participation in the government or the exercise of governmental power which have been made in the Scandinavian countries, in Belgium and Spain, in Germany and England. But there is no doubt, the question, the big question of the Congress, which for the rest is closely connected with the two preceding questions, is whether the Congress can do in this sphere is, in the first place, by its deliberations themselves and by the demonstrations which accompany them, lend expression and emphasis to the common will of all socialists, to demonstrate in all clearness wherein the views of the internationalists differ fundamentally from the views, even the pacifist views, of those who consciously or unconsciously stand in the first place on the basis of national interests.

What Shall the Congress Decide?

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

In view of the strength which the various socialist parties possess, their direct and indirect influence on the governments, the strengthening of the international movement, the necessity of the march towards the united front against the danger of war and for disarmament will be the chief task of the Congress at Vienna to unify and before all to extend, to strengthen, to lend irresistible force to the actions already begun in this respect.

Which Parties Shall Carry This Out?

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

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

Some time ago, in the Belgian Chamber, when we fulfilled our international duty in the fight against the war credits, a socialist deputy declared that his government, not merely by word, but by action was not to tolerate any war and in the event of war nevertheless breaking out to turn it into a revolution, lends them, they are in a position, if they are really determined, to prevent the disarmament Congress proving a failure.

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

"There is scarcely one of the big parties of the International which has not in one or other form taken part in the government. It is a socialist head of the Foreign Office of the British Empire who next year will occupy the chair at the Disarmament Conference. It is the leaders of socialist governments, here Branting there Stauning who for the first time initiated a comprehensive one-sided reduction of the military expenditure of their countries. It is socialists who stand at the head of the Russian government in the front ranks of the fight for the defence of the Republican achievements? (Ed.) And as under the changing circumstances, in Belgium, in Finland, in the Baltic States, in Austria and in the majority of the German provinces, socialists have been in the government, it can be said without exaggeration that the majority of the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International is imperialist barbarism in the colonies. (Editorial Note: Whose Ministers were or are they? Ministers of their bourgeoisie who bloody crush the rebellion of the working class, who prepare the way for fascism, who take part in the preparations for intervention against the Soviet Union. In view of the discontent of the workers with the policy of the social democratic parties it is intended that the Vienna Congress shall furnish proof that the Second International would seriously take up the fight against the danger of imperialist war, against unemployment etc. Hence Vandervelde's radical phrases.

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

THE NEGRO MOVEMENT

The International Conference on African Children.

By J. W. Ford (Geneva).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

All these facts are of course ignored by the so-called Saviours of African children. That is why the representative of the League declared that the African people must not have any faith in the Conference: that there was no remedy without the abolition of imperialist oppression and domination. Attention was called to the fact that in the United States nine young Negro boys from 14 to 16 years of age were hanged in Mississippi, and 237 Negro men and women were on frame-up charges. That is the method of imperialism in dealing with Negro children.

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

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

FOR MARXISM

Marx and Engels to August Bebel.

Note by the Editor of the "Imprecor".

The following document is an extract from a letter of Marx and Engels which appeared in "Prawda" of 19th June, prefixed by the following statement by the Marx-Engels-Institute: "The extract published below is taken from a long letter from Marx and Engels to Bebel, written in the second half of September or first half of October 1879. The occasion for this letter was the growth of opportunist tendencies in the ranks of the German social democracy, in particular the publication of an article by Schramm, Höchberg and Bernstein in the "Jahrbuch der Sozialwissenschaften und Sozialpolitik" (Year Book of Social Science and Social Policy). This article, entitled "Retrospective Survey of the Social Moment" and signed x x x, aroused the indignation of Marx and Engels and compelled them to confront the leaders of the German social democracy with the question whether the propaganda of such views was compatible with membership of the revolutionary proletarian Party. Schramm, Höchberg and Bernstein in their articles only anticipated the ideas which have become the guiding principles of the German social democrats and of the whole social-fascist II. International. Engels made comments and critical notes to extracts from this article which are of great interest even today. These notes are a direct blow in the face of the theoreticians and politicians of present-day social democracy. In his memoirs Bebel mentions this letter, but does not quote a single line from it. The letter was never published and these extracts are here printed for the first time."

Engels to Bebel.

London, September/October 1879.

Dear Belbe!

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

In the opinion of these gentlemen, the Social-Democratic Party should not be a one-sided workers’ party, but a multi-sided party of “all under the umbrella of a true love of humanity”. Above all, it should prove this by dropping its crude proletarian vehemence, and “cultivate good taste” and “learn good form” (p. 55) by placing itself under the leadership of educated, philanthropic bourgeois. Then also the “low behavior” of certain leaders will give place to respectable “high behavior” (as if the outwardly low behavior, which is meant here, were not the least with which they can be reproached). Then also “numerous adherents from among the educated” and propertied classes will make their appearance. But these must first be won if the agitation conducted is to have tangible success”. German Socialism has attached too much weight to the propaganda of masses, and in this has neglected the work of carrying on energetic (!) propaganda among so-called upper strata of society”. Then, “the Party still lacks men fit to represent it in the Reichstag”. It is “desirable and necessary that the Party be represented in the Reichstag by men who have high opportunity and leisure to become thoroughly familiar with the pertinent matters. The ordinary worker and small master have not, with rare exceptions, the necessary leisure for this”. Hence, elect the bourgeois!

In short, the working class must emancipate itself by its own effort. For this it must place itself under the leadership of “educated and propertied” bourgeoisie, who alone “have the opportunity and time” to become familiar with what will benefit