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ACTION OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND THE COMINTERN
AGAINST
THE UNITED STATES



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(*) "Comintern" is an abbreviation of "Communist International"; this latter which is also called the "Third International", is a combination of the communist parties of the whole world, or, more exactly, the world communist party, of which the communist parties of the various countries are sections.

Abbreviations : E.C.= Executive Committee.
C.P.= Communist Party.

Foreword

The purpose of the present study is to show how the Soviet Government and its "alter ego", the Comintern, act against established order in the United States of America. It concerns only the main-springs of this action and its general plan. The details of the activities of Soviet agents and the Comintern in America itself do not enter into the framework of this study ; it is for the American patriotic organisations to show them up. They will find this task greatly facilitated when they know exactly what is the organisation and working of the anti-American Bureaux functioning at Moscow.

This study is based upon official Soviet and communist publications and the sources are indicated in the text.

Organisation of the Comintern

Extracts from the Statutes of the Comintern :

"The Communist International, an international association of workers, is the organisation of the communist parties of the different countries into a single world communist party" (§1 of the Statutes of the Communist International, adopted by the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern at Moscow, 1st. September 1928).

"The parties belonging to the Comintern bear the name of 'Communist party of... (section of the Communist International)'. In each country there can be only one communist party belonging as a section to the Communist International" (§2 of the Statutes.)

"Members of a C.P. and the Comintern are those who accept the program of the Statutes of the C.P. of the country in which they reside and of the Communist International, belong to one of the basic organisations of the party and work actively in it, submit to all the decisions of the party and of the Communist International and pay subscriptions regularly". (§3)

"The Communist International and its sections are founded on the principles of democratic centralism of which the following are the most essential :

".....

"c) Obligation for the subsidiary organs to carry out the decisions of the superior organs of the Party, strict discipline in the Party, exact execution and without delay of the decisions of the Comintern, of its organs and of the directing centres of the Party...

"Once a decision has been taken by the Congress of the Comintern, the congresses of its sections or by the respective directing organs, this decision must compulsorily be carried out..."

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"The supreme organ of the Comintern is the world congress of the representatives of all the parties (sections) and the organisations affiliated to the Communist International..." (§8)

"The Executive Committee is the directing organ of the Comintern between congresses. It is this organ which gives directions to all the sections of the Communist International and which controls their activity". (§12)

"The decisions of the Executive Committee are obligatory for all the sections and must be immediately carried out by these latter" (§13)

It follows from the above texts that any member of a communist party, by the fact of his membership of the party, accepts the statutes and program of the Comintern and undertakes to carry out the decisions of the leaders of the party. Now the program of the Comintern was fixed by a decision of the Sixth World Congress of the latter, taken on the 1st. September 1928 at Moscow. This program fills a special number (N° 141, 8th. year, 23rd. Nov. 1928) of "International Correspondence", the official organ of the Comintern. We have no space to reproduce nor to analyse it here. We will content ourselves with quoting the conclusion, which is underlined in the text. It is as follows :

"The communists consider it unworthy to dissimulate their opinions or their plans. They proclaim openly that their designs can only be realised by the violent overthrow of the entire traditional social order."

Thus, anyone who has joined the communist party has undertaken to work for the violent overthrow of the institutions of his country and the country in which he resides.

From these facts one can only draw the following conclusions :

1) There is an absolute incompatibility between membership of the C.P. and the holding of such positions as those of magistrates, members of legislative assemblies, official posts, etc. which impose a precise duty and carry an express undertaking of fidelity to the State. That is why the communist magistrate, the communist deputy, the communist official are inconceivable for those who know the organisation and program of the C.P. Indeed, such persons take as regards their country and their party irreconcilable engagements ; the fact of having taken the engagements inherent in membership of the C.P. makes them traitors to their country.

It must be pointed out that this is not a question of opinion or of politics : it is a conflict between two undertakings which are mutually destructive and between which it is necessary to choose.

2) All bolshevist propaganda is carried on in conformity with the program of the Communist International and in execution of the decisions of its organs (the world congress, the Executive Committee, etc.) To take

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part in this propoganda is therefore an absolute duty for every member of the C.P. Now, the members of the Soviet Government and its diplomatic and commercial representatives abroad are all members of the Communist Party, prominent members whose attitude and activity are subjected to special supervision. If they cease to carry out the orders which they receive from the organs of the Communist International, they will be immediately dismissed, no doubt recalled to Moscow and probably shot. It is therefore absurd to suppose that the Soviet Government and its representatives could act otherwise than as docile and obedient members of the Comintern.

Relations between the leaders of the Comintern, the C.P. of the USSR and the Soviet Government

<u>Names</u>	<u>Functions of the C.P.</u>	<u>Functions in the Govt. of the USSR</u>	<u>Functions in the Comintern</u>
Stalin	Secretary genl. Member of the Political Bureau and Bureau of Organisation (2)	Member of the Central Ctee of the USSR (C.E.C) (1)(4)	Member of the Executive of the Comintern (E.C.C) the C.I. (8)
Molotov	Member of the Political Bureau (P.B.)-of the Central Ctee (C.C.) -Secretary of the C.P.-Member of the Organisation Bureau.	Member of the C.C. of the USSR.	Member of the Praesidium of the C.I.-of the Secretariat of the C.I.-of the E.C. of the C.I. (3)
Kaganovitch	Member of the P.B. Secretary of the C.P.-Member of the Organisation Bureau (2)	Candidate to the C.E.C. of the USSR-the Praesidium of the Soviet of the USSR (4)- Member of the Praesidium of the Central Trade Union Council. Director of the Institute of Law and of Soviet Construction.	
Kalinin	Member of the P.B. Member of the C.C. of the C.P. (2)	President and Member of the C.E.C. of the USSR. (4)	
Vorochilov	Member of the P.B. Member of the C.C. of the C.P. (2)	People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs. Member of the Council of Labour and Defence. President of the Revolutionary War Council. (4)	

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Kirov	Member of the P.B. (2)		
Rykov	Member of the P.B. Member of the C.C. of the C.P. (2)	President of the Council of People's Commissars. President of the Council of Labour and Defence.-Member of the C.E.C. of the USSR. (4)	Member of the E.C. of the C.I. (3)
Kossior	Member of the P.B. Member of the C.C. of the C.P. (2)	Assistant to the President of the Superior Council of National Economy (4)	
Roudzoutak	Member of the P.B. Member of the C.C. of the C.P. (2)	Assistant to the President of People's Commiss- ars of the USSR- Member of the C.E.C. of USSR-of the Praesidium of the Soviet of the USSR-Assistant to the President of the Council of Labour and Defence	Member of the Deleg- ation of the USSR accredited to the C.I. (5)
Kouybichef	Member of the P.B. Member of the C.C. of the C.P.(2)	President of the Supreme Council of National Economy. Member of the Council of Labour and Defence (4)	
Kisselev	Candidate to the C.C. (2)	Secretary of the E.C. of the R. S. F. S. R.	Member of the Praes- idium of the Polit- ical Sec- retariat (3)
Losovsky	Candidate to the C.C. of the Russian C.P. (2)	Member of the C.E.C. of the USSR (4)	Member of the Praes- idium of the C.I.- Candidate to the Genl. Sec- retariat of the Prof- intern and member of its Execut- ive Bureau (3)

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Manouilsky	Member of the C.C. of the Russian C.P. (2)		Member of the Praesidium of the C.I.-Candidate to the Political Secretariat and member of the E.C. of the C.I. (3)
Piatnitsky	Member of the C.C. of the Russian C.P. (2)		Member of the Praesidium of the C.I.-Member of the political secretariat of the E.C. of the C.I. (3)
Goussev	Member of the Central Ctee of Control of the C.P. (2)		Member of the Praesidium of the C.I. (3)
Skrypnik	Member of the C.C. of the Russian C.P. (2)	Member of the C.E.C. of the USSR-Member of the Praesidium of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR.-People's Commissar for Public Instruction in the Ukraine(4)	Member of the Praesidium of the E.C. of the C.I. (3)
Soltz	Member of the C.C. of control of the C.P. (2)	Member of the C.E.C. of the USSR.-Chief of the juridical section at the commissariat for workers' and peasants' inspection (4)	Member of the Praesidium and of the International Commission of Control (3)
Yaroslavsky	Member of the C.C. of Control	Member of the college at the commissariat of workers' and peasants' inspection (4)-Head of the Association of the Godless.	Member of the Praesidium (3)

(1) Central Executive Committee of the USSR - supreme governmental court of the USSR, whose rôle is thus defined ("All Moscow", Russian edn. 1930, p. 31): "The Central Executive Committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is the supreme organ of the power of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics in the intervals between the congresses of the Soviets of the USSR."

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- (2) "Pravda" 14/7/30.
- (3) "Communist Calendar" 1930.
- (4) "Diplomatic Yearbook of the USSR" 1929.
- (5) "Isvestia" March 1930.

Action of the Comintern in the United States up to March 1922

It was during the session of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Comintern at Moscow in February and March 1922 that the foundations were laid for action in the United States. An American delegation, including among others Marshall and Carr, took part in the work of the session. These two delegates made reports on the political and economic situation in the United States and on the action of the American communist party. They insisted especially upon two questions : the coming war with Japan and the negro question.

The resolution adopted by this session of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Comintern does not contain a special chapter devoted to the United States. The United States are mentioned in the chapter devoted to the "fight against war". The leaders of the Comintern were concerned at that time with the supremacy which the United States had acquired over all the other powers as a result of the war. The resolution in question was therefore specially directed to the fight against American "imperialism". On several occasions the speakers referred to the prosperity and well-being of the United States. ("Minutes of the Conference of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the C.I. pp.40,41,44,45,234,235).

In November 1922 the 4th World Congress of the Comintern met at Moscow. This is what appears in the resolution adopted at this assembly on the subject of the United States:

"In democratic America, so proud of its liberties, all who are suspected of belonging to the communist party are subjected to judicial cruelty. The police of the American bourgeoisie sack the trade unions and arrest workers by the hundred ; the bayonet and the truncheon are arms against strikers..."

"In the United States, the union of all the elements of the workers' trade union and political movement is beginning to be achieved. The American communists thus have the opportunity of penetrating into the great labouring masses and of becoming the centre of crystallisation of this union of the left. By forming groups wherever communists are to be found they should be able to take the direction of the movement for rallying the revolutionary elements and energetically propagating the idea of the united front. The main accusation they should level against the organisations of Mr. Gompers will be that these latter obstinately refuse to constitute the unity of the proletarian front for the defence of the unemployed. Nevertheless, the essential task of the party will be to draw to itself the best elements of the I.W.W."
(Fourth Communist World Congress. Resolutions, pp 5 and 99)

In June 1924, the Fifth World Congress of the Comintern was held at Moscow. It was at the time the economic crisis was beginning to be felt in the world without having touched as yet the United States. The Fifth Congress expressed

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the hope that this country would also be affected..(Fifth Communist World Congress. Resolution. French edition p.37).

"The crisis continues. The period of prosperity in the United States remains an isolated phenomenon. For the immediate future one must expect in the United States a phase of the crisis which has just announced itself with unexampled violence..."

The Enlarged Executive of the Comintern which sat in March and April 1925 adopted a special resolution on the American question ("Theses and resolutions adopted by the Enlarged Executive of the C.I., 25th.March-6th.April 1925". French edition, pp.41 and 47).

In regard to the situation in general this resolution observes : "American capitalism has succeeded for the moment in surmounting its crisis. The working masses who, during recent years, have fought against the lowering of the heaviest of yokes..."

The resolution insists particularly on the necessity of bolshevizing the trade unions. We read : "Communist action in the trade unions is at present very important in America : upon it depends the success of the party in the other domains and especially in the campaign for the Labour Party. In each trade union organisation the members of the party should be grouped in one communist fraction which should act solidly on all questions... The communist fractions should take an active and energetic part in all economic conflicts..."

These quotations show that up to 1926 the Comintern obtained but small results in the United States, the chief factors which determine the success of its action, namely, an economic crisis, a political crisis, a war, etc., being lacking. The Comintern also lacked the basic organisation for its activities.

Action of the Comintern in the United States from 1926 up to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern(1928)

The month of March 1926 marked a decisive turning point in the activity of the Comintern. Its central machinery was completely reorganised ; special organs were created to intensify the activity in each country : these organs were called "national secretariat of the general secretariat of the Executive of the Comintern". This is what was said about them in the official organ of the Comintern, "International Correspondence" (French edition, 1926, p.455):

"The organisation of the national secretariats is an essential part of the reorganisation of the secretariat which has been considerably strengthened in order to improve the representation of the foreign C.P. and to assure the best possible division of work. These national secretariats are organs of the Executive Committee of the Comintern and work under its direction and control. Each of them has to study systematically and discuss the

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situation in the country and C.P. to which he belongs, to elaborate questions for all the higher organs of the Comintern, to watch over the application of the decisions of these organs and their execution by the respective sections of the Comintern.

"The national secretariats are composed of a responsible secretary of the Executive Committee of the C.I. and of a few representatives of the Sections of the Comintern, principally of the countries with which they are connected. Such a composition assures a collective elaboration and a good preparation of the various questions. It also permits of the representatives of the different C.P., as well as the members and candidates of the Executive Committee of the C.I. having cognisance of the situation of other countries than those which they represent, which trains them in the work of the machinery of the E.C. of the Comintern.

"The decision of the Praesidium of the 24th. March establishes national secretariats for the following groups of countries :..."

There follows the list of the groups, and in §5 one reads : "... 5) United States of America, Canada, Japan

Since that time the activity of the Comintern in the United States has made constant progress, which enabled the Seventh enlarged session of the Comintern (Nov.-Dec.1926) to declare ("International Correspondence", French edition.1926,p.327) :

"Despite enormous difficulties, the 'Workers' (Communist) Party of America' has made, in the domain of mass work, considerable progress (direction of several strikes, first attempts to group the unorganised elements, penetration into the miners' unions). The weaknesses of the party are still there : an insufficient influence over the American proletariat and a weak party organisation. On certain points - work among the negroes, and among women - the activity of the party is not yet well organised. The application of the measures taken by the last enlarged executive to form a large left wing in the trade unions also leaves something to be desired. It is necessary to remark however, the internal consolidation of the party in regard to a notable weakening of fractional struggles. In this way the essential conditions are arrived at enabling the party to extend its influence over the masses."

"The immediate tasks of the party are as follows : not only to pursue its trade union work (attachment of the members of the party to the unions, formation of a left wing) but to redouble this activity. The work of reorganisation should now above all aim at inspiring the new factory cells to political activity and at regaining the good proletarian elements lost in the course of the reorganisation. The party as a whole should realise the enormous importance to be attached to the "Daily Worker."

From this time, the communist press, both in Russia and abroad, began to devote periodical articles to the question of communism in the United States. Thus, for example, the "Cahiers du Bolchévisme" (French edn.) of

9/10/26 published an article entitled "Le travail du P.C. américain" in which this organ of the Comintern conferred praise on the school of communist propaganda which the American C.P. had succeeded in setting on foot.

Attaching great importance to the de jure recognition of the Soviet government by the American government, the Comintern, in 1926, undertook a fresh campaign on this subject. Moscow regards the installation of a Soviet embassy in the United States as indispensable, in order that its action in that country may rest on a firm basis.

Yet, while pursuing the recognition of the Soviet government, the bolshevist leaders recognise publicly that they are directing subversive propaganda in the country. The "Pravda" of 15/11/26 said so and recognised in speaking of the activity of the American C.P., that the "American C.P. had been greatly helped in its work by the Executive of the Comintern", of which members of the Soviet government form part. The national secretariats have evidently begun to justify the hopes which the Comintern placed in them.

The "Pravda" of 18/12/26 writes : "The Comintern has drawn up new directions which should serve for the development of communist action in the United States, notably among the negroes and among women."

At the time of the 6th. World Congress of the Comintern the economic situation in the United States had reached a turning point and a period of depression was in view. This was noted with joy by the Executive of the Comintern in its important report presented to the 6th. Congress on "the activity of the C.I. from the 5th. Congress to the 6th." (French edn.) This report devoted a special chapter to the United States in which it studied the economic situation, the political parties, the situation in the trade unions, and the evolution of the working class and passed in review the general activity and the campaign which the American C.P. had carried out in the United States, its activity in the economic struggles, in the domain of agitation and propaganda, and its work among farmers, negroes and women. As for the situation within the party, the report (p.431) shows that there had been constant effort at Moscow to consolidate the party and render it more active.

Among other things, one reads : "Since the Fifth Congress the internal situation of the American communist party has been discussed in several commissions specially appointed for the purpose at the Fifth, Sixth and Eighth Enlarged Executives and in the two Congresses of the American C.P."

The Plenum of the American C.P. in February 1928 adopted a thesis on the general situation of the American C.P. This thesis declares that (p.433) "great progress has been made by the party in the consolidation of its forces and in the unification of its ranks, on the basis of the resolutions voted by the last congress of the party."

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The political secretariat of the E.C. of the Comintern which examined the decisions taken by the plenary assembly of February 1928, discussed anew the internal situation of the American C.P. It is worth while quoting this characteristic passage from the official organ of the Red Trade Union International, of which the secretary general, Losovsky, is a member of the Soviet government (June 1928) : "What troubles us is that capitalism in America is still powerful and still continues to progress ; 2) what troubles us is that the working class in America as a whole is in a privileged position ; 3) what troubles us is that there exists in America a very large and powerful section of the working aristocracy ; 4) what troubles us is that the C.P. is still weak."

Such was the situation when the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern opened on the 17th. July 1928. The American delegation was composed of 30 persons (20 with power to take part in discussions and 10 in an advisory capacity). These included among others : Pepper, Carleton, Foster, Lovestone, Weinstein, Cannon, Ford, Dunne, Jones, Bittelman, Wicks, Dixon, Wallace, Wolfe, Engdahl and Gomez. At the time of the congress there were serious discussions in the American C.P. which provoked this remark from Weinstein : ("International Correspondence" French edn. 1928, p.935) : "Comrades, it is very unfortunate that the World Congress should be turned into a sitting of the Anglo-American secretariat and should be given over to a detailed study of the situation within the C.P. of the United States." The men of Moscow tried to smooth over the dissensions in the interest of the bolshevist cause.

Speaking of the situation in the United States, the American delegate Dunne declared (page 906) : "We may expect soon an increasing radicalisation of the American masses and the development of great mass fights, although there does not exist at the present time a mass communist party. It is possible, even very probable, that by reason of the special conditions in America, great struggles will occur, struggles which will become embittered to the point of taking on an acute revolutionary character and which will give birth to a real mass party of the working class of the United States."

As will presently be seen, this "prophecy" of Comrade Dunne was not entirely unfounded.

The United States delegate Cannon expressed the same opinion as Dunne. "There are, he said, very great objective prospects for us in America. There are great possibilities before our party of putting itself at the head of great industrial struggles. These possibilities are on the increase." ("Correspondance Internationale" p.929).

When the Sixth Congress of the Comintern was dealing with "imperialist war" and the defense of the USSR the American delegate Bittelman declared (page 932):

"In the next war Yankee imperialism will play a leading rôle. We know that it is being actively prepared. It is therefore necessary that the C.P. of the United States

should adopt with the aid of the Comintern, a correct attitude as to its own position and possibilities."

The Sixth Congress of the Comintern gave a great impulse to the bolshevist movement. Its directions give at the present time the general line of the different C.P. Here are some which deal specially with the United States :

"...It must be recognised that the essential factor in the development of capitalism in general is the transfer of the economic centre to the United States, and, on this basis, the growth of their imperialist aggressiveness... The United States are to provide the impulsion to Central Europe ; at the same time they consolidate their positions in nearly all parts of the world. Latin America is becoming progressively, and by the ousting of British capital, an enormous "sphere of influence" of the United States, which are repressing all resistance on the American Continent by fire and iron... Throughout the world, the United States are pursuing a vast plan of conquest of the principal sources of raw material and the weakening of the positions of England..." (page 1701).

It is thus the United States which are becoming the principal enemy of the Comintern, for so long as prosperity reigns there the subversive action of the Comintern will have no solid basis. It is necessary, therefore, to provoke an economic crisis in the United States, with unemployment and discontent among the masses, and to cultivate by every means Anglo-American antagonism.

In paragraph 52 of the "Theses on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Communist Parties" adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, one finds the following phrase (pag 1708) :

"The American Workers' Party (communist) has restored its activity by turning to account the crisis which, in a certain measure, is being manifested in American industry, as well as the increase in unemployment. Numerous class fights, obstinate and fierce (in particular the miners' strike) have found in the C.P. a firm and energetic leader. The campaign in regard to the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti was also carried on under the direction of the C.P... As regards the question of the formation of a "Labour Party", the Congress decides to transfer the center of gravity to work in the trade unions and to the organisation of the unorganised in the unions, thus creating a basis for the effective realisation of the slogan of a large "Labour Party" organised from the base..."

Since the Sixth Congress of the Communist International its work in the United States has been untiringly pursued. We may note, among other things, that paragraph 27 of the Statutes of the Comintern confirms the existence of national secretariats and speaks of the right of the Praesidium of the Comintern to organise permanent commissions to direct the work of the different groups of sections of the C.I. It is in virtue of this paragraph that the praesidium of the Comintern created shortly afterwards an American commission of the Comintern, which we shall speak of later. This act emphasises once more the importance which the Comintern attaches to the bolshevisation of the United States.

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Activity of the Comintern in the United States since its Sixth Congress

In the month of July 1929 the tenth plenary session opened at Moscow of the E.C. of the Comintern. The American delegation was composed of Wilson, Ford, Minor, Browder and Schmies.

This session was devoted more especially to the development of the trade union movement. The great progress made in the United States on this subject was noted with satisfaction. Minor, Browder and Schmies each made reports on the question, emphasising the results obtained. Another important question which figured on the agenda of this session was that of the bolshevisation of the negroes in the United States.

At the time of the tenth session of the E.C. of the Comintern the American commission already mentioned was already at work. This is clear from Ford's speech ("International Corr." French edn. 1929, p. 1063): "We ought to emphasise in the eyes of the American comrades not only the results of the American commission, but also that the tenth session of the E.C. of the C.I. made known its attitude regard to the results and the situation in the American..."

Molotov, member of the Praesidium of the C.I., in the course of the tenth session of the Comintern, read a detailed report on "The Communist International and the Revolutionary Thrust". His declarations regarding the United States are of great importance; they show so clearly the interference of the Comintern in the internal affairs of the United States that it is necessary to reproduce them in full ("International Corr." French edn. 1929, p. 1194):

"The Comintern has given particular attention to the situation in the C.P. of the United States.

"A special delegation of the E.C. of the Comintern was sent to the last congress of this party (C.P. of the United States). Afterwards, for several weeks, there sat at Moscow a commission of the Praesidium of the E.C. of the C.I. which specially studied the situation in the C.P. of the United States... The Praesidium of the E.C. of the C.I. radically renewed the direction of the American C.P. and created within in the conditions of a real bolshevist development of the party and of a reinforcement of its authority among the working masses..."

The American commission of the Comintern, in fact, sat at Moscow in the month of May 1929 ("Communist International" Russian edn. 20th March 1930). Stalin, whose leading rôle in the Soviets we know, delivered the speeches at this meeting ("Communist International", Russian edn. 20/3/30, p. 11) which the Soviet press was careful not to divulge until January 1930. Stalin declared: "I consider that the C.P. of the United States is one of the few C.P. to which history has given decisive tasks from the point of view of the world revolutionary movement. The revolutionary crisis has not yet reached the United States, but we already have knowledge of numerous facts which suggest that it is approaching".

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These are the directions which Stalin gave to the C.P. of the United States through the intermediary of the E.C. of the Comintern (page 11):

"It is necessary that the American C.P. should be capable of meeting the moment of crisis fully equipped to take the direction of future class wars in the United States. You must prepare for that, comrades, with all your strength and by every means; you must constantly improve and bolshevise the American C.P. You must forge real revolutionary cadres and leaders of the proletariat who will be capable of leading the millions of American workers towards the revolutionary class wars". The two speeches of Stalin are reproduced in full in the Soviet review "Bolshevik" (in Russian, 15/1/30).

And the "Communist International" continues: "The revolutionary demonstrations of the 6th March mark a decisive turning-point in the development of the revolutionary movement in the United States. When the American C.P., which numbers in its ranks 10,000 members, succeeds in bringing out into the streets on a fixed day more than a million proletarians by making them adopt its watchword, this proves that great changes have taken place and that the proletarian class is awakening for the fight".

"The history of the revolutionary movement in the United States records no such important demonstrations as that of the 6th of March 1930".

"But", says the communist organ, "the events of the 6th March were not spontaneous; they were systematically prepared by the communist and by their "Trade Union League" (Red: by the E.C. of the C.I.)... It was the recent economic crisis and the increased unemployment which determined its success".

Since then, the communist press is full of articles on the economic and political situation in the United States. We may note as an example the article by Varga, member of the E.C. of the C.I. on "The United States in the period of the decline of capitalism", which appeared in the "Communist International" (French edn.) of the 1st August 1929; that of Weinstone on "The economic crisis in the United States and the tasks of the C.P." which appeared in the "Communist International" (Russian edn.) of the 31st Jan. 1930; and that of Mingouline entitled "The new impulse in the world revolutionary movement" which appeared in the "Bolshevik", a Soviet review in Russian, on the 28th Feb. 1930. Three pages of this latter article are devoted to the situation in the United States and to the speech mentioned above which Stalin made before the American commission of the Comintern. We must also mention the article which appeared in the "Communist International" (French edn.) of the 10th May 1930, entitled "The 6th of March in the United States". This article is an extract from the reports of the different organisations of the C.P. of the United States on the results of the "Red Day" of the 6th March 1930 in the United States. Finally Mingouline in the "Bolshevik" of the 15th May 1930 published a characteristic article entitled "The economic crisis and the revolutionary impulse in America".

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The "Communist International" of the 10th March 1930 (Russian edn.) gives detailed directions for the future development of the revolutionary movement in the United States. These directions concern :

1. The utilisation of the economic crisis and unemployment.
2. The development of the trade union movement.
3. The preparation of cadres and action among the young.

The communist organ concludes: "A wide road is opening before the American C.P. Let us purify our cadres of opportunist elements and give them a revolutionary education in the schools and organisations of the party. The elite of our proletarian elements, who have already distinguished themselves in the revolutionary fights, should be carefully instructed to lead the masses".

"The party is going forward; its combative capacity is increasing. We must make still further effort in all branches of social life to improve the results obtained, but we can already say that our party is on the road marked out by Lenin".

At the Enlarged Plenum of the Praesidium of the Comintern in February 1930 Manouilsky, a member of the Executive Committee of the Praesidium of the Comintern, presented a report in which, after having spoken of "the Yankee Hoover, who exalted with boasting" before the whole world the energies accumulated in the United States, he showed himself enchanted with the crisis which had finally broken out in the country, and said that new possibilities were opening out in the United States from the point of view of the revolutionary movement.

"The crisis", he said ("International Corr." 10/5/30) "has overthrown the aspect of the theory of American 'exclusivity', the legend of the America 'which rations Europe'... in the capitalist countries can be engendered not only by the world war; it can be prepared and created by other factors, by a strong economic crisis. The crisis in the United States cannot fail to shake the whole capitalist system, seeing that the position of American capitalism constitutes the basis of capitalist stabilisation".

Manouilsky thus emphasises once more the capital importance which the Comintern attaches to the development of a crisis in the United States.

Finally, speaking of the tasks of the different communist parties, Manouilsky declared, on the subject of the United States ("International Corr." 1930 24/5): "...For the American C.P. it is a matter of reinforcing the new unions which will serve as a backbone for the whole of the communist movement in the United States" and concluded in these terms: "At the present moment a great responsibility rests upon the C.P. of the United States. It is at the apex of the world revolutionary movement. Now, him whom history places in the forefront should be on the qui-vive, should be ready to throw himself into the mêlée to turn aside the most violent blows".

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The International of Youth and the United States

The Comintern is not alone in carrying on its subversive action in the United States. It is powerfully seconded in its work by the "Communist International of Youth" or "Comsomol" (in Russian). The Comsomol "is a section of the Communist International and works on the basis of its program". It is thus that the "program of the C.I. of Youth" (French edn. 1929) defines its rôle:

In the United States the Federation of Young Communists has always faithfully followed the decisions and the program of the Comintern. In 1926 and 1927, at the time of the dissensions which divided the American C.P., the Federation of Young Communists "took an active part in the discussion in the party and after some resistance rallied to the line of the Communist International and became its defender". ("Four Years of the C.I. of Youth", French edn. p. 33).

This same book, speaking of the work accomplished in the United States by the Young Communists, says (p.40): "The Federation of Youth Communists of the United States began in 1926 by systematic work in the navy and army, especially among the troops leaving for China. At the beginning of the American intervention in Nicaragua the federation developed a widespread defeatist action in the army and among the masses.

"...Another field of anti-militarist action is the C.M.T.C. (bourgeois camps for the military training of the young):...the federation often develops its revolutionary propaganda with success in these camps...

"The prospects of revolutionary propaganda in the army are fairly good if one considers that, according to the declaration of the military department, 13,000 soldiers have deserted from the army in the course of 1927 owing to the ill-treatment received and the hard service.

"Much work still remains to be done by the American federation in the ideological domain to combat pacifist tendencies".

The Young Communists of the United States actively carry on propaganda in the army and take part in the strikes organised by the C.P. Thus the strike at Passaic in 1927 was carried on with the energetic help of the Young Communists (p.72).

In 1926 there was already a school of the federation of Young Communists of the United States with three-week courses (p.98).

The chapter entitled "The C.I. of Youth and the Elections" (p.130) describes the tasks of the Young Communists of the United States during the elections, as well as the demands they presented.

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In September 1925 there took place at Moscow the Second International Conference of the C.I.Y. According to the book "Four Years of the C.I.Y." (p.135)...the results of this conference were somewhat important. For the first time in countries such as England, France and America the question of a real mass activity of children's federations was considered..."

In the course of the plenary sitting of the Executive Committee of the C.I.Y. in the month of June 1927 the question of the United States was again under discussion. The "Four Years of the C.I.Y." state, indeed, (p.160) that "the Plenum dealt with the tasks of the English, Chinese and American Federations..."

At the time of the International Day of Youth in 1927 and 1928 the American Federation showed great activity, organising meetings, "fighting against war preparations", etc. (page 172).

The book "The Four Years of the C.I.Y." devoted a special chapter (pp. 261 to 266) to the Federation of Young Communists of the United States. This chapter deals with the general situation of the working youth, with the characteristics of the period since the fourth congress of the C.I.Y., with the situation as regards organisation, with economic and trade union work, with unemployment, with anti-militarist work, and with the sports movement and general questions.

Immediately after, the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern, the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International of Youth was held at Moscow in November 1928. Its results were published in "International Correspondence" (French edn.) of the 16th November 1928. The resolutions of the Congress do not contain any special chapter on the United States, but in connection with the anti-militarist work, for instance, which is done of the principal tasks of the C.I.Y. by virtue of the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, "International Correspondence" says on page 1524: "...Even in federations so far distant as the Federation of Young Communists of the United States, we have examples of good anti-militarist work, as on the occasion of the United States intervention in Nicaragua"

Another branch of the Comintern closely connected with the Komsomol is the "Sportintern" (Workers' Sports International). The American branch of the Sportintern was founded in New York on the 23rd March 1924. Its members have to do all they can to convert the young to communist doctrines ("Monthly Documentation" of the International Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik International Entente, Dec. 1923).

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The Red Trade Union International and the United States

The action of the Comintern in the United States is powerfully seconded by that of the "Profintern" (Red Trade Union International - R.T.U.I.) which was created on July 15th 1920 at Moscow.

The Red Trade Union International aims at - ..."The organisation of the toiling masses of the whole world for the overthrow of capitalism, the liberation of the workers and the inauguration of bolshevism". Statutes of the R.T.U.I. in the book "Relations between the R.T.U.I." p.94). The Profintern works in close relationship with the Comintern, in which it has permanent representatives. The Fifth Congress of the Comintern voted the following resolution :

"All the members of the C.P. should affiliate themselves to the trade unions. It is their duty to found communist cells in the unions". ("Anti-communist Vade-Mecum", page 10).

The Profintern, apart from its world congresses, which constitute its supreme organ, possesses two permanent organs: the Central Council and the Executive Bureau. Foreign countries send delegates to the Central Council in a number proportionate to the effectives of the sections of the Profintern in those countries. Thus the United States has two delegates in the Central Council. According to official Soviet indications, the Profintern has 250,000 affiliated members in the United States. ("History of the International Trade Union Movement in posters". Poster N° 3, published by the Communist Academy of Moscow).

The Executive Bureau is elected by the Congress of the Profintern and has one member for the United States. ("Relations between the R.T.U.I. and the C.I. page 19).

The first world Congress of the Profintern was held at Moscow in the month of July 1921. In the "Resolutions and Statutes of this congress (French edn. page 54) we find a resolution on the United States. It was this resolution which laid the foundation stone of the work of the R.T.U.I. in the United States.

In November 1922 was held the Second World Congress of the R.T.U.I. which emphasized that "The League of Trade Union Propaganda (in the United States), which has been able to do a great work in the course of its brief existence, should seek the support of collective members. (Theses and resolutions adopted at the Second Congress of the R.T.U.I., French edn. page 21). This resolution continues: "We must fight against scission, but at the same time without losing sight of the fact that there are outside the American Federation of Labour a large number of workers revolutionarily organised, and that the overwhelming majority of the American proletariat remain outside any organisation".

It is among this "mass" of American workers that the R.T.U.I. will henceforth pursue its work.

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In July 1924 there met, again at Moscow, the Third World Congress of the Profintern. The book "The Activity of the R.T.U.I., report of the Third Congress" (page 352) contains a whole chapter on the United States, which indicates the tasks of the League of Trade Union Education, directed by Comrade Foster, which is the "organising organ of the R.T.U.I. in North America".

Among the directions contained in this chapter must be noted the following : "... (2) to group the trade union movement in the United States, which is extremely scrappy from the point of view of organisation... (3) to assure the revolutionary penetration of the trade union movement by removing Comperist traditions, (4) to bind up with the R.T.U.I. this movement of revolutionary education by attaching the American proletariat to the world war of the working class.

The Third Congress of the R.T.U.I. (1924) also voted a resolution on the "Fight for the liberation of militants imprisoned in the United States of North America". (Resolutions adopted at the Third Congress of the R.T.U.I., French edn. p.141). According to this resolution "a campaign should immediately be opened in the United States for the liberation of Money, Ford, Suhr, Cline, Rangel, Sacco, Vanzetti and other political prisoners detained in the gaols of the United States. Furthermore, all the newspapers, reviews, and other press organs of the above-mentioned organisations should undertake the defence of these victims of the domination of the bourgeois class".

The Fourth Congress of the R.T.U.I., which met at Moscow in March and April 1928, adopted the following resolution concerning the United States. ("Theses and Resolutions of the Fourth Congress of the R.T.U.I.", French edn. page 66):

"(33) In the United States, the partisans of the R.T.U.I. should develop and intensify their activity in the trade unions affiliated to the reactionary American Federation of Labour, but the central objective of the League of Trade Union Education consists in realising effectively the watchword of the 'organisation of the unorganised'. While making propaganda for this watchword, even in the most reactionary trade unions, the League of Trade Union Education should undertake in a practical manner the organisation of unions in the industries in which the workers are but little or not at all organised..."

The same book reproduces (page 132 onwards) an important report on "The objectives of the partisans of the R.T.U.I. in the United States of America". This report bears upon the fight against the collaboration of the classes, upon the program of action amongst the workers of all occupations, the strategy of strikes, the "Company Unions", unemployment, questions of organisation and international problems.

Finally, the Fifth World Congress of the Profintern was held in August 1930 at Moscow. An American delegation, including among others Bell, Weissman ("Pravda" 22/8/30), Little ("Pravda" 21/8/30) was present. In his speech at this congress ("Pravda" 22/8/30) Weissman declared that the number of unemployed in the United States had

already reached seven millions and that the workers were ready to commence the struggle under the direction of the communist unions, as had been proved, he said, frequently in the course of recent strikes in the United States.

Comrade Little ("Pravda" 21/8/30) emphasised the influence of the economic crisis on working youths in the United States and the will of these to combat capitalism. He added that they must manage to create among the young a strong revolutionary kernel for future fights.

Between 1924 and 1927 the trade union movement in the United States was on 36 occasions the subject of discussion by the Executive Bureau of the Profintern. ("The R.T.U.I. at work", French edn, page 11). This book also contains a detailed study of the trade union movement in the United States. (pp. 205 to 210 and 415 to 420).

The official organ of the Executive Bureau of the R.T.U.I. which bears the name of the "Red Trade Union International", seriously took up the question of the Trade Union Movement in the United States. Mention must be made of an article by Atohkancov on "Wages and Rationalisation on the railways of the United States" (April 1927); those of Vilenkin on "Yankee Imperialism and the Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labour" (May 1927), and on the "Displacement of leading American industry towards the Southern States and its influence on the Trade Union Movement" (August-September 1927); that of Hathaway on "The Congress of the Workers' Party and the Trade Union Question" (October 1927); that of Bill Dunne on "A new phase of the American Miners' Strike and the Pittsburg Conference" (April-May 1928); that of W. Foster on "The crisis in the workers' movement in the United States" (February 1928); that of Ford on "One of our principal objectives in America" (August 1928); that of Jack Johnston on "The new Trade Union Organisations in the United States" (November 1928); that of Zack on "The experience of the strike struggle in the United States of America" (December 1928); those of Vilenkin on the "48th Congress of the American Federation of Labour" (January 1929), and "The Prospects of the American Workers' Movement" (September 1928); and finally that of Foster on "The League for Trade Union Unity and the Oppression of the Negroes in the United States" (January 1930).

The "Red Trade Union International" indicated in its number of February 1930 the "Tasks of the League for Trade Union Unity" of the United States, according to the resolution adopted by the Sixth Session of the Central Council of the Profintern. This resolution notes a favourable situation for the work of the R.T.U.I. and its American organs and says (page 13) that "...The Sixth Session of the Council of the R.T.U.I. is happy to note the success of the Congress at Cleveland and the creation of a central revolutionary trade union at these sittings. The session also notes that the Red unions had brought about many strikes, some of which were victorious...

"...The Central Council of the R.T.U.I. invites all its partisans in the United States to carry on a vigorous fight against all weakening tendencies in regard to the revolutionary unions and to combat all those who... try to cause cleavages in the revolutionary unions and to turn them from their central task: the conquest of the majority of the proletariat for the overthrow of American capitalism".

The Negro question.-

This question is closely connected with the trade union question in the United States. The Comintern and its affiliated organs attach very special importance to the negro question; they use every means to exasperate the discontent of the negroes in the United States. The negro question has been the subject of discussions at nearly every world congress of the Comintern and at the enlarged sessions of its E.C. But it was especially during the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern in August and September 1928 that the most important resolutions were taken on the question. Here is what was said on this subject in the resolutions of this congress devoted to the revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies ("International Corr.", French edn. 1928, page 1740):

"Alongside the colonial question, the Sixth Congress seriously calls the attention of the C.P. to the negro question. The situation of the negroes varies in the different countries. One may divide the countries inhabited by compact masses of negroes in the following way: (1) The United States and a few countries of South America where compact masses of negroes constitute a minority in relation to the white population...

"...There are about 12 million negroes living in the United States. Most of them are farmers who pay their rents in kind and live under semi-feudal conditions... One of the most important tasks of the C.P. (of the United States) consists in fighting for the real and complete equality of the negroes, for the abolition of all inequality, social and political, and of all inequality of race. It is the duty of the C.P. to fight with all its energy against the least expression of white chauvinism, to organise active resistance against lynch law, to strengthen the work among the negro workers, to recruit the most responsible into the party and to fight for their admission into all the white workers' organisations, and above all into the trade unions...

"...In the Southern States the watchword must be launched of self-determination for the negroes. The radical alteration of the agrarian regime in the United States is one of the essential tasks of the revolution. The negro communists should explain to the negro workers and peasants that only a close alliance and a common fight with the white proletariat against the American bourgeoisie can liberate them from barbarous exploitation, that only the triumphant proletarian revolution will finally resolve the agrarian problem in the Southern States in the interests of the overwhelming mass of the negro population of the country".

The Sixth Congress of the Red Trade Union International (March-April 1928) also dealt with the negro question in the United States. In the "Theses and resolutions" of this congress (page 22) we find an entire chapter entitled "White workers and colored workers", from which we extract the following :

"In several countries (United States) (in parenthesis in the text) where there are workers of different nationalities, the question of the relations between colored and white workers arises in acute fashion... In the United States, where there are at least 5 million negro workers, a serious mistake is being made in adjourning this question. There should be an energetic effort to organise the negro workers in special trade unions..."

There is also a paragraph (page 134) entitled "Negro workers" in the chapter devoted specially to the United States. This proclaims the necessity of organising the negro workers in special unions or of getting them admitted into the white unions.

In the "Theses and resolutions of the Sixth Congress of the R.T.U.I." at page 185 we find the following resolution on the negro question:

"The Sixth Congress authorises the Executive Bureau to convoke the representatives of the negro workers in order to elaborate practical and immediate measures in regard to the realisation of the line adopted with a view to organising the negro workers of the United States and of Africa".

This congress decided to set up a special permanent commission to study appropriate means for bolshevizing the negroes. "International Correspondence" published during this congress (German Edition of the 3rd April 1928) an article on the situation of the negroes in the United States and Africa. The writer declares that the bolshevist revolution is the only means of improving the lot of the negro.

The Comintern has organised at Moscow courses extending over several years for the training of negro bolshevik agitators of American origin. The first team returned to the United States in 1927. (Dossier "Negro Question" of the Permanent Bureau of the International Anti-Bolshevik Entente).

Further, "l'Humanité" of the 9th August 1928 reports a meeting of the Executive Bureau of the Profintern in the presence of negro delegates from the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. The Bureau decided to create in connection with the R.T.U.I. an international trade union committee of negro workers, composed of two representatives of the negro workers of the United States and of representatives of other countries. Two negro delegates, Jones and Whiteman, of the United States, were present at this meeting.

The "Communist International" of the 15th September 1928 published an article by H. Haywood on "The negro problem in the United States and the tasks of the C.P.". This stated that the Sixth Congress of the Comintern (Summer 1928) had created a colonial negro committee and sub-committee. The most important task of this sub-committee is the work among the negroes in the United States. "In the course of the Second Congress of the Comintern", continues the article, Lenin compared the negroes to the Irish, and called them an 'oppressed nation'. The C.P. of the United States must support the revolutionary movement of this people".

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In the "Communist International" of the 15th September 1928 J. Pepper published an article entitled "The negro question in America". Noting that a "real negro industrial proletariat" is arising in the United States", he insists upon the necessity of grouping this proletariat within the communist movement:

"It is the essential duty of the C.P. to develop all the revolutionary possibilities of the negro people and to transform the reserves of force of the bourgeoisie into reserves of force for the proletariat". (Stalin).

The author concludes by affirming that "the movement of national liberation of the negroes has a prodigious revolutionary potential". "But", he says, "what especially hinders the activity of the American C.P. among the negroes is the absence among the negro comrades of sufficient communist cadres. Therefore, the most immediate and important duty of the party is to form a cadre of communist negro workers and to educate the negroes to this end... All the schools of the party, in the United States and abroad, should serve to educate the negro comrades and prepare them for their rôle of leaders... The negro question in the United States should be studied in relation to the international negro problem."

Finally, we may draw attention to the article by I.W. Ford on "The influence of the C.I. among the negroes at the time of the Tenth Anniversary of the C.I." which appeared in "International Correspondence" (French Edn. 27/3/29).

According to I.W. Ford "... the Sixth Congress of the C.I. went into the negro question very thoroughly. Four negroes from America took part in the congress... The Sixth Congress laid down very precise rules for activity among the negroes. Since then, a negro Bureau has been set up in connection with the C.I. In America an extensive work of agitation and organisation has been inaugurated.

In conclusion we may mention the International Congress of Negro Workers which opened on the 7th July 1930 at Hamburg, and which was convoked by the Comintern. The "Pravda" of the 10/7/30 says that negro delegates from the United States took part. The congress voted unanimously a resolution according to which the negro workers declared themselves ready to support the Soviet Union in case of an aggression of the imperialists against it. The congress sent a telegram of felicitation to the E.C. of the Comintern and the Profintern.

At the Fifth World Congress of the Profintern. which met at Moscow in August 1930, one of the delegates from the United States, Bell, declared ("Pravda" 22/8/30 "We ought to utilise all our forces to organise the negro, those slaves of capital the worst exploited and the worst paid. To intensify the work among the negroes we propose to create a negro-sub-committee in connection with the Anglo-American Section of the Profintern. The negro masses are beginning to rise up for the fight against the exploiters..."

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Other associations affiliated to the Comintern working in the United States

There exists another branch of the Comintern which also carries on a work of communist agitation and propaganda in the United States. This is the International Relief, composed of two sections: the "Red International Relief" (R.I.R.) and the "Workers' International Relief" (W.I.R.). According to the Fifth World Congress of the Comintern ("Fifth Communist World Congress" French Edn. p. 91) "the Red International Relief is a neutral organization formed for the material, moral and juridical support of revolutionary militants in prison, of their families and their children, as well as the families of those assassinated...", whilst the "Workers' International Relief" is a proletarian, non-political and non-party organization, of which workers of all political and trade union tendencies are members, and which lends its aid to necessitous workers independently of all opinion and all trade union organization".

The international relief organizations were founded in March 1923. Despite the terms "neutral" and "non-political", these two organizations are auxiliaries of the Comintern and aim, under pretext of philanthropy, at attracting non-communist elements and facilitating the penetration of bolshevism into these circles. Representatives of the two organizations mentioned have been caught red-handed in bolshevist action (propaganda, espionage, etc.).

On page 22 of the "Stenographic Protocol of the Congress of the Red International Relief", quoted by the "Peuple" of Brussels of the 24/1/27, we find the following phrase of Zinovieff, then President of the Comintern: "...The R.I.R. is a communist organization... The E.C. of the C.I. regards the R.I.R. as one of its most active members".

On the occasion of the Fifth anniversary of the R.I.R. "International Correspondence" devoted a special number to it (that of 8/3/28), which confirms that the R.I.R. is far from being a "non-political and neutral organization".

Finally, the Fifth World Congress of the Red Trade Union International, which sat in the month of August 1930 at Moscow, defined the rôle and tasks of the Red International Relief as follows ("Pravda" 28/8/30):

"...the rôle of the R.I.R. is far from consisting only of assisting political prisoners and the victims of repression. International education in the fighting spirit - such is the principal task of the R.I.R., and ought to be inscribed on its banners. The sections of the Profintern should remember the great rôle played by the R.I.R. and help us in our work. They should adhere collectively to the R.I.R. and help us to recruit individual members, for it is thus we can conquer the working masses."

According to the book "The C.I. between the Fifth and Sixth World Congresses" there are 54 local groups of the R.I.R. in the United States, with a total of 135,000 members.

It was more particularly in the course of the communist agitation in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927 that the R.I.R. played an important rôle. "International Correspondence" 1928, p.315, says: "...If the movement for Sacco and Vanzetti was so widespread in 1927 it was largely due to the work for years before of the R.I.R.." It is a frank admission.

We read in the same number of "International Correspondence" (8/3/28): "...In 1927 the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign, which took on the proportions of a great popular movement, exceeded in itself the whole activity of previous campaigns, and the number of meetings and demonstrations of the R.I.R. reached in 1927 several tens of thousands". And further on :

"...In the United States of America, following the campaign of protest conducted by the 'International Labour Defence' (American Section of the R.I.R.) the Bills aimed against worker immigrants were withdrawn".

The "Pravda" of the 23/8/30 said: "On the occasion of the anniversary of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti the R.I.R. is organising demonstrations in the United States, Canada and Latin America..."

Another auxiliary of the Comintern which also possesses ramifications in the United States is the VOKS or "Society for cultural relations between the USSR and foreign countries" of which the American branch is entitled "The American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia". The V.O.K.S., created in 1925, aims at placing intellectual circles in the West and in America under the influence of Moscow by utilising scientific, literary and artistic associations. The V.O.K.S. is closely connected, on the one hand, with the Agitation and Propaganda Section of the Comintern and on the other hand with the Commissariat of Public Instruction of the Ogpu. It supervises Russian scientists in their international relations; it receives, controls, pilots, and documents foreign intellectuals who visit the USSR; it works to create affiliated groups or to find correspondents all over the world.

In the United States, "The Society for Cultural Relations with Russia" under the mask of scientific and cultural work, carries on propaganda in favour of communism. It organises soirées and lectures in favour of a "rapprochement between the USSR and foreign countries", praises the so-called cultural and scientific conquests of Soviet Russia, organises trips of American delegations to Russia, courses of study and lectures. The Americans who visit the USSR under the patronage of the VOKS and allow themselves to be piloted by this organisation see and hear only what the Soviets allow them to see and hear.

The "Pravda" of the 12th November 1926 had already in a close study of the development of communism in the United States, shown that the American C.P. was endeavouring to keep in contact, not only with the working masses, but also with certain intellectual groups. This contact was realised by means of the American "Society for Cultural Relation with Russia".

Since 1929, bolshevist propaganda in intellectual circles in the United States has grown considerably. This propaganda, the aim of which is to create a movement of sympathy in regard to the Soviets, is directed by the "Society for Cultural Relations with Russia", whose action is all the more dangerous in that it generally takes on an inoffensive appearance.

Among the other auxiliaries of the Comintern which are working in the United States may be mentioned the Co-operative International. In June 1926 a "Co-operative Conference of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern" was held at Moscow. An American delegate, Dorsy, took part. ("International Correspondence", 1926, page 782).

Soviet Propaganda in Latin America against the United States

Apart from the direct action which the Comintern exerts in the United States, it carries on an important work aimed indirectly at that country. This is its anti-American action and propaganda in Latin America. The Soviet economic and political reviews have published a large number of articles on this Continent; it is impossible to cite them all. Suffice it to say that the leading idea of these articles is the necessity for Latin America to fight against the imperialism of the United States which are enslaving these countries.

The congresses and enlarged sessions of the Comintern have frequently dealt with questions relating to Latin America and have always taken decisions against the United States. Thus, at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern (August-September 1928) Humbert Droz presented an important report on Latin America from which we may cull the following passages: ("International Correspondence", French edn. 1928, p. 1262).

"...The rivalry between British imperialism and Yankee imperialism on the international plane is especially keen in the fight for hegemony over Latin America... Yankee imperialism, methodically and rapidly, is expelling British imperialism from the positions it occupied. Consequently, from the point of view of the whole international situation the rôle played by Latin America is becoming particularly important. But just because Latin America is becoming the principal colonial domain of Yankee imperialism, of the imperialism which is the most powerful and has the greatest forces of development at the present time, the revolutionary movement which is developing against colonisation, against Yankee imperialism, is becoming one of the most important revolutionary factors of the international social revolution..."

In the "Theses on the revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies" we read (page 1728): "...The increasing economic and military expansion of North American imperialism in the countries of Latin America make of this continent one of the principal theaters of the whole imperialist colonial system. Thanks to an increasing export of capital, North American imperialism is conquering the posts of command in the economy of these countries, subjecting the governments to its financial control, and exciting them one against another".

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In the "Theses on the international situation and the tasks of the C.I." (page 1708) we read in the paragraph "Latin America": "...the specially important questions (for the C.P. of the countries of Latin America) are the agrarian-peasant question and the fight against the imperialism of the United States..."

The American delegations in the USSR

To attract sympathy, the Comintern invites these foreigners to go to Russia. This propaganda began several years ago.

Without counting the delegates of the C.P. of the United States, a large number of delegations of American workers, students, industrials and ordinary tourists have visited Soviet Russia. The "Pravda" of 27/6/27 announced the arrival of a delegation of 16 American students, which was followed shortly afterwards by a second group of 36 students, then by a group of negro students. A few weeks later an American workers' delegation went in the USSR. One of the reports of the end of 1927 concerning the arrival of foreigners in the USSR indicated the number of 10,000 Americans for the summer of 1927. The Labour Party, in the course of the same year, had sent a delegation which made wide propaganda in favour of the recognition of the Soviets. The "Pravda" of 15/9/27 gives an account of the interview which this delegation had with Stalin.

In 1928 these visits continued. Needless to say, the Soviets only allowed these delegations to see what they thought necessary and the visitors were the object of adroit propaganda. At the end of 1928 Mr Campbell, the great American specialist in matters of agricultural economy, after a trip to the USSR told American journalists how fine he thought the Soviet agricultural organisation. Yet this declaration coincided with the introduction of bread cards in Russia!

Professor John Dewey, of Columbia University, on his return from Russia, published a series of articles favourable to the Soviets in the "New Republic" under the title "Impressions of Soviet Russia".

It is almost superfluous to emphasise the small value of the declarations of persons who make a brief trip to an immense country, of whose language they are generally ignorant, which they did not know before the revolution, and which they visit under the conduct of propaganda specialists.

In 1929, also, a large number of American delegations went to Russia. It would take too much space to enumerate them all. We need only mention the American workers' delegation which visited the USSR in the summer of 1929, and the delegation of Red Pioneers of the United States conducted by Joe Fichman, which arrived in the USSR in August 1929 to take part in the congress of Soviet Red Pioneers and whose photograph was reproduced in the "Moscow Evening" of the 10th August 1929.

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About the same time, a group of intellectuals and business men of the United States, piloted by the famous Sherwood Eddy, who had already been in the USSR in 1927 and who had since made systematic propaganda for the resumption of diplomatic relations, made a trip to Russia.

In 1930, we may note the arrival in the USSR in January of an American diplomat, Mr. Charles C. Hart, whom the Soviet authorities allowed to cross the territory of the USSR. The "Pravda" of the 18th April 1930, learns that on the initiative of the "Society for Cultural Relations with Russia" a dozen American workers' and peasants' delegates left the United States for Russia to take part in the celebrations of the First of May. In June 1930, Mr Spence Williams, representative of the Russo-American Chamber of Commerce, left New York for Moscow. Finally, one cannot refrain from mentioning that several hundred American engineers, mechanics and workmen have gone to Russia on the invitation of the Soviet Government and are working there on the construction of new factories.

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The foregoing study is based exclusively on Soviet documents and information. Further very interesting information on the action of the Comintern against the United States will be found in the book by Bessedowsky, former high Soviet official, entitled "On the way towards Thermidor" in the chapter devoted to the United States and Latin America (pages 235-255).

This outline shows that the heads of the Soviet Government are working systematically for the development of bolshevism in the United States and the overthrow of the American constitution, which is confirmed by Stalin in the following terms (Review "Bolshevik", Russian edn, 28/2/30):

"...The Comintern has created within the communist party of the United States the foundation which will enable this latter to train the masses actively for the coming revolution..."