia and the Bolsheviks are the cause of the grave economic situation in Roumania; they must be destroyed, and only then will all be well in Roumania—this is the tenor of the whole campaign.

The lumber barons discharge workers and tell them that they have the Bolsheviks to thank for it.

Carol, the trusted agent of French imperialism, was commissioned to prepare the ground for the approaching war and lead the change to an open military Fascist dictatorship in order to drown the movement of the proletariat, the peasantry and the oppressed nations in blood. Carol is performing the task set him by French imperialism very zealously. In this he is assisted by the Roumanian Social Fascists. They did not raise a single protest against his coming to the throne. They voted for granting him an income of 40 million lei per annum without stipulating any conditions, and even advertise him as the "democratic King."

The rôle of the French bourgeoisie is clearly manifest in all measures taken by the Government. Every step is taken only after it has had the approval of the French Government. The word of the French Embassy in Bucharest is final.

And what are the Communist Party of Roumania and the Communist Youth League of Roumania doing to prevent war and guarantee the revolutionary defence of the Soviet Union? It is generally known that intervention was to have taken place last year. The Roumanian army was to have taken the first step. And just at this very important historical moment, when the Communist Party should have mobilized the worker and peasant masses and the masses of oppressed nationalities for the defence of the Soviet Union against the Fascist dictatorship, the Party and the Central Committee of the Young Communist League began an unprincipled factional fight depriving all workers' organizations of the ability to carry on a fight.

After the factional fight had been liquidated both the Party and the Young Communist League applied all their energies to overcoming the remnants of the factional struggle, to leading the struggle of the workers and the peasant masses, and to uniting this struggle with the revolutionary defence of the Soviet Union.

The first steps were taken during the important autumn manoeuvres. We sent a group of young workers to the place where the manoeuvres were taking place in order to organize an anti-militarist campaign there and to lead it.

The Party succeeded that winter in connecting the movement of the unemployed in many places with that for the defence of the Soviet Union.

The Party has still not succeeded in uniting the spontaneous struggle of the peasants against taxes, debts and high interest in the rural districts with the struggle against the war being prepared against the Soviet Union.

The Party is doing all that it can to penetrate into the most important war industries as well as into the transport industries.

The peasantry is beginning to participate considerably in the struggle of the workers in the cities, particularly in the frontier districts. More than 2000 peasants participated in the unemployed demonstrations of February 25th in Temisvara, Arada, Vashargela, Chernovica, Tiglimana and Kishinev. The Party and the League have only recently begun to organize systematically the work in the barracks among the soldiers. Anti-militarist departments in connection with the League have been organized in the more important organizations for this purpose.

Serious revolts break out every day in the rural districts. The houses of merchants are burned down. Conflicts with the gendarmes and the tax inspectors take place. The peasants attack banks, burn debt receipts and refuse to pay taxes. Strikes and unrest are growing in the cities and industrial centres. The Party must place itself at the head of this struggle, must lead and organize it, unite it with the struggle against the Fascist dictatorship, against war with the Soviet Union. It must strengthen the anti-imperialist work in the barracks in order to turn the war against the Soviet Union into a civil war against the Roumanian bourgeoisie.

**Browder (U.S.A.):** The capitalist world is feverishly preparing for war. France stands at the head of the interventionist forces in the preparation for war against the Soviet Union. But behind her looms the sinister force of the most powerful capitalist State, America, which is moving surely, step by step, in the same direction. And it would be a great mistake to suppose that France is "leading" America in this, the supreme question of world politics. The U.S.A. has its own entirely independent line, designed to subordinate the anti-Soviet front to its own hegemony and to make the attack against the Soviet Union also serve to promote its special struggle against its imperialist rivals.

The ripeness of the capitalist world for war was recently expressed by a spokesman of American capitalism, Senator David A. Reed, in the following words:

"I believe that if it were not for the apprehension of Bolshevism the countries of Europe would be at each other's throats this very minute."

Hypocritical peace talk, of course, masks the active preparations for war. Each measure of war preparation is carefully hidden behind a new "guarantee of peace," or behind some "humanitarian" measure for the starving population of America. Thus the millions of bankrupted farmers ruined by the agrarian crisis were told that the Farm Board was set up to relieve their distress, which is so acute that Senator Caraway declared in the Senate that "one thousand persons are dying of starvation in America every day we talk." The Farm Board spent 500 million dollars, buying as many bushels of wheat. Then the farmers, poorer than ever, were told that the Farm Board was a

failure and must discontinue its operations. But we know the real object of the Farm Board. The Farm Board really had the object, approved by President Hoover, to establish a military reserve of wheat for the intervention against the Soviet Union, and it achieved its object very successfully. The Farm Board was headed by Mr. Legge, a big capitalist connected with the agricultural implement trust, which is demanding the return of its former factories in Russia, and who has been, like Hoover, an international organizer of food and military supplies for counter-revolution. Now that the Board has finished its real work Mr. Legge has resigned. His activities were timed to correspond with the original calendar plan of intervention.

Other war moves are accompanied with similar disgusting hypocrisy. Stimson's notorious intervention in aid of the Chinese militarists in 1929 in the Chinese Eastern Railway affair was declared to be "to preserve peace" under the Kellogg Pact, masking the real intention to seize the railway for American imperialism, not only from the Soviet Union and from China, but also from Japan. The Church campaign in 1930 was "on behalf of the persecuted priests"; the "anti-dumping" campaign is "in the interests of preserving the standards of the American wage worker"; the slanders of "forced labour in the Soviet Union" are "on behalf of the oppressed Russian toilers." But behind the hypocrisy the real purpose stands out sharp and clear. It is openly stated by such leading capitalist newspapers as the *Chicago Tribune*, which brazenly propagates for war against the Soviet Union. A typical example is the following, from the *New Bedford Times*, organ of the textile interests:

"We would emphatically point out that the United States must not delay or hesitate in such matters. It is a case of fight now against the Soviet or be devoured by the Soviet after we have been reduced so to be unable to fight. And with proper economic campaigns against the U.S.S.R. let us not forget plenty of armaments."

Or the following, from a speech of a member of Mr. Hoover's Cabinet, Mr. Wilbur, Secretary of Interior:

"One of the great people of the earth is deliberately trying to work out large social and economic programmes for the mastery of its vast terrain along new and untried lines. Our economic, social and political philosophy inevitably must wage a gigantic and fundamental struggle with theirs."

When the recent embargo was placed by the United States against Soviet pulpwood President Hoover made a public declaration that this measure was "not aimed at Russian trade." But one of his chief supporters, the *New York Herald Tribune*, immediately exposed this hypocrisy, saying:

"President Hoover has added his own assurance . . . that the new regulations . . . are not aimed at Russian trade. . . . The official assurances must be regarded as more 'diplomatic' than real."

Or consider these words of Admiral Pratt, Chief of Naval Operations of the U.S. Navy, who said:

"The world in which they [the U.S.S.R.] live and the one in which we live are so totally different that the two cannot exist side by side indefinitely without great compromise on one side or the other, or war ultimately may result."

When we add that for over thirteen years the United States Government has refused all normal international relationship with the Soviet Union, that all this time it has officially had an embargo against the sale of aeroplanes or anything which could be used for *war purposes*, and an embargo on all long-term credits (which some American banks were anxious to give), it becomes clear that the fundamental policy of American imperialism points directly and undeviatingly towards *war against the Soviet Union*. The only question at issue is *when* will American imperialism decide that the moment most favourable for its own particular aims has arrived.

Let us never for a moment forget that American troops participated in the interventions of 1918-19 in Murmansk, Archangel and the Far East. American money and military and medical supplies backed Kolchak, Yudenitch and other White Guard bandit attacks upon the Soviet Union. And American imperialism counts these pages of its history among the "glorious" achievements of its armed forces, placing the name of "Murmansk" alongside of "Verdun" on the "Victory Arch" built in New York City (with the approval of "Socialist" Assemblymen) to greet the returning troops! What American imperialism did in 1918-19 it is now preparing to repeat on a larger scale.

Preparations for intervention have been the subject for constant conversations between the United States and European Powers. When the late London Naval Conference was in its difficult moments a cynical New York newspaper, forecasting an agreement in spite of difficulties, argued thus:

"Hovering over the London Conference is the shadow of the Soviet Union, driving the representatives of the different countries to agreement, at least on common measures to meet this common danger. This is doubtless one of the principal subjects of discussion behind the scenes."

Thus the United States drives towards war. It is spending 90 per cent. of its enormous Budget for war purposes, for the army, navy, air forces, war pensions, and interest on war debts. Meanwhile it refuses the slightest aid to the starving 10 millions of unemployed and the several million starving farmers. "Billions for war, but not one cent for social insurance," is the slogan of American imperialism.

The capitalist press has been engaged for the past year in a gigantic campaign of lies, slander and demagoguery. The masses are told that the Five Year Plan is failing, but that at the same time it is the cause of the crisis in the capitalist countries and the growing misery of the unemployed millions. The farmers are told that Soviet wheat caused the agrarian crisis, and Soviet operations on the grain exchanges caused the recent drop in the price of wheat. The religious masses are told that in the Soviet Union hundreds of thousands of priests are

murdered in cold blood every year by the G.P.U. Free use is made of the most shameless forgeries to bolster up this campaign.

Thus the notorious forged "Whalen Documents," produced by the Tsarist "General" Zhamgarov, became the occasion for the United States Congress to set up the Fish Committee to investigate Communist activities in the United States. Behind the actions of this committee, which were the most vulgar farce considered in themselves, was the serious purpose of preparing "public opinion" for the war of intervention against the U.S.S.R. "General" Zhamgarov, acting as the confidential adviser of the Fish Committee, sufficiently indicated its political complexion and exposed the close liaison between the United States and the White-Guard Monarchist counter-revolutionist organizations of Europe.

This same close relationship is expressed in the fact that the sister of Secretary of State Stimson is a financial supporter and active worker on behalf of Monarchist *émigré* organizations, is a patroness of Zhamgarov and travels extensively in Europe on their behalf.

In the New York State military forces there is a special company composed of Monarchist *émigrés*, receiving military training not only for use against striking American workers, but also for prospective future service in the Soviet Union. The capitalist press lovingly describes how many ex-Princes, ex-Counts, ex-Dukes and ex-Generals there are serving as private soldiers in this company.

The American workers have always had an instinctive sympathy for the U.S.S.R. They also have an instinctive distrust of the capitalist press. Particularly now, when they are experiencing the full glory of capitalist "prosperity," are their eyes turning more and more towards the Soviet Union and its inspiring progress. The "Left" Social Fascist, Muste, returning recently from a trip across the country, reported that "the only subject which really arouses enthusiasm among the workers of the United States is the Soviet Union and its Five Year Plan." It is therefore necessary for the capitalists to find other instruments for turning the masses against the Soviet Union. These they find in the American Federation of Labour, the Socialist Party and the renegades from Communism.

The American Federation of Labour boasts that it is the most consistent and stubborn enemy of the Soviet Union. It rebukes some capitalist circles for their treason to capitalism in doing business with the Soviet Union. It repeats in its press every lie and slander printed anywhere in the world. It speaks from the same platform with the patriotic societies, the American Legion, and other Chauvinist and Fascist organizations. It endorsed the Pope's attack, the Fish Committee, the Whalen forgeries, the anti-dumping campaign, the "forced labour" slander, and every preparation for war.

William Green, President of the A.F. of L., declared:

"The A.F. of L. is in harmony with the policy recently reaffirmed by the State Department . . . Russia was charged with dumping pulpwood in our markets produced by political prisoners forced to labour in lumber camps."

Matthew Woll, Vice-President and anti-Soviet expert, speaking before the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, said of the Soviet Union:

"There is in that regime something which makes it impossible for our nation to hold with it the relations common to friendly Governments. She is seeking to destroy our institutions, break down our industries. . . . She is constantly sending revolutionary experts into our country illegally in the guise of trade experts, students . . . each one a courier, each a professional agitator in the cause of Communism and world-wide revolution. . . . It must be obvious that the gold credits resulting from the dumping of goods produced by convict, forced, under-paid and under-nourished labour in the U.S.S.R. contribute an additional supply of funds readily available for the purpose of conducting Communist propaganda and subversive activities in this as well as other countries, to the detriment of our democratic ideals and free institutions."

These are the same William Green and Matthew Woll who promised there would be no strikes during the economic crisis; who have agreed to a 12 billion dollar wage reduction for the American workers during 1930; who actively break all strikes that occur in spite of them; who give their approval to the monstrous system of prison labour in America, to the cold-blooded shooting of prisoners as occurred a few weeks ago in the Illinois State Prison; who approve the chain gangs in the Southern States, where thousands of worker-prisoners are rented out by the State to private capitalists; who keep silent on the horrible lynchings of negroes in America; who fight against all proposals for unemployment insurance for the 10 million jobless. These gentlemen speak of "forced labour" in the U.S.S.R., and of the "free" institutions of the Government that executed Sacco and Vanzetti, has kept Tom Mooney in prison for fifteen years, and which is ruled by the famous "59" billionaires.

The American Federation of Labour has lost most of its moral influence among the workers so far as the Soviet Union is concerned. All the more valuable for capitalism therefore are the services of the Socialist Party of America. Small and weak as this party is, it is able to fill the columns of the capitalist press (not to speak of the small circulation of their own papers) with anti-Soviet slanders under the label of "Socialism."

The Socialist Party of America also actively participated in the anti-Soviet campaign of the Second International and the Russian Mensheviks, in the sabotage work against the Five Year Plan and the preparations for intervention. Mr. Abramovitch, plenipotentiary of the Mensheviks and Executive member of the Second International, was a welcome visitor to the Socialist Party of America in 1925, 1928 and in 1930. When he arrived in New York in January last year he immediately wrote an article for the *New York Times* declaring that capitalist America was a wonderful land, but that in the Soviet Union there were 10 million workers unemployed. Then he appeared at a reception given by the Socialist leaders and delivered a speech, in which he used these significant words:

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

If the "great surprises" promised by Abramovitch have been, on the contrary, for the capitalists and their Socialist agents, this is not the fault of the Socialist Party in America. They did their best to support the intervention plans and finance Mr. Abramovitch's sabotage work.

When last November the leaders of the "Industrial Party" were placed on trial before the proletarian Court in Moscow, the Socialist Party leaders held a meeting of protest in New York. They openly declared their support of Ramzin and Co. Mr. Hillquit declared:

"Soviet Russia is to-day guilty of acts of despotism as terrible as those in the days of Tsarism, and is gradually moving away from rather than approaching the ideal of a free democratic country. . . ."

Thus spoke the bold interventionist, true disciple of Karl Kautsky, and equally true representative of his own class, that of the American millionaires, to which Mr. Hillquit belongs in his own right.

The official Socialist Party paper, *New Leader*, has developed a constantly sharpening campaign against the Soviet Union.

The Socialist Party leaders, while openly preparing for the imperialist intervention, and even speaking of an international war as being not worse than the proletarian dictatorship, at the same time declare that there is not the slightest danger of war against the Soviet Union; that this is merely an invention of Stalin to bolster up a tottering regime.

It is no marvel therefore, when we review the "heroic work" of the Socialist Party and of the American Federation of Labour, that Mr. Hamilton Fish, Chairman of the notorious Fish Committee of the United States Congress, declared that the Socialist Party was a legitimate, respectable political party which should not be harmed in any way, and gave a warm testimonial to the American Federation of Labour as the principal supporter of American capitalism.

We must declare, however, that all this tremendous barrage of slanders and lies has not been sufficient to break down the instinctive sympathy for the Soviet Union held by the American working class. The workers in the Socialist Party have, in fact, begun to react sharply against this campaign of their leaders. Resolutions of protest and letters from readers of their press have been pouring in, creating a critical situation within the Socialist Party.

A special rôle is therefore found for a "Left Wing" in the Socialist Party and the American Federation of Labour. This rôle is played by the *Muste* group, or Conference for Progressive Labour Action, as it calls itself. It mildly protests against "the present increase in the vigour of the anti-Russian attitude of some Socialists" (*New Leader*, January 31st) and declares that it "maintains an open mind towards the Russian experiment," proceeding therefrom to repeat all the old slanders in a more masked form. Its usefulness to capitalism is publicly recognized by the capitalist press, which opens its columns to their spokesmen day after day.

In this united front of war preparations against the Soviet Union an honoured place is reserved by the capitalist press for the renegades from the Communist Party. Lovestone became one of their heroes when in 1929 it was announced, upon returning from Moscow, that he had "escaped" from the dungeons of Stalin and the G.P.U. The renegades are, for their brief moment, especially valued by the capitalists, because they carry forward the same policy under the very label of "Communism." Lovestone issued the slogan "Defend the Soviet Union by overthrowing the Stalin regime." The very slogan of defence of the Socialist Fatherland is thus to be turned into an instrument for preparing the interventionist war. The little group of opportunists which operate under the banner of Trotsky joins in with the cry: "The Soviet Union is under the despotism of the murderer Stalin."

In spite of their united efforts the capitalists and their Socialist servants have failed to whip up any war spirit among the masses. The workers are opposed to a war against the Soviet Union. Every lie and slander repeated by the Socialist and American Federation of Labour leaders is cutting another of the ties binding the masses to them. The working class in America is a very favourable field for our struggle against war preparations and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

We must find those concrete slogans and forms of struggle which will link up the struggle against war with the struggle for the everyday demands of the workers. In the United States we have used for this end the slogan "Not one cent for war; all for unemployment insurance." We must constantly explain to the workers, in a popular, easily understood language of the workers themselves, in terms of their own life, why it is that they suffer under capitalism, and why it is that in the Soviet Union there is no economic crisis, no unemployment, a rising standard of living, full social insurance.

We must explain how the workers of the Soviet Union gained their victory, what are the pre-requisites for the building of Socialism. We must connect up the Russian October with the experiences of the workers in our own countries. In America we must explain to the masses that we also in the United States helped to found the Soviet State when American workers in the interventionist army in Murmansk fraternized with the Red Army and went over to their side.

We must show how we in America have a share in the Soviet victory through the strike of the Seattle longshoremen against loading munitions for Kolchak, through our "Hands Off Russia!" committees, through our great campaign of the Friends of Soviet Russia organization during the days of the famine.

We must explain the rôle of the mass political strike in the preparation of the revolution and show the workers how already in the past, in our own experiences, we have had the beginnings of such struggles, as in the Seattle general strike of 1919, which placed the Strike Committee in charge of the city for several days, and the similar experience of the same year in Winnipeg, Canada.

We must make all the problems of the development of the struggle

against war, for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, seem intimate parts of every worker's own experience as natural next steps in his own development and the development of the American working class. We must gather the workers into the broadest committees and groups for discussions of achievements of the Soviet Union, the building of Socialist industry, the collectivization of agriculture, the Socialist organization of every phase of the workers' life.

We must in all its phases contrast capitalist America with Soviet Russia and show the masses that the U.S.S.R. is their Fatherland. We must rouse their class-consciousness, the understanding of the historical mission of the working class, the confidence in the power of the working class to achieve this mission, and fighting energy and enthusiasm which will finally bring them into battle with the class enemy.

We must fill every worker with the conscious understanding that with the approach of the revolutionary crisis that will be precipitated by the interventionist war he must be a working, fighting unit in the army of the proletariat, which will deliver blow after blow to the rotten structure of capitalism and over its ruins will raise up, in the countries now ruled by capitalism at the cost of the starvation of millions, those next Soviet Republics which will unite in fraternal solidarity with the existing Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

In the struggle against imperialist intervention, in the mobilization of the masses for this struggle, we will build our Parties into mass Parties, we will steel them in the battle, we will imbue them with the teachings of our leaders and teachers, Marx, Lenin and Stalin, and fit them to carry out those gigantic tasks which history is preparing for us in the near future.

**Thälmann** (Germany): Although the VIth World Congress made a correct estimate of immediate future developments, there is a great difference to be noted on the world stage between that time and now; there is, firstly, the political and economic change in the world situation and the regrouping of class forces, and there is, secondly, the factors which give rise to the question: What are the most important reasons that have delayed the counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union? Why did not the world bourgeoisie carry out its intention of armed intervention in the Soviet Union? The first important reason which made things difficult for the bourgeoisie was the tremendous development in the Soviet Union, particularly recently, with which we are familiar; this development to some extent even forced the class enemy to ideological surrender. One important aspect of this development is the rapidly increasing fraternization and the strong militant alliance between the working class and the millions of poor and middle peasants, as expressed in the pace of collectivization.

The second world factor is the intensification of internal contradictions in capitalist countries. Bucharin believed that revolution would come about only as a result of imperialist war, while the Russian and German delegation, in the resolutions accepted by the VIth Congress, correctly declared that the accentuation of the *internal*

contradictions on the one hand, and the acute antagonisms between the imperialists themselves and of the main antagonism between the imperialists and the Soviet Union on the other, would bring about a revolutionary situation. These facts made the task of the world bourgeoisie, in preparing for military intervention in the Soviet Union, much more difficult.

The third factor is embodied in the highly inflammable material that is gathering around the colonial peoples all over the world, and which has resulted in the victories of the bourgeois democratic revolution in China and in the various recent colonial revolutions, as in Indo-China. This circumstance aggravated the internal situation in the imperialist countries, which in the years preceding the war always used the colonial countries to make super-profits with which to satisfy the labour aristocracy and the petty-bourgeoisie at home. Undoubtedly this is one of the factors which has intensified the general situation and which, for the time being, forced the bourgeoisie to call a halt on this question.

The fourth factor, which should not be overlooked or underestimated, is the activity of the Communist International and its sections, despite their great weaknesses and defects, despite even the mistakes which have unfortunately been made in the sphere of anti-war work. Such a profound internal consolidation of the proletariat in the different countries is taking place that in every country the bourgeoisie is forced to take into account the probable action of the Communist Party and the workers who follow that Party in the event of war, and particularly of war against the Soviet Union.

It would be absurd and false, however, to imagine that these facts can actually prevent the counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union and the imperialist war amongst the capitalist countries from taking place. Any illusions on this point in our ranks must be vigorously fought, destroyed and eliminated. Let us observe our class enemy and the ideological and strategical manœuvres which he is making everywhere. The bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats, even more, are trying to deny the growing danger of war, attempting to deceive the workers by pacifist gestures. I would recall that Lenin said on this decisive question, in the resolution of the Conference of foreign sections of the Russian Social Democrat Labour Party held in March, 1915:

“ Pacifism and abstract propaganda in favour of peace is one of the forms assumed by the indignation of the working class. Under capitalism, and particularly in its imperialist stage, wars are inevitable. . . . To-day propaganda in favour of peace which is not accompanied by an appeal for revolutionary mass action only serves to weaken illusions, to demoralize the proletariat, by filling the workers with a belief in the ‘ humane sentiments ’ of the bourgeoisie, making them playthings in the hands of the secret diplomacy of belligerent countries.”

This quotation, besides its urge towards revolution, contains a warning by making it clear that even such a powerful force as the

Communist International, as the revolutionary proletariat, cannot prevent war from breaking out.

All too often we forget that all the international counter-revolutionary activities of the bourgeoisie are warmly supported by the Second and the Amsterdam internationals. This political unity is particularly apparent in the question of ideological, military and political preparations against the Soviet Union. The co-operation among our class enemies all over the world demands the greatest revolutionary cohesion and political unity in our ranks and among the international proletariat, led by the Comintern and the R.I.L.U.

I think that our discussion here has thrown sufficient light on the inadequacy of the support and solidarity displayed in connection with events in China and India. That is a blow in the face of us all, a warning to our Parties that must be pondered. How a people of 400 million raised in various parts of their country the Soviet banner, how they won large tracts of land away from imperialism, bringing them into the Soviet Union front, how new citadels of Socialism are arising, urging the heart and the passion of all revolutionary workers to international solidarity. (*Stormy applause.*)

Our present meeting gives the Communist International and its Parties an excellent opportunity of refuting all this swindle about forced labour in the Soviet Union, and of showing where forced labour and slave labour really do exist. If the bourgeoisie has the impudence to talk about forced labour that is because it has no other choice, for if the working masses realized that under the capitalist system they were performing forced labour, slave labour, and that the workers in the Soviet Union are free from such labour, the revolutionary idea of overthrowing the capitalist system would affect the workers far more profoundly. To-day, when the capitalist system is writhing in the most acute crisis, capitalism is imposing on the world proletariat conditions of labour which are incomparably more cruel than ancient Greek or Roman slavery. Anything more shameless than the enslavement, the oppression and murder of the workers and the unemployed by capitalism to-day has not been witnessed in the history of human society. In the history which has come down to us no worker has ever lived more freely than the Russian workers live to-day.

Comrades, our brother Party in France represents, if I may put the matter in this way, one of the most important factors in this growth of the danger of war on the Soviet Union, and for several reasons. If in Germany we can talk of the conditions for a revolutionary crisis becoming ripe, if at the present time the question of the German revolution is more acute than at any other, our brother Party in France backing the revolutionary class front in Germany is by no means an unimportant factor.

The second question that I want to raise—of great historical importance for the French Party—is concerned with the transference within the course of the last year of the centre of world imperialism's war preparations from England and America to Paris, where French

imperialism embodies the most active force working for the creation of a united bloc against the Soviet Union. I say quite openly that our French Party should not only make revolutionary speeches in Parliament on this question—a field in which they have been remarkably successful; it should also carry on, in more resolute and aggressive fashion, its anti-war work in the fields of subterranean revolutionary activity and in its revolutionary mass policy against French capitalism, which, under the guise of bourgeois democracy, is carefully preparing for the dictatorship of Finance Capital, is ruthlessly and energetically preparing for armed intervention in the Soviet Union.

In the imperialists' war plans Germany plays a decisive part. Let us consider the following military strategical points. In the event of a military attack on the Soviet Union, Poland must have a safe country in the rear. If Poland and France cannot count upon the support and agreement of Germany in a war on the Soviet Union the conducting of a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union would be dangerous for Poland, which is coming more and more under French control, and for French imperialism itself. For armed intervention in the Soviet Union the hinterland—in this case Germany—is indispensable to the imperialists from the strategical and geographical point of view. Germany's rôle in the anti-Soviet war front should be examined by us from two main aspects: firstly, as a transit area; and secondly, as offering support for military technique and equipment, for we must not ignore the value and the military significance of German industry. In recent times particularly the monopoly capitalists have made more pointed claims to the Polish corridor, to Danzig, to parts of the Upper Silesian industrial area. Brüning's journey to the East, the East Prussian speech of the Prussian Social Democrat Prime Minister, Braun, and the debates in the Reichstag and the Landtag on the subject of the maltreatment of the German minorities in Poland aroused great indignation among the "Young Powers," and particularly in Poland.

This is part of the recompense demanded of France by the German bourgeoisie for support in an anti-Soviet war. Their action in drawing up the plan for an Austro-German Customs Union, made known while this Plenum was sitting, is of an avowedly imperialist character, and is directed against the bondage of the Versailles Treaty.

(Comrade NEUMANN: Quite right!)

This Customs Union will, however, in no way alleviate the lot either of the German or of the Austrian working class. To us it is clear that the attempt to break through the limits imposed at Versailles by an Austro-German Customs Union is an attempt made by inexpedient means for an inexpedient object. The emancipation of the German people from the bondage of Versailles and from the slavery of the Young Plan can be achieved only and solely by the victorious proletarian revolution. The German bourgeoisie, German imperialism, cannot, even at the cost of helping to make war on the Soviet Union, escape from the clutches of the victorious countries gripped by the

crisis. Against German imperialism stand the victorious countries, united when their existence is threatened ; but the threat comes not from the bourgeoisie.

The system of Versailles can be maintained only on two conditions : firstly, that the imperialist Powers succeed in defeating and breaking up the Soviet Union ; and secondly, that they manage to keep down the embittered masses of Europe, to prevent the proletarian revolution. It is, however, our firm conviction, our unshakable belief, as expressed in the decisions of the XIth Plenum, that neither of these conditions should be fulfilled, and that means that in Germany national emancipation can and must only be the result of social emancipation. This emphasizes once more the importance and the correctness of our Emancipation Programme, and our main strategical slogan of a people's revolution, which Comrade Neumann dealt with in detail in the discussion on the first item of the agenda.

Of course the most important allies of the bourgeoisie in stirring up the campaign against Soviet Russia are the Social Democrats and the reformist trade union bureaucrats. The trial of the Mensheviks revealed unmistakably the real meaning of that campaign for active support of an anti-Soviet policy, in which the German Social Democrats come easily first of all the parties of the Second International. It is a fact of no small importance that the German S.D.P., the leading party in the Second International, is now combining its infamous campaign against the Soviet Union with propaganda in favour of a Franco-German understanding. We can see from this example, and strengthen our argument with facts from other countries, that when the Social Democrats appeal for fraternity among the peoples they always mean an understanding among the imperialists and their governments directed against the U.S.S.R. and the revolutionary proletariat in every country. When, on the other hand, the Communist International appeals for international solidarity we are calling for a world struggle against capitalism for the civil war against imperialist war, for the defence of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. That is the essential difference between the Communist International and the R.I.L.U. on the one side and the Second International and the I.F.T.U. on the other. The counter-revolutionary attitude of the Social Democratic leadership arouses all over the world, and especially in countries such as Germany, the greatest indignation of the Social Democratic masses, their opposition to the anti-Soviet campaign and to the war aims of imperialism. When the vote for the armoured cruisers was taken in Germany there was a serious rebellion among Social Democratic workers, including the younger generation, not only because the Social Democrats, despite mass hunger and mass impoverishment, approved the appropriation for the cruiser, but also because of the brazenness with which the Government declared that the construction of the armoured cruiser was necessary for service in the Baltic—that is, for service against the Soviet Union.

It is no accident that the strongest party in the Second Inter-

national, the German S.D.P., financed the Menshevik conspiracy and facilitated its work. At the present time that party is the storm division of the German bourgeoisie in the fight against the U.S.S.R. If Paris is the international centre of the White Guards, Berlin is the international centre for the Mensheviks. I have heard that since the Menshevik trial the Moscow workers no longer call the Second International by that name, but by the name of the Second Intervention International. That trial revealed clearly the ideological and moral decay of the Second International and of German Social Democracy. (Comrades Kunsenberg and Pieck have already given excellent examples of our anti-war work in Germany, and have shown how we must strengthen that work and drive onwards to important revolutionary tasks.) Our successes in this sphere do not, of course, mean that there is no weakness or defect in our work ; weaknesses, defects and even mistakes which must be corrected and eliminated in the immediate future. In the chemical factories of Leverkusen, where we have had no factory committee candidates since 1924, we put forward a Red list this year, and the Red trade union opposition was surprisingly successful at the election. At the Hotz metal works in Dortmund, where the Social Democrats have ruled unopposed for years past, we were the strongest party at the factory committee election, and the same applies to the Leuna works. At the famous Krupp works, where more than 6000 men were dismissed during the past year—mainly our supporters—we raised our percentage of votes as compared with the last election from 18 to 23 per cent.

We are paying great attention to railway and transport workers as a means of improving our anti-war work.

Our chief slogan against the danger of imperialist war, against armed intervention in the Soviet Union and against the colonial wars of the imperialists is : Defence and protection of the Soviet Union ; and then : Defence of the Chinese and all colonial revolutions against imperialism. Intimately bound up with this slogan is our central task of winning the majority of the proletariat in the different countries, of mobilizing them for revolutionary mass action for the overthrow of their own bourgeoisie. These two main tasks—defence of the Soviet Union and of all colonial revolutions—include the mobilization and the struggle of the masses for the overthrow of their bourgeoisie. All our daily tasks and immediate demands must be incorporated in this great strategical goal of our world revolutionary struggle. In working to reach this goal we must conduct systematic and intensive work among the proletarian youth as the most important revolutionary cadres, the shock troops, of the future civil war ; nor must the hundreds of million working women in the *heirberland*\* be overlooked, particularly in the matter of directing the feelings of the people both on the outbreak of imperialist war and in the fire of civil war.

The importance of this fight against imperialist war and for the

\* Roughly, the home front.

defence of the Soviet Union cannot be separated from the mass struggle for a revolutionary way out of the present crisis in those countries which to-day represent the weakest links in the chain of world imperialism.

We are growing out of the stage of agitation and propaganda into that of real revolutionary activity. This was perfectly well understood by the British military expert, Fuller, when he wrote :

“ Russia has created a deadly form of psychological warfare. . . . Against Russian methods our powerful fleet is as little effective as a steam hammer against a wireless wave.” \*

His words bear witness to the fear of that slogan which Lenin and the Bolsheviks proclaimed from 1914 to 1918, and which they alone obeyed and carried out : “ Civil war against imperialist war.” His words bear witness to the anxiety lest the masses act on the words of Karl Liebknecht : “ Your enemy is in your own country.” The great thing which we have to learn from the Bolsheviks is their lesson of overthrowing our “ own ” bourgeoisie. And once this question is raised we have to put up against the war policy of the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats our own revolutionary policy of peace. The Soviet Union was born in the struggle for world peace. One of the most important Bolshevik slogans in the Kerensky period was the slogan of peace. And the strength of the Bolsheviks lay not only in the slogan, but in the fight to make it a reality. The Soviet Union is the first country in the world that fought for and won real peace and made it as secure as possible by establishing the victory of the proletariat. Comrades, the struggle for Socialism is the struggle to guarantee peace.

Preparations for war have now gone so far that we must convince workers all over the world that the revolutionary cause of peace is defended only by the Soviet Union, the Comintern, the Communist Parties. We must really alarm the workers, because there is every possibility that the professional diplomats consider the decisive moment to have come and that, even if they do delay awhile, a storm will break out in some corner of the imperialist world which will rapidly set the whole world alight.

If at the present stage of development we Communists do not achieve revolutionary action, if we do not fight with revolutionary passion and love for the victory of Socialism, as our Russian brothers and sisters did in the years of civil war, if we do not exert all our strength before the outbreak of war, then at the moment when the proletarian vanguard in capitalist countries have to fight against their own bourgeoisie in defence of Socialism in the Soviet Union they will be bitterly surprised. This warning applies with special force to some sections of the Communist International.

In dealing with the 1905 Revolution Lenin went back to the year 1825. Defeatist sentiments are often expressed in our ranks. Struggles must be fought, even though they end in defeat, because only by a

\* Retranslated from the German.

bold offensive can we break down the resistance of the bourgeoisie and their allies, the Social Democrats. The Russian workers and peasants have not forgotten, and will not forget, how, when hunger stalked their Socialist fatherland in 1921, the international proletariat came to their assistance. Nor will the German workers forget the year 1923, when the Russian workers were already strong enough to supply food to the starving workers of the Ruhr when the Versailles Powers occupied that region. The British miners, too, have cause to remember the solidarity of their Russian brothers, while international Social Democracy was ideologically powerless against the land of Socialism. But perhaps the most telling example of the revolutionary international solidarity of the Russian workers and peasants, of which we in capitalist countries have still much to learn, was given in their fighting alliance with and inflexible faithfulness to the heroic army of Chinese workers and peasants through the years of revolutionary struggle against imperialist oppression and national enslavement.

It is true that to-day the bourgeoisie still controls political power, it still possesses armies and equipment, but it no longer has at its disposal—and this is a factor of the utmost importance—a reliable army ; it has no peaceful hinterland behind the lines, and shortly it will be impossible to convince the masses of the people of the necessity for a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union.

Behind the imperialist war front Communists will do everything in their power, and preparations must be made now to establish the basis for such illegal work, to accelerate the disintegration of the army, to use the powerful weapon of the political mass strike to carry out revolutionary mass action at home, to strengthen revolutionary mass agitation, to unfurl the standard of revolutionary war, and thus to change the imperialist war into the civil war for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. If our enemies have learnt, we too have learnt. We can even say that we have learnt more. Under the leadership of the Comintern our Communist Parties have grown more mature and competent. The German Communist Party is no longer the small Spartakus Bund of the World War. Should the German bourgeoisie dare to carry on a crusade against the Soviet Union we are convinced—and a great part of the German working class are with us—that any such attempt will and can only lead to the downfall of Hindenburg Germany and to the establishment of a Socialist Soviet Germany. (*Stormy applause.*)

**Arnot** (Great Britain) : Comrades, while our Plenum has been sitting at the same time there has been a conference of the Independent Labour Party sitting in England. At this conference of the Independent Labour Party we learn from the newspapers that they passed a resolution about the Soviet Union and the danger of war. This resolution, as far as the telegraphic communication tells us, says :

“ This conference of the Independent Labour Party congratulates the Soviet Government and the working class of the U.S.S.R. on the successes achieved in the fulfilment of the Five Year Plan.”

The leaders were also forced to accept an addition which said :

“ . . . and this conference places on record that the fierce attacks of the clergy, cries about slave labour, slanders about the Soviet Union, etc., are being used as propaganda with the aim of preparing a military attack on a broad scale against the Soviet workers. In view of this, this conference expresses its will to conduct a struggle against these war preparations and assures the workers of the Soviet Union that all possible aid will be given in completing their plans.”

Comrades, this resolution is a notable sign of the rising tide of the revolutionary upsurge in Great Britain. It showed that the delegates were affected by the radicalization of the workers and, at the same time, it brought out the treachery of the leaders, of Maxton and Brockway and Brailsford, etc.

What comment can be given on this resolution? Certainly we must thank Messrs. Maxton, Brockway and Brailsford for their courtesies in extending to the workers of the Soviet Union their congratulations on their success. At the same time we must assure them that we are profoundly sensible of the fact that they have done this only after the bourgeoisie, in a thousand speeches and articles, have already established the fact of this success of the Five Year Plan.

I have no doubt whatever that, when the forces of the Indian revolution are developed to a point where they shall have violently overthrown British imperialism, then, in this case too, the I.L.P. will graciously recognize the accomplished fact and will extend its congratulations to the successful Indian revolution.

We must thank them and say, “ We have heard all these things before.” We know the value (and the purpose) of such resolutions put forward by leaders who not only do not fight against the capitalist enemy of the workers, but actually disorganize the workers’ struggles, actually endeavour to break up the united front of the workers, to demobilize the working class.

This resolution of the Independent Labour Party says nothing whatever about how they are to “ express their will to conduct a struggle against the war preparations.” It says nothing of the fight against the Labour Government (a significant omission). It says nothing of fighting in the economic struggles linked up with the struggle for the Charter, of joining in the struggles of the colonial masses (and especially of the Indian toiling masses) against imperialism and its tool, the Labour Government.

These are the things, this is the way in which the revolutionary working class would seek to conduct the struggle, and it is from this struggle that the leaders of the I.L.P. are trying to hold them back.

Therefore we can say to these leaders of the I.L.P.: “ Sirs, this will not save you! You are trying to lull the watchfulness of the workers, but the workers of Great Britain will see through you and will not be deceived by your remarks.”

The very same week as this conference of the I.L.P. Fenner Brockway, the new Chairman, wrote a little article in the *New Leader*

in which he cited the remarks of another I.L.P. Member of Parliament, who said :

“ That the action of the Tories in 1927 was a turning point of Russian psychology. . . . It led to a *militarization of the whole Russian nation* and to a dangerous change in the Russian attitude to the rest of Europe.”

They say nothing about the fact that the U.S.S.R. put forward the plan of total disarmament at Geneva, and that this total disarmament plan was turned down by the Second International at its conference in Brussels in 1928, that the I.L.P. leaders agreed to this turning down, that Brockway called this decision an “ advance,” while Brailsford said it was “ one of the great events of our time.”

In 1917, after the October Revolution, Brailsford cursed the Bolsheviks and declared that they had “ placed themselves ” outside the pale of international Socialism.

This same Brailsford tried to betray the miners’ struggle in 1926.

In the *New Leader* of March 7th, 1930, at a moment when Arthur Henderson was instructing the British Ambassador in Moscow to ask for an inquiry into the Bolshevik “ torture and massacre of Christians,” Brailsford uttered this threat: “ The ruling party of Russia must restrain the International, which is its creation, from hostile acts. Only on that condition can Russia securely enjoy the peace she requires for her development.”

We say to Mr. Fenner Brockway, the new Chairman of the I.L.P. : “ Mr. Brockway, you who wrote to the Chairman of the Sovnarkom at the time of the Xth Anniversary of the October Revolution that you refused to participate because your soul was wrung by the thought of the counter-revolutionary Mensheviks in prison, whom you called ‘ these lonely sufferers, my comrades,’ why don’t you raise your voice now about the counter-revolutionary Mensheviks who were tried last month? ” I think that he doesn’t raise his voice now because if he did he would be at once repudiated by the workers.

I think we might also ask Mr. Brockway why he doesn’t refuse to enter into relations with Gandhi when he left the Meerut prisoners and the Lahore prisoners in jail and abandoned Bhagat Singh to be executed.

Mr. Brockway has anticipated this question ; in the *New Leader* last week he wrote an article in which he shows his attitude to the Indian prisoners. He said : “ The Indian truce has been seriously endangered by the execution of this prisoner, as we feared it would. We did our best. *We cabled the Viceroy.*” Thus he reproved the Viceroy for this murder like a governess reproving a wayward child, and as he wound up his article he said : “ The executions are a terrible mistake, *particularly since the ordinary legal procedure was not followed.*”

We can only say to Mr. Maxton, who has just ceased to be the Chairman of the Independent Labour Party : “ You promised at the League against Imperialism Conference in July, 1929, to fight for the colonial struggle, to fight for the Indian revolution, to fight for the

Chinese revolution, and the next month you showed what your promise was worth, when the Palestine risings took place and you were completely silent against the Labour Government."

At this conference of the I.L.P. there were a number of delegates who demanded disaffiliation of the I.L.P. from the Labour Party, and Maxton was able to prevent them from doing this and able to defeat this move. I remember that a good many years ago, during the war, there was also a movement among the I.L.P. for disaffiliation from the Labour Party, and Ramsay MacDonald, then the leader of the I.L.P., was able to prevent this move. Maxton is fulfilling the same rôle now as MacDonald did then.

Therefore, comrades, when we read this resolution of congratulation on the Five Year Plan, this resolution saying that the I.L.P. Conference will conduct a struggle against the war preparations, we must say that from such betrayers of the working class, from those who demobilize the working class and break its front, resolutions of this kind must be taken at their true value.

But to all militant, class-conscious, sincere workers who approved this resolution because they really wanted it, because they have a real will to fight for the Socialist Fatherland, for the Fatherland of all the workers of the world--to them we can say :

" You can prove this only by joining in the revolutionary struggles of the working class against the imperialists, against the Labour Government of rationalization, colonial repression and war preparations. You can prove this only by breaking with the I.L.P., breaking with its treacherous leaders. You can prove this only by fighting in the revolutionary proletarian organizations under the leadership of the Communist International, the General Staff of the international struggle of all the exploited classes and oppressed peoples of the world."

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